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A
COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
GAUDIAN LANGUAGES

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE

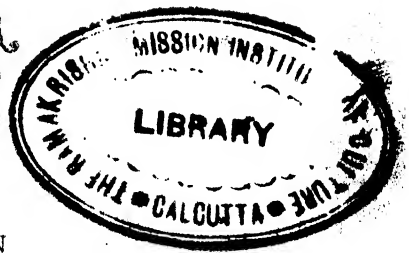
EASTERN HINDI

ACCOMPANIED BY

A LANGUAGE-MAP AND A TABLE OF ALPHABETS

BY

A. F. RUDOLF FOERSTER



LONDON

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1880

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TO
KARL STEFFENSEN
PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN BASEL
IN
GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE
OF THE
YEARS OF STUDY PASSED UNDER HIS GUIDANCE
This Volume
IS
DEDICATED.

CALCUTTA, Spring 1880.

PREFACE.

In order to account for the perhaps somewhat unusual arrangement of this book, I must explain that my original plan was merely to write a Grammar of the Eastern Hindi accompanied by short notes, pointing out its Gaudian affinities. Gradually these notes grew to such an extent as to change almost entirely the character of the book, which in its present state is rather a comparative grammar of the Gaudian languages than a simple grammar of the Eastern Hindi. The two subjects have been kept apart as much as possible, so as to enable the reader to use the book *ad libitum* for the study of either, the Eastern Hindi only, or the Gaudian generally. For this purpose the comparative matter has been mainly distributed in the paragraphs headed „Affinities“ and „Derivation“; the others refer to Eastern Hindi. To further increase the usefulness of the book an index of such Gaudian words as are explained in the Grammar is in course of preparation and will shortly be published.

The amount of information contained within this volume, is very much more than may appear at first sight. An idea of its extent may be gained by a glance over the index of subjects. Putting aside the information about the Eastern Hindi most of which is original, the book not only goes over nearly the entire

PREFACE

ground, covered by the volumes of Mr. Beames' Comparative Grammar, but also adds a not inconsiderable quantity of additional matter, especially in regard to the derivation of Gandian grammatical forms from the Prākritis. It was not easy to compress all this mass of information within one comparatively small volume to which, for various reasons, it was necessary to confine the work. This necessity will account for the perhaps excessive conciseness of diction and the extensive use of abbreviations; an inconvenience for which, I feel, I must crave the indulgence of the reader, but which, by the help of the prefixed list of abbreviations, I hope will prove no serious difficulty.

As regards the sources of my materials for the grammar of Eastern Hindi, in the absence of all literature (except in the Baiswari), I had to rely almost entirely on the information, partly obtained through long personal intercourse with the people, but especially supplied by native scholars or (in a few cases) by Europeans intimately acquainted with the country people. Among the former it gives me great pleasure to acknowledge the very efficient help rendered me by the kindness of Pandit Gopāl Bhatta Professor of Sanskrit at the Jay Narain's College in Benares, who to a scholarly knowledge of Sanskrit adds an intimate acquaintance of the Vernaculars as spoken by the people, representatives of whom, from every part of India, may be met with in Benares.

As regards the comparative portion of the book, every work that I could think of as bearing on the subject has been consulted. Most of these will be found mentioned in the list of abbreviations. A few works, such as E. Müller on the Jaina Prākrit, Jacobi's edition of the Kalpasūtra, A. Grierson's Māitī Grammar, unfortunately came into my hands too late to be turned to account. Most of the Prākrit Grammarians (such as M.

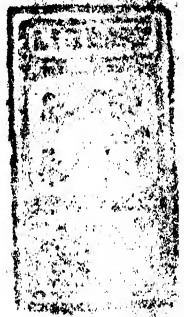
PREFACE

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kandaya, Subhachandra, Kramadigvara, Trivikrama, Simharaja etc.) are quoted from MSS. in my possession; but Vararuchi and Hemachandra are generally cited from the excellent editions of Cowell and Pischel respectively.

The publication of this volume, begun in Germany in 1878, has been so long delayed through my absence from Europe, which necessitated the sending out of the proofsheets to India. I fear this had the further evil consequence of many misprints remaining undetected, for which I hope the kind reader will make allowance. I do not think any serious misprint has escaped correction.

R. H.



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Map of the Languages of North India; opp. Title page.

Table of Alphabets; opp. page 2.

Note: See also "Affinities" and "Derivation" in the Index of Subjects, p. 407.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A. Gr. = Translation of the *Âdi Granth* by Trumpp.

A. Mg. = *Ardha Māgadhi Prakrit*.

Ap. or *Ap. Pr.* = *Apabhramsa Prakrit*.

Ap. Mg. = *Apabhramsa Māgadhi Prakrit*.

Ap. Sr. = *Apabhramsa Sauraseni Prakrit*.

B. = Bengālī.

B. H. Dy. = Bate's Hindi Dictionary.

Bh. = Bhojpūrī.

Bhag. or *Bh.* = *Bhagavatī*.

Br. = Brāj.

Bs. = Beames' Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan languages.

Bs. or *Bw.* = Baiswārī.

Co. = Cowell's edition of Vararuchi's *Prākṛita Prakāśa*.

Dk. = *Dakṣhinātya Prakrit*.

Di. = *Deśinī Radices Pracriticas*.

E., in conjunction with other initials = Eastern; e. g. *E. H.* = Eastern Hindi, *E. Gd.* = E. Gaudian, *E. Rj.* = Eastern Rājputānī.

Ek. = Etherington's Hindi Grammar.

Et. = *Etherton's Hindi Grammar*.

G. = Gaudian.

Gh. or *Gw.* = Garhwālī.

Gl. = Sg. Goldschmidt.

Gd. = Gaudian.

Gh. or *Gw.* = Garhwālī.

Gl. = Sg. Goldschmidt.

H. = Hindi; or, in conjunction with other initials, = High; as *H. H.* = High Hindi, *H. B.* = High Bengālī.

H. C. = Hema Chandra's *Prākṛit Grammar* (ed. Pischel).

J. A. S. B. = *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

J. G. O. S. = *Journal of the German Oriental Society*.

K. I. = *Kramadivara's Prakrit Grammar*.

Kf. = *Kafīrī*.

Kl. = Kellogg's Hindi Grammar.

Km. = *Kamaonī*.

Ku. = *Kanauji*.

Ksh. = *Kashmirī*.

Kth. = *Kaithī*.

Ld. = *Panjābī Grammar* printed in Ludiana.

L. Dh. = *Lakṣmī Dhara's Śāstrībhāṣā saṅgraha*.

Le. = *Lassen's Institutiones Linguae Pracriticae*.

M. = *Marāṭhī*; or, in conjunction

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

with other initials, = Modern; as
M. G. = Modern Gaudian, *M.*
M. = Modern Marāṭhī.
M. M. = Max Müller's Sanskrit
 Grammar.
M. W. = Monsie William's Sans-
 krit-English Dictionary.
Man. = Student's Manual of Ma-
 rāṭhī Grammar.
Meck. = *Mṛcchhakatikā* (ed. Stenz-
 ler).
Md. = Mārkaṇḍeya's Prākṛit Gram-
 mar.
Mg. = Māgadhī Prākṛit.
Mh. = Mahārāshṭrī Prākṛit.
Mh. Sr. = Mahārāshṭrī-Sauraseni
 Prākṛit.
Mr. or Mw. = Mārwārī.
Ms. = Mason's Pāli Grammar.
Mih. = Maithilī.

N. = Naipālī.
N. Gd. = Northern Gaudian.

O. = Oriyā; or, in conjunction with
 other initials, = Old; as *O. H.* =
 Old Hindī, *O. W. H.* = Old We-
 stern Hindī, *O. P.* = Old Panjābī;
O. S. = Old Sindhī, *O. Gd.* =
 Old Gaudian.

P. = Panjābī.
Pl. = Pischel's Dissertatio Inaugu-
 ralis.
Pr. = Prākṛit.
Pr. De Pers. = Persian.
Pr. R. = Prithibī Rāsu by Chand
 Bardai.
Ps. = Pārseni Prākṛit.
Psh. = Pārseni.

Rj. = Rājputān.
R. T. = Rāma Tarkavajīas Prākṛit
 Grammar.

S. = Sindhī.
S. C. = Subha Chandra's Prākṛit
 Grammar.
S. Ch. = Shama Charan's Bangālī
 Grammar.
S. D. = Sabitya Darpana.
S. Gd. = Southern Gaudian.
S. Gdt. = Sg. Goldschmidt.
S. L. = St. Luke translated into
 Naipālī.
S. R. = Simha Rāja's Prākṛit Gram-
 mar.
Skr. = Sanskrit.
Sn. = Sutton's Oriyā Grammar.
Spt. = Sapta Śataka (ed. Weber).
Sr. = Sauraseni Prākṛit.
St. G. = Stanislas Gayard's Gram-
 maire Palic.

T. D. or T. Das. = Tulsi Dās' Ra-
 māyan.
T. V. = Trivikrama's Prākṛit Gramm.
Tr. = Trumpp's Sindhī Grammar.

Ved. = Vedic.
Vr. = Vararuchi's Prākṛit Gram-
 mar (ed. Cowell).

W., in conjunction with other ini-
 tials, = Western; as *W. Gd.* =
 Western Gaudian, *W. H.* = We-
 stern Hindī, *W. Rj.* = Western
 Rājputānī.
Wb. = Weber's edition of the Sap-
 taśataka (*Spt.*) and of the Bhā-
 vati (*Bh.*).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GRAMMATICAL TERMS

abl. = ablative.	gen. = genitive or general.
acc. = accusative.	imp. or imper. = imperative mood.
act. = active (case or voice or verb).	ind. or indic. = indicative mood.
adj. = adjective.	indef. = indefinite or indefinite.
adv. = adverb or adverbial.	inf. = infinitive.
aff. = affix.	instr. = instrumentalis.
auxil. = auxiliary.	inter. or interrog. = interrogative pronoun.
c. g. or com. gen. = common gender.	intr. = intransitive.
C. R. = Causal Roots.	intr. V. = intransitive Verb.
C. V. = Causal Verb.	lg. f. = long form.
cl. = class.	loc. = locative.
comp. = compound.	m. or masc. = masculine.
Op. R. = Compound Roots.	N. = noun.
cond. = conditional.	n. or neut. = neuter.
conj. = conjunct or conjunction or conjunctive mood.	nom. = nominative.
conj. cons. = conjunct consonant.	num. = numeral.
cons. = consonant.	
constr. = construction.	obl. = oblique.
contr. = contracted or contraction.	orig. = original.
D. R. or Dm. R. = Denominative Roots.	P. P. = past participle.
dat. = dative.	P. R. = Primitive Roots.
Dp. C. V. = Double Causal Verb.	part. = participle.
dem. = demonstrative pronoun.	pass. = passive.
der. or deriv. = derivative.	pers. = person or personal.
dir. = direct.	pl. or plur. = plural.
Dr. R. = Derivative Roots.	pleon. = pleonastic.
du. = dual.	postpos. = postposition.
emph. = emphatic.	pre. = preative.
euph. = euphonic.	pret. = preterite.
ex. = except or exception.	pron. = pronoun or pronominal.
f. or fem. = feminine.	
fut. = future.	

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

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qual. = quality.
qual. pron. = qualitative pronoun.
quant. = quantity.
quant. pron. = quantitative pronoun.

R. = root.
red. f. = redundant form.
refl. = reflexive pronoun.
rel. = relative pronoun.
resp. = respectively.

S. = suffix.
S. R. = Simple Roots.
S. V. = Simple Verb.
sg. or sing. = singular.

sh. f. = short form.
st. f. = strong form.
subst. = Substantive.
suff. = suffix.

tph. or tadbh. = tadbbava.
term. or termin. = termination.
tr. = transitive.
Tr. V. = Transitive Verb.
ts. = tats. or tatsama.

voc. = vocative.

wk. f. = weak form.

An asterisk (*) prefixed to a word means a conjectural or theoretical form of a word.

INTRODUCTION.

THE LOCAL DISTRIBUTION AND MUTUAL AFFINITIES OF THE GAUDIAN¹⁾ LANGUAGES.

Seven languages of the Sanskrit stock are usually enumerated as spoken in North India, viz. Sindhi, Gujaráti, Panjábí, Hindí, Bangálí, Oriya, Maráthí. Of these H. is commonly said to be spoken over an area of more than 248000 square miles and to be the language of between 60 and 70 millions or fully $\frac{1}{4}$ of the inhabitants of India. This statement is true only in a very limited and special sense. It is true if by H. we understand the literary or High-Hindí (including under this term Hindústání or Urdú); but it is quite incorrect if it be understood to imply that only one language is spoken generally by the people inhabiting that area. It is, a priori, extremely improbable and contrary to general experience that one and the same language should be spoken by such large numbers of people over a tract of country so widely extended. As a matter of fact, two entirely different languages are spoken in the so-called Hindí area; one in the western, the other in the eastern half. For the sake of convenience, these two languages will be called in this treatise Western Hindí and Eastern Hindí; but the terms are not altogether good ones, as they give too much of an impression that Western and Eastern Hindí are merely two different dialects of

1) I have adopted the term Gaudian to designate collectively all North-Indian vernaculars of Sanskrit affinity, for want of a better word; not as being the least objectionable, but as being the most convenient one.

the same (Hindí) language. In reality, they are as distinct from one another, as B. in the east and P. in the west are supposed to be distinct from what is commonly called Hindí. Indeed the likeness between E. H. and B. is much closer than between E. H. and W. H.; and on the other hand, the affinity between W. H. and P. is much greater than between W. H. and E. H. In short W. H. and E. H. have as much right to be classed as distinct languages rather than different dialects, as P., H., and B.

It is impossible at present, accurately to define the limits of the various Gaudian languages and dialects. It is a subject to which little attention has been paid hitherto. Moreover, it seems probable, that in most cases adjoining languages and dialects pass into each other so imperceptibly, that the determination of the limits of each will always remain more or less a matter of doubt and dispute. At present, we can only fix with certainty the centres of their respective areas. The following remarks and the accompanying map which attempts to show their local distribution, must be understood with this proviso. The area in which H. (commonly so called, i. e. E. H. and W. H.) is spoken, occupies the central portion of North India. It extends in the north to the lower ranges of the Himálaya mountains; in the west to a line drawn from the head of the gulf of Kachchh in a north-easterly direction to the upper Satlaj near Simla; in the south to the Narmadá river or the Vindhya range of mountains; in the east to a line following the course of the Sankhassí river to its junction with the Ganges and thence in a south-westerly direction to the Narmadá. The H. area is bounded on the north by those of Gw., K., and N.; on the west by P., S., and G.; on the south by the M. area, and on the east by O. and B.

The Garhwáli, Kumaoní and Naipáli are apparently dialects of one great language, the area of which is bounded on the south by that of Hindí, on the east by the upper Satlaj, on the west by the upper Sankhassí, and on the north by the higher ranges of the Himálaya. The Garhwáli is spoken between the Satlaj and

Ganges, the Kumaoní between the Ganges and Gogarí, the Naipálí between the Gogarí and Sankhassí. In the following pages these three dialects will be designated by the collective name of *Northern Gaudían*.

The area of the Panjábí nearly covers the province from which it derives its name, extending from the Hindí area in the east to the Indus in the west, and from the lower ranges of the Himálaya in the north to the junction of the five rivers in the south. There are apparently two principal dialects of this language; viz. the Multání spoken in the Southern Panjáb about Multán, and the dialect of the Northern Panjáb. P. is spoken by about 12 millions of people distributed over 60000 square miles.

The Sindhí area lies on both sides of the lower Indus. It meets the Hindí area on the east, and that of the Panjábí on the north, and is bounded by the Kela mountains on the west. The language comprises three principal dialects; the Siráikí spoken in the upper Sindh, north of Haiderábád; the Lárí or dialect of the lower Sindh spoken in the Indus delta and on the sea-coasts; and the Tharelí spoken in the Tharu or desert of Eastern Sindh (see Tr. II). It is spoken by about 2 millions of people and over 90000 square miles.

The Gujarátí area comprises the provinces of Kacch and Gujarát or the country around the gulf of Kambay. The Kacchí is a distinct dialect, and its true affiliation, whether to Sindhí or Gujarátí appears to be still doubtful. Gujarátí has seemingly no marked dialectic divisions. It is spoken over 50000 square miles by about 6 millions of people.

The Maráthí area is bounded by the Vindhya mountains on the north, where it joins that of Western Hindí. At their eastern extremity it meets the Eastern Hindí area, whence the line of demarcation runs in a south-westerly direction to the sea-coast near the city of Goa. There are two principal dialects: the Konkani and Dakhaní. The former is spoken in the west, in the Konkani or narrow strip of country between the mountains and the sea;

the latter in the north-east in the (so-called) Dakhan or Central India. In the south-east, about Satara and Kolhapur, there is apparently a third variety (Bs. I, 104). Maráṭhī is spoken by about 13 millions of people and over 113000 square miles. It should be observed, that in the neighbourhood of the upper Narmadá Maráṭhī is contiguous to Eastern Hindī. One gradually merges into the other, and it is impossible, at present, to say exactly where one begins and the other ends. It is certain, however, that E. H. is spoken about Jabalpur. On its south and south-east, respectively, Maráṭhī has the Dráviḍian languages, the Kanarese and Telugu.

The Oṛiya area is bounded on the north by the Subanarekhá river and in the west by a line drawn from the sources of that river in a southerly direction to about Ganjam on the east-coast of India. According to Beames (I, 118, 106) it is rapidly supplanting the old non-Aryan dialects, spoken in the vast tract of mountains, lying between its western boundary-line and the eastern limits of the Maráṭhī area. It is spoken by about 5 millions of people over 66000 square miles.

The Bangálī area is nearly coterminous with the province of Bangál, being bounded by the Eastern Hindī area on the West. Four principal varieties of the language are said to exist (Bs. I, 106); one in Eastern Bangál about Silhet and Tipara, another in Northern Bangál about Dinajpur; one in Southern Bangál about Midnapur and Calcutta, and the principal one in Central Bangál. It is spoken by about 36 millions of people over 90000 square miles.

Within the area of Hindī, as previously defined, many differing dialects are spoken. Their exact number is, at present, uncertain. Eight principal dialectic varieties, however, may be distinguished. Namely, beginning in the West; *first*, the dialects of Western Rájputáná as far as the Aravalli mountains. The principal one is the Márwáṛī or the dialect of the country of the Márs, a Rájput tribe, spoken about Jodhpur and Jaynagar. *Secondly*, the dialects of Eastern Rájputáná, spoken about Jaypúr and Kotah, on

the high lands between the Aravalli mountains and the river Betwá. *Thirdly*, the Braj Bháshá or the dialect of the upper Doáb, spoken on the plains of the Jamná and Ganges, about Agrá, Mathurá, Delhi, etc. It is so called from Vraj „cow-pen“, the name of the district round Brindában and Mathurá, the birth-place of Krishna. *Fourthly*, the Kanaují spoken in the lower Doáb and Rohilkhand. It takes its name from the old city of Kanauj on the Ganges. *Fifthly*, the Baiswári or dialect of the country of the Bais, a Rájput tribe; spoken to the north of Allahábád. Its district is nearly coterminous with the province of Audh, whence it is also called Avadhí. In a slightly modified form it is also spoken to the south of Allahábád, in Baghelkhand, the country of the Baghels, an other Rájput tribe. *Sixthly*, the dialects of the country lying north and south of Banáras, and spoken to beyond Gorakhpúr and Bettiah in the North and to about Jabalpúr in the South, where their area is contiguous with that of the Maráthí. The principal one is the Bhojpúri, which is current in the central portion of this tract on both sides of the Ganges between Banáras and Chaprá. It takes its name from the ancient town of Bhojpúr, now a small village, near Buxar, and a few miles south of the Ganges¹). *Seventhly*, the Maithilí or the dialect of the district of Tirhút, spoken about Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. It is called

1) „It was formerly a place of great importance, as the head-quarters of the large and powerful clan of Rajpoots whose head is the present Maharaja of Doomraon and who rallied round the standard of the grand old chief Kuñwar Singh in the mutiny of 1857. Readers of the entertaining »Sair-ul Mutakherin« will remember how often the Mahomedan Soubas of Azimabad (Patna) found it necessary to chastise the turbulent Zemindars of Bhojpur, and how little the latter seemed to profit by the lesson. It is remarkable that throughout the area of the Bhojpuri language a spirit of bigoted devotion to the old Hindu faith still exists, and that the proportion of Mahomedans to Hindus is very small. Rajpoots everywhere predominate, together with a caste called Bábhans (ब्राह्मन्) or Bhuinhárs (भुईहार = landleute) who appear to be a sort of bastard Brahmins, and concerning whose origin many curious legends are told.“ Beames J. R. A. S. vol. III, p. 484 (new series).

so after the ancient city of Mithilā, the capital of Videha or modern Tīrhūt (Tīrabhukti). *Rightly*, the Māgadh or the dialect spoken to the south of the Ganges between Gayā, Patnā and Bhāgalpūr. It has its name from the old district of Magadh, now better known as Bihār.

These dialects naturally divide themselves into two great groups, according to some very marked peculiarities of pronunciation and inflexion, etc., which will be noted presently. The first group comprises the western dialects; viz. those of W. and E. Rājputānā, of the Braj and of Kanauj. The second group includes the dialects of Banāras, Tīrhūt and Bihār. The central dialect of Audh and Baghelkhand is of uncertain affiliation. In some points it agrees with the western group (e. g., in having the W. H. past part. in *ā* or *in*, see § 302); but as in most others (e. g., the E. H. future in *ab*) it exhibits the same peculiarities as the eastern dialects, it appears more appropriate to class it, for the present, with the latter. The eastern group of dialects constitutes, what I have called, the Eastern Hindī language; the western group the Western Hindī. The latter language is that which most nearly resembles what is commonly known as Hindī, namely the literary or High-Hindī. This latter is merely a modified form of the Braj dialect, which was first transmuted into the Urdū by curtailing the amplitude of its inflexional forms and admitting a few of those peculiar to Panjābī and Marwārī; afterwards Urdū was changed into High-Hindī. The H. H., as distinguished from the Urdū or Hindústānī, is a very modern language; but Urdū itself is comparatively modern. It originated during the twelfth century¹⁾ in the country around Delhi, the centre of the Muhammedan power. In that spot the Braj dialect comes into contact with the Marwārī and Panjābī; and there among the great camps (*urdū*) of the Muhammedan soldiery in their

1) The great battle of Pānīpat near Delhi was fought A. D. 1192. It put an end to the Hindū and established the Muhammedan empire of Delhi. The last Hindū ruler (*Prithvirāj*) fell in the battle.

intercourse with the surrounding populations a mixed language grew up, which, as regards grammar, is, in the main, Braj, though intermixed with Panjābī and Mārwarī forms, while as regards vocabulary, it is partly indigenous Hindī, partly foreign (Persian and Arabic). For example, the final long *ā* of strong masculine nouns, where the Braj has *au* and the Mārwarī *o*, is a bit of Panjābī; again the affix *ne* of the active case is a contribution from Mārwarī¹). Where the Braj has alternative forms, one only was adopted by the Urdū. Thus Braj forms the future either in *ihauṃ* or in *aumgaṃ* (1st pers. sg.); Urdū has retained only the latter in the form *amgā*, on account (no doubt) of its similarity to the Panjābī *amgā*. It was only in the sixteenth century, chiefly in the reign of Akbar, that Urdū was reduced to a cultivated form. With the extension of the Muhammedan power, its use spread over the whole of the Hindī area; but it remained the language of those exclusively who were more immediately connected with that power, either in the army or court or the pursuit of learning; it never became the vernacular of the people. The High-Hindī dates only from the present century. It is an outcome of the Hindū revival under the influence of English Missions and Education. Naturally enough, Urdū, the dominant and official dialect, came to hand in this movement and was *Hinduised* or turned into High-Hindī by exchanging its Persian and Arabic elements for words of native origin (more or less purely Sanskrit). Hence Urdū and High-Hindī are really the same language; they have an identical grammar and differ merely in the vocabulary, the former using as many foreign words, the latter as few as possible.

It appears, then, that there are three different forms of speech current in the Hindī area; viz. the H. Hindī or Urdū, the W. Hindī, and the E. Hindī. The first of these is nowhere the vernacular of the people, but it is the language of literature, of

1) The affix of the active case was originally a dative affix, which is in Mr. *ne*, in P. *nām*, in Br. *kaum*, see § 371.

the towns, and of the higher classes of the population; and it takes the form of Urdú among Muhammedans and of Hindí among Hindús; though the difference between these two forms is less marked in the mouth of the people than in the books of the learned. On the other hand, both the W. H. and E. H. are vernaculars of the people generally. Their boundary line may be roughly set down at about the 80th degree of E. Longitude. In the area lying to the west of that line and containing about 150000 square miles W. H. is spoken by about 40 millions of people, in some one or other of its above mentioned dialectic forms. Among these the Braj Bháshá is the most important, as it is the best known variety. It is not only the source of the Urdú and, through it, of the modern literary Hindí, but it has itself received some measure of literary cultivation (see pg. XXXV). In this respect, indeed, the Braj occupies an unique position not only in the W. H., but amongst Hindí dialects generally. In the following pages, whenever W. H. simply is spoken of, the Braj, as being its typical form, is especially intended.

The E. H. area, lying to the east of the 80th degree, contains about 100000 square miles and a population of about 20 millions. Among the various E. H. dialects spoken by these people, that of the Banáras district or the Bhojpúrí is the most important. It is the one which is especially referred to in this work by the term Eastern Hindí, and the grammar of which forms more prominently my subject. It must be considered the typical dialect of the E. H.; for it exhibits all the peculiar features of that language in their fullest number and most marked form. This is much less the case with the other E. H. dialects. The more westerly, the Baiswáří, in some not unimportant points shows the distinctive marks of the W. H. (see pg. VI). On the other hand the easterly, the Maithilí especially, exhibit unmistakable similarities to the neighbouring Bangálí and Naipálí. Indeed, I am doubtful, whether it is not more correct to class the Maithilí as a Bangálí dialect rather than as an E. H. one. Thus in the

formation of the past tense, Maithilī agrees very closely with Bangālī, while it differs widely from the E. H., see § 503.

Taking, then, the Braj and the Bhojpūrī as the two typical dialects of the two great W. H. and E. H. groups respectively, and comparing them with each other, without entirely excluding from consideration the others; a number of very marked peculiarities present themselves. These, it will be seen, are so important, especially when considered in their relation to the non-Hindī (i. e., other Gaudian) languages, that it appears perfectly justifiable to consider the W. H. and E. H. as being as completely distinct languages as the other North-Indian languages are universally allowed to be. The following enumeration of differences is not an exhaustive one. I shall only mention the most important. There are many others which the reader will not fail to note for himself, as he goes through the grammar. I shall arrange them under the following heads: 1) pronunciation, 2) derivation, 3) inflexion, 4) construction, 5) vocables.

Firstly; as to pronunciation: 1) E. H. has a tendency to dentalise cerebral semivowels; thus E. H. often has *r* and *rh* for W. H. *r* or *ṛh*; it has also *r* and sometimes *n* for W. H. *l* (see §§ 16. 29. 30. 31). 2) While sometimes W. H. omits medial *h*, E. H. inserts an euphonic *h*¹⁾. 3) While E. H. never tolerates, W. H. sometimes adds euphonicallly an initial *y* or *v*²⁾. 4) E. H. has the short vowels *ē*, *āĩ*, *ō*, *auĩ* which are unknown to W. H. (see §§ 5. 6). 5) E. H. generally prefers to retain the hiatus *ai* and *au*, while W. H. always contracts them to *ai* and *au*³⁾ (see § 68).

Secondly; as to derivation: 1) the strong form of masc. nouns of the *a*-base has in E. H. a final *á*, and of the short form of pronouns a final *e*, but in W. H. a final *au* or *o* (see §§ 47.

1) e. g., E. H., *dihāl* he gave, but W. H. *diá* or *diyá*.

2) e. g., E. H., *e me* in this, *o me* in that, but W. H. *yá men*, *vá men*.

3) e. g., E. H., *baĩṭhai* he sits, W. H. *baĩṭhe*; E. H. *auĩr* and, W. H. *aur*.

48. 433. 437, 4)¹). 2) The singular possessive pronoun has in E. H. a medial *o*, but in W. H. *e* or *á* (see §§ 449. 450)²). 3) E. H. prefers the weak form in (quiescent) *a* of masculine nouns with an *a*-base, W. H. the strong form in *au* or *o*³) (see § 205). 4) E. H. prefers the long form (of subst.) in *avá* or *au*, W. H. that in *ayá* or *ái* (see § 202)⁴). (5.) While W. H. uses, as a rule, only the short form of the pronouns, E. H. has generally also a long form in *na* (see §§ 436. 437, 3)⁵).

Thirdly; as to inflexion; and here both as regards declension and conjugation. *As to declension*: 1) E. H. does not possess the active case of the W. H. formed with the affix *ne* (see §§ 370. 371)⁶). 2) The oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns in *á* has in E. H. a final *á*, but in W. H. *e* (see §§ 363, 5. 365, 3. 6)⁷). *Next as to conjugation*: 1) the present tense is made in E. H. by adding the auxiliary participle *hí* to the ancient (Sanskrit) present; in W. H. by adding *gá* or *hai* or *chhai* (see §§ 500. 501)⁸). 2) The past tense is formed in E. H. by means of the suffix *al* or *il*, in W. H. by the suffix *yan* or *yo* (see §§ 502. 505)⁹). 3) The future tense is made in E. H. by means of the suffix *ab* or *ib*, in W. H. by the suffixes *ih* or *as* (or, what need not concern us here, by adding the auxiliary participles *yan* or *go* to the ancient present) (see §§ 508. 509)¹⁰). 4) While E. H.

1) E. H. *bhalá* good, W. H. *bhalau* or *bhalo*; E. H. *je* which, W. H. *jau* or *jo*.

2) E. H. *mori* (fem.) mine, but W. H. *meri* or *míri*.

3) e. g., E. H. *bar* great, W. H. *barau*; E. H. *mor* mine, W. H. *merau*; E. H. *det* giving, W. H. (Mw.) *deto*, E. H. *parhal* read, W. H. *parhyan*.

4) e. g., E. H. *ram'vá* or *ramau* Rám, W. H. *ramayá* or *ramai*.

5) e. g., E. H. *se* or *tavan* he, W. H. only *so*.

6) e. g., E. H. *ú kail's* he did, W. H. *vá ne kiyau*.

7) e. g., E. H. gen. *ghorá kai*, W. H. *ghore kau* of nom. *ghorá* horse.

8) e. g., E. H. *holá* he becomes, W. H. *haigá* or *hwaíhai* or *hwaichhau*.

9) e. g., E. H. *rahal* he remained, W. H. *rahyau*.

10) e. g., E. H. *karabon* I shall do, W. H. *karihaun* or *karasun* (or *karaungau*).

possesses the infinitive in *ab* or *ib* in common with W. H., it does not share with it that in *an* (see § 261) ¹⁾.

Fourthly; as regards construction, there is one great difference, that, in the case of the past tense of transitive verbs, E. H. possesses a regular active construction with a proper active past tense, whereas W. H. uses a passive construction with the help of the active case (in *ne*) of the subject; (see §§ 371. 487).

Fifthly; as regards the vocabulary, some of the commonest and most important vocables are altogether different. Thus the (so-called) substantive verb is in E. H. 3. sing. present *bātai* he is, past *rahal* he was, in W. H. pres. *hai* (or *chhai*), past *tho* (or *ho* or *chho*); again the prohibitive particle is in E. H. *jīn*, in W. H. *mut*; again the causative post-position is in E. H. *bade* or *bare* for the sake of, in W. H. *lige*.

These differences are sufficiently radical in themselves, to establish the claim of the E. H. to be considered a distinct language from W. H. But their importance will be seen still more clearly, if we now examine them in their relation to the eastern and western Gaudian languages; setting aside, for the present those of the north (Naipālī) and south (Marāṭhī). To the east of the combined E. H. and W. H. area are Bangālī and Oriyā; to the west Panjābī, Gujarātī and Sindhī. On comparing these languages with W. H. and E. H., it appears that B. and O. have in common with the latter all those peculiarities in which it differs from the former; and that P., G. and S. share with the former all (or nearly all) those peculiarities in which it differs from the latter. Thus all the languages of the former class (i. e. E. H., B., O.) show a preference for *n* over *l*; and of *āi* and *aii* over *ai* and *au*; they do not tolerate an initial *y* or *v*; and possess the short *ē* and *ō*; their short pronouns have a final *e* and their possessive pronouns a medial *o*; most of their pronouns have an alternative long form in *na*, and their masculine nouns of the *a*-base, gene-

1) e. g., E. H. *karab* doing, W. H. *karabaun* or *karanaun*.

rally, the weak form in *ǎ*; they have no active case; their oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns in *á* ends in *á*; their past tense is made with *il* and their future tense and infinitive with *ib*; and lastly they construct actively the past tense of transitive verbs. • Only in the present tense do B. and O. differ from É. II. in that they form no compound tense like it, but only use the simple ancient present tense; a form which they have in common not only with E. II., but (as will be shown further on, pg. XXXII) with all Gd. languages.

The case of W. H. in respect to P., G. and S. is precisely similar. They all prefer *r*, *l*, to *r* and *n*; and *ai* and *au* to *ai* and *aü*; in certain cases they make use of initial *y* and *v*, but have no short *ě* and *ǔ*; their strong masculine nouns and short pronouns end in *o*¹⁾; their pronouns have no long form in *na*²⁾, and, as a rule, their masculine nouns have the strong form in *o* or *au*; they have an active case made with *ne*³⁾, and an oblique form singular in *e*⁴⁾ of strong masculine nouns in *o* (or P. *á*); they make their past tense with the suffix *ya* or *ia*, and an infinitive with *an*; lastly they all construct passively the past tense of transitive verbs. Besides, G. and P., like W. H., form the present tense by adding the auxiliary verb *chhai* or *hai*, and the future by the suffixes *ih* or *as*; and their singular possessive pronouns have, as in W. H., a medial *e* or *á*. In these three points S. follows a way of its own, different, however, from both the others.

Although, therefore, the agreement is not quite perfect within each of the two groups⁵⁾, yet it is complete in the most

1) Exc., P. strong masc. nouns end in *á*; G. short pron. end in *e*, exc. *so* who.

2) Exc. relat. pron. *kon* in W. H., P., G., but not in S.

3) Exc., S. and Mw. use no affix with the active case.

4) Exc., G. and Mw. and partially Br. and Kn. in *á*.

5) The agreement is much more complete in the E. than in the W. group. This circumstance is significant, on account of its bearing on the probable history of their respective immigration into and occupation of North-India (see pg. XXXII).

important points. These are the six following, of which the five first are morphological and the sixth syntactical; viz. 1) the form of masculine nouns of an *a*-base, whether weak or strong; 2) the termination of such strong masculine nouns, whether in *á* or *o*; 3) their oblique form singular, whether ending in *á* or *e*; 4) the suffix of the past tense, whether *al* or *ya*; 5) the suffix of the future, whether *ab* or *ih* (or *as*); 6) the construction of the past tense, whether actively or passively. Even in regard to the minor points, the divergences are mostly confined to S., which is the most outlying of the Gaudian languages.

There are two conclusions which are obviously suggested by that agreement. In the first place; E. II. has evidently a much closer resemblance to B. and O., than to W. H.; and on the other hand, W. H. is much more nearly allied to P., G. and S., than to E. II. Whence it follows, that since B. and O. are accounted separate languages from E. II., and P., G. and S. from W. H., a fortiori E. II. and W. H. must be considered as distinct languages, and not merely as dialects of one and the same. Indeed, the only two points of any importance, in which E. II. agrees with W. H. rather than with B. and O. are; 1) the oblique form singular in *c* of strong masculine adjectives in *á* (see § 386), which adjectives the latter do not possess at all; and 2) the first preterite tense made with the past participle in *ya* or *ia* (see 502. 503), which they form a little differently¹), but which, strictly, belongs not so much to E. II., as to the intermediate dialect, the Baiswári.

The second conclusion is, that the languages whose affinities have been hitherto discussed, divide themselves into two large groups or two great forms of speech; the one extending over the eastern half of North-India and comprising E. II., B. and O.; the other covering its western half and including W. II., P., G. and S.

1) e. g., E. II. *parhyom* I read, B. *parhiyáclhi*, O. *parhiachhun*, but W. II. *parhyau*.

These two great forms of speech I designate in this treatise the *Eastern Gaudian* and the *Western Gaudian speeches* or groups of languages. The close resemblance of the various members of these two groups among themselves clearly points to a time, when those two forms of speech were nothing more than distinct languages, and what we now know as separate languages, were merely their different dialects.

We have now to consider, what relation the two remaining Gaudian languages, viz. Maráthí and Naipálí, bear to those two great forms of speech, the E. Gd. and the W. Gd. On examining their affinities with respect to the points discussed above, it will be found, that they each occupy a distinct position, yet so that Maráthí is rather more nearly allied to E. Gd.; and Naipálí to W. Gd. Their position as forms of speech distinct from both E. Gd. and W. Gd., is founded chiefly on these two facts: 1) that with respect to some of the points, in which E. and W. Gd. differ from one another, M. and N. sometimes agree with one, sometimes with the other; and 2) that in some other points they agree with neither, but follow a line of their own.

Thus as regards Maráthí, it agrees with E. Gd. in the following points: 1) the termination *á* of the strong masculine nouns of the *a-base* (see § 48); 2) the final *á* of their oblique form singular¹⁾; 3) the formation of the past tense by the suffix *ál* (see § 505); and 4) the formation of the future by the addition of the auxiliary participle *la* to the ancient present (see § 509). This last point requires a word of explanation. It will be remembered (see pg. X and VII) that this compound form, which serves in M. as a future, is used in E. H. as a present, and that a similar compound form, made up of the auxiliary participle *ga* and the ancient present, is used in W. H. as a present tense, and in P. (and H. H.) as a future (see § 501). Now these circum-

1) e. g., gen. *ghoḍyá chá* of *ghoḍá* horse; *vichvá chá* of *vichá* scorpion; *pányá chá* of *páná* water.

stances show, that the compound form in *ga* is W. Gd., and the other in *la* E. Gd.

On the other hand, M. agrees with W. Gd. in the following points: 1) the pronunciation generally (see §§ 11.16.18); 2) the *o* termination of the short pronouns (see § 437, 3. 4); 3) the absence of the pronouns of a long form in *na*; exc. the interrog. pron. *kon* who; 4) the strong form, generally, of masculine nouns of the *a-base* (see § 205); 5) the long form in *ayá* of the same nouns (see § 202); 6) the active case formed with *ne* (see § 371); 7) an infinitive made with the suffix *an* (see § 320); and lastly 8) the passive construction of the past tense (see § 487). It will be observed that of those six characteristics which have been noted as being the most important points of difference between the E. Gd. and W. Gd., M. agrees with the former in *four*, and with the latter only in *two*. Having regard to this circumstance, M. must be considered to rank with the E. Gd. rather than with the W. Gd. group. Moreover, of the two points in which M. agrees with W. Gd., one is syntactical, while all four points which it has in common with E. Gd., are morphological. This shows still more clearly the E. Gd. character of M.; for languages are classified according to their morphological characteristics¹⁾.

Further, the points which are peculiar to M. are the following: 1) its pronunciation of the palatals, as *ts*, *dz*, etc. (see § 11), and its disaspiration of a medial aspirate (see § 145. exc. 2., e. g., *vichá* scorpion for *vichhú*); 2) its possession of a peculiar form of the singular possessive pronoun (see §§ 450. 430, 5)²⁾;

1) This is illustrated by an observation which Bs. I, 102 quotes from a native author (Shastri Vrajlal Kalidas in his History of the Gujarati Language pg. 50): „If a native from the North (speaking W. Hindi) comes into Gujarat, the Gujarati people find no difficulty in understanding his language; but when people from the South (speaking Maráthí) come to Gujarat, the Gujarati people do not in the least comprehend what they say.“ The reason simply is, that although syntactically G. does not differ either from M. or W. H., yet in its morphological characters it differs widely from M., while it agrees very closely with W. H.

2) e. g., M. *májhá* mine, but E. Gd. *mor*, W. Gd. *merau* or *máro*.

3) of a distinct oblique form singular of all nouns (see § 363)¹); 4) of a peculiar present resembling closely in form that tense which, in common with all other Gd. languages, it uses as a preterite subjunctive (see § 501); and 5) of a peculiar conjunctive participle in *in* (see § 491). For these reasons, as well as because, with respect to the points before referred to, M. is neither decidedly E. Gd. nor W. Gd., it must be considered to constitute a group by itself. "This third group will be called in this treatise, the *Southern Gaudian speech*.

The case of Naipálí (including Garhwálí and Kumáoní) very much resembles that of Maráthí. It agrees with W. Gd. in the following points: 1) the final *o* of the strong masculine nouns of the *a-base* (see § 48); 2) the final *o* of the short pronouns (see § 437, 3. 4); 3) the medial *e* of the singular possessive pronouns (see § 450); 4) the preference of the strong form *iu* nouns of the *a-base*; 5) the possession of an active case made the affix *le* (= *ne* of the W. Gd., see § 371); 6) the formation of the present by adding the auxiliary verb *chha* to the ancient tense (see § 501); 7) of the past by the suffix *yo* or *iyō* (see §§ 305. 503); and 8) of the infinitive by the suffix *an* (see § 320).

On the other hand, N. agrees with E. Gd. in the following points; 1) the pronunciation generally²); 2) the final *á* of the oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns of the *a-base* (see § 363)³); and 3) the formation of the future by adding the auxiliary participle *lá* to the ancient present tense (as in the M. future and the E. H. present, see pg. X, XIV and § 509); and 4) the active construction of the past tense of transitive verbs (see § 487). Here again it will be observed that of the six important points before mentioned, N. agrees with the W. Gd. in *three*, and with the E. Gd. in *three*; but while of the former all three, of the

1) e. g., *ghará* of *ghar* house; *kaví* of *kavi* poet; *gurá* of *guru* teacher; *ghodýá* of *ghodá* horse; *vichvá* of *vichú* scorpion; *pányá* of *páni* water.

2) e. g., often *n* for *l*; short *ě* and *ŕ*.

3) e. g., gen. sg. *kurá ko* of *kuro* word.

latter only two are morphological characters. It follows accordingly that N. is more closely allied to the W. Gd. than to the E. Gd. group of languages.

Further, N. stands by itself in the following points: 1) the aspiration, in certain cases, of a medial consonant¹); 2) the softening, occasionally, of an initial hard consonant²); 3) the active affix *le*. These are not very important matters; but taken together with the other fact, that in the six main points N. is divided in its affinity between the W. and E. Gd., they show that it must be looked upon as constituting a separate group of its own, which I shall call in this treatise the *Northern Gaudian speech*. Perhaps the circumstance which brings out most clearly that both M. and N. are really separate forms of speech as well as the W. and E. Gd. is this: that, as regards the past tense of transitive verbs, M. agrees morphologically (suffix *al*) with E. Gd., but syntactically (passive constr.) with W. Gd., while on the other hand N. agrees morphologically (suff. *ya* or *ia*) with W. Gd., but syntactically (active constr.) with E. Gd.

The result, then, so far arrived at is, that there are *four* great forms of speech, occupying the whole of North-India (viz. N. Gd., W. Gd., S. Gd., and E. Gd.). At a former period each constituted a single language. They have gradually broken up into varieties which in the W. Gd. and E. Gd. have already become distinct languages, while in the N. Gd. and S. Gd. they are as yet no more than dialects. Further, it has appeared that these *four* great forms of speech naturally divide themselves into *two* greater groups; one comprising the N. Gd. and W. Gd., the other the S. Gd. and E. Gd. This circumstance, then, points to a still more remote period in the glottic history of India, when there

1) Apparently only when there was originally a double consonant; e. g., N. *áphu* self, for H. *áp*, Pr. *appá*; N. *ághi* before, for H. *áge*, Pr. *agge*; N. *bálakh* child, for H. *bálak*, Pr. *valakko*; N. *májhad* for H. *májat*, Pr. *májjanto*, etc.; see S. Luke 1, 17. 24. 41. 11, 39.

2) e. g., root *gar* to do for *kar*.

were only two great varieties of speech current in North India, which divided that country diagonally between them; the one occupying the north-western, the other the south-eastern half. These two greater glottic divisions I shall designate, for reasons to be explained presently, the *Śaurasenī Prākṛit tongue* and the *Māgadhī Prākṛit tongue* respectively.

The oldest Prākṛit grammar, which we possess (that of Vararuchi, 1st cent. B. C.) enumerates four varieties of Prākṛit; viz. the Prākṛit proper, the Śaurasenī, the Māgadhī and the Paisāchī. The first of these is commonly called the Mahārāshṭrī (now Marāṭhī); the Śaurasenī (now Braj) and Māgadhī (now Bihārī) take their names from the provinces which form the centres of the W. Gd. and E. Gd. areas respectively; the Paisāchī is ascribed by some later Pr. grammarians¹⁾ to Nepāl among other places. Hence it might be thought, that those four ancient Prākṛit varieties are coordinate forms of speech and correspond to the four Gaudīan speeches. This view, however plausible at first sight, is certainly erroneous. The whole subject of the relation of the Prākṛits, as learned from the old native writers, to the Gaudīans, as known to us by actual experience, is involved in much confusion and obscurity, partly because of the sometimes uncertain, sometimes (seemingly) contradictory statements of those authors partly on account of the apparent discrepancy in phonological and morphological characters between the Prākṛits and the Gaudīans. The most probable account of the matter seems to be the following.

There are in reality only two varieties of Prākṛit. One includes the Śaurasenī and the (so-called) Mahārāshṭrī. These are said to be the prose and poetic phases of the same variety, and even this distinction is, probably, artificial. The other is the Māgadhī. The relation of Paisāchī to these two varieties may be roughly described as that of Low or Vulgar to High-Prākṛit. The latter

1) e. g., by Lakshmīdhara in his *Shāḍbhāṣā Chandrikā*, see Ls. 13.

It was used in literature, and never strictly a *spoken language*; it was more or less artificial from the very beginning, and became still more so in course of time. On the other hand, the Low-Prākṛit (or Paisācī) was the spoken language of the people; that is, probably in the beginning, of those aborigines, who fell under the domination and influence of the Aryan immigrants, and in whose mouth the Aryan vernacular was distorted into Paisācī. For that name is a term of contempt; the uncouth dialect of the *savages* or *cannibals*, as the Aryans called it. It is ascribed by the native grammarians to the tribes, bordering on the Aryan area in the north (Himālaya, Nepāl) and south (Paṇḍya, Dakṣiṇa)¹. Again the most striking feature of the Paisācī is its change of the Aryan *n*, *l* and the sonants into *ṇ*, *ḷ* and the surds respectively, which latter are peculiar to the Drāviḍian languages. According to Caldwell (Cp. Gr. p. 102—105) those languages had originally no sonant mutes. The Drāviḍians, therefore, when adopting Aryan speech, would naturally mispronounce its sonants as surds. All this time, of course, the Aryan immigrants had their own *vernacular*, understood by that term the spoken language of the people as distinguished from its literary form. Gradually as the aboriginal population were amalgamated by the Aryan immigrants, the peculiarities of its Paisācī speech would naturally die out²); and the Aryan vernacular, incorporating whatever in the Drāviḍian speech was capable of assimilation, would remain the sole occupant of the field. This Aryan vernacular is called by the Pr. grammarians the *Apabhraṃṣa* Prākṛit, as being in their opinion a corrupted language in comparison with what they considered the purer, the

1) e. g., Lakṣmīdhara in the *Shāḍbhāṣā Chandrikā* says: piśācā-leśās tu vṛddhair uktāḥ, paṇḍya kekaya vāhlika sahya nepāla kuntalāḥ, mudeśa bhota gāndhāra haivā kanojanās tathā. Ls. 13.

2) None of the Gaudians show any trace of the Paisācī change of sonants into surds though some have the *ṇ* and *ḷ*; nor is any specimen of Paisācī found in the Pr. plays (Ls. 388); the ancient *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇādhya is supposed to have been written in a Paisācī dialect (see Pischel Diss. inaug. 32. 33). Pais. clearly died out at a very early period.

literary Prākṛit (i. e., the Mh.-Śr. and the Mg.). In reality it was merely the illiterate vernacular of the people spoken by the side of the literary Śaurasenī and Māgadhi, and certainly more ancient than the literary Mahārāṣṭrī¹). It follows, then, that the vernacular of the Aryans when spoken by themselves is the Apabhraṃṣa, and when spoken by the aborigines, the Paisācī. The Apabhraṃṣa, however, of the Pr. grammarians exhibits the Aryan vernacular, as it was at a rather later period than that in which it became Paisācī in the mouth of the aborigines²). Of the oldest Aryan vernacular (the *Ancient Apabhraṃsa*, as I may call it) which was the contemporary of Paisācī and probably not greatly different from it, we have no record; unless, indeed, it be the Pālī. In order of time, therefore, Pṣ. comes first, next the Ap. Pr., lastly Gḍ.; but in order of descent the series is: Anc. Ap. (or Pālī), Ap. Pr., Gḍ.³).

1) Compare e. g. the past part. pass. Śr. and early Ap. *kadhido* or *kahido*, Mg. *kadhide* or *kahide*, Mh. *kahio*, later Ap. *kahiu* „said“.

2) In the time of the later Pr. gramm., at all events, the knowledge of what Pṣ. really was, had become lost. Though, following old tradition, they all give the rules of Pṣ.; yet when they treat of its relation to the Ap., they are constantly confounding the two, and sometimes even invent an altogether new signification for Pṣ., making it equivalent to certain (more or less pure Skr.) styles of Ap. (e. g., R. T. in Ls. 23. & Exc. 6). — The chronological succession of the Pr. gramm. is still far from settled (see Pl. Diss.), but Hemachandra in the 12th century A. D., is probably the earliest grammarian, who mentions the Ap., while the first who notices the Pṣ. is Vararuchi in the 1st cent. B. C. (see Cw. VI), if not earlier. From this fact, however, it must not be concluded, that no Ap. existed in the time of Vararuchi. For the Ap. Pr. (even as known by H. C.) has some older forms than the Mh. Pr., and the latter is already treated of by Vararuchi. The reason of his omitting all mention of any Ap. was probably, that he intended to treat merely of the high or literary Pr. varieties; and, of course, there would be a literary Pṣ. Pr. variety, whenever the aborigines had to deal with High-Prākṛit.

3) Pais. or Pāl. or Anc. Ap. *kathito*, Ap. Pr. *kadhido* or *kahido*, W. Gḍ. *kahio* or *kahyo* said; Pṣ. *rutito*, Anc. Ap. *rudito*, Ap. *roido*, W. Gḍ. *roio* or *royo* wept; Pāl. *gamito*, Ap. Mg. *gamide* or Ap. Śr. *gamido*, E. Gḍ. *gail* or *geld* or W. Gḍ. *gajo* or *gayo*.

I have spoken of the Apabhraṃṣa or Aryan vernacular. But it must not be supposed that it was everywhere identical. The Aryan immigration gradually extended over an area, too wide to remain the home of one single form of speech. Accordingly the term Apabhraṃṣa must be understood to be the collective name of several Aryan vernaculars, spoken in various parts of North India. It is invariably used in this sense by Pr. grammarians. They always define it to mean the language of „*the Abhīras and other similar people*“¹⁾, i. e., briefly, of the lower orders, which constitute the mass of the population everywhere. In their enumeration of the various Ap., each of the provincial *languages* (as we now call them) occurs; e. g., Abhīrī (Sindhī, Maṛwārī), Āvantī (E. Rājputānī), Gaurjarī (Gujarātī), Bāhlikā (Panjābī), Śaurasenī (W. Hindī), Māgadhi or Prāchyā (E. Hindī), Odrī (Orīyā), Gauḍī (Bangālī), Dākṣiṇātyā or Vaidarbhiḱā (Marāṭhī) and Saippalī (Naipālī?)²⁾.

It will be noticed that in the above list the same Śaurasenī and Māgadhi Prākṛits are enumerated by the Pr. grammarians as Apabhraṃṣas or vernaculars, which they elsewhere treat of as literary or High-Prākṛits. On the other hand, it will be noted that the (so-called) Mahārāshṭrī Prākṛit does not occur in this list at all; nor, indeed, is it found in any list of Apabhraṃṣas or vernaculars. This shows plainly that the Mh. Pr. was not looked upon as the *vernacular* of any people, and that it did not take its name from the Mahārāshṭra (or Marāṭha) country. Indeed, it is doubtful, by what right that name is given to the particular form of Pr., which commonly bears it. In the oldest Pr. grammar of Vararuchi it is never so called, except once in-

1) Thus L. Dh. in the Sh. Ch.: *apabhraṃṣas tu bhāṣā syād abhīra-digīraṃ chayaḥ* (Ls. 12). The Abhīras, or Ahīras as they are now called, are a tribe, members of which are found in every part of North-India. They are cowherds by profession, but are considered by the natives to be a „good“ (Aryan) caste, a sort of inferior Rājputas.

2) See the lists of K. I. and R. T. in Ls. 18. & Exc. 5. 7.

cidentally at the end of the chapter on Śaurasenī¹). Again it is to be remarked that the great grammarians of the West and South, Hemachandra, Trivikrama and Śubhachandra, who must have been familiar with the living Marāṭhī vernacular, avoid the name altogether. The dialect in question is called by them simply *the* Prākṛit. They, probably, felt that the name was misleading. It is only in the Pr. grammarians of the East, Kramadeśvara, Mārkaṇḍeya, Lakshmidhara, Rāmāṭarkavāgiśa, etc., that the name Mahārāshṭrī is distinctly given to the dialect and connected with the Mahārāshṭra country²). This goes far beyond what is justified by Vararuchi's incidental use of the term. The probability is that they misunderstood his meaning. For he seems to use the term not as a *proper name*, but as a laudatory or descriptive expression, meaning „the Prākṛit of the great kingdom“ (i. e., of the famed country of the Doāb and Rājputānā, see note 1 on p. XXV) and therefore the *principal* Prākṛit. According to this view the term Mahārāshṭrī is not far from synonymous with what we now call Western Hindī. At all events, whatever interpretation may be given to the term, there can be no doubt that, as a matter of fact, the dialect so called is Western Hindī, and has no one point in common with Marāṭhī, in which the latter differs from Western Hindī (or W. Gaudian generally). Thus the Mh. Pr. past participle is made with *ia* (or *ya*) as in W. H., not with *al* as in M., the future is made with *ika* as in W. H., not with the auxiliary participle *la* as in M.; and the same is true, as will be shown afterwards (p. XXVII), in regard to the termination of masculine nouns with an *a*-base and to the oblique form or genitive singular. Thus in

1) After finishing his remarks on the Śr., he says: „the rest of that dialect is like the Mahārāshṭrī“ (*śeṣaṃ mahārāshṭrīvat* Vr. 12, 20); whence it is rightly concluded that by the name Mh. he refers to that Pr. dialect, which he had before treated of simply as *the* Prākṛit.

2) Thus K. I. or rather his commentator: „the Prākṛit of the Mahārāshṭra country is the principal Prākṛit“ (*prākṛtam mahārāshṭradesīyaṃ prākṛshṭabhāṣāṇam*); in Ls. 17.

four out of the five important morphological points Mh. Pr. agrees with W. H., and not with M.; the remaining point (the strong form of masculine nouns of an *a-base*), being common to both W. H. and M., is of no account in the question. It appears, then, that the Mh. Pr. is merely a particular form of ancient W. H., or rather since W. H. has become a distinct language in more recent times, of W. Gd. And Śr. Pr., as its name indicates (Śūrasena being nearly the same as Braj), is another form of the same. Together they represent the old W. Gd. speech. This fact is indicated by the peculiar manner of their use in the Pr. plays. For they are not employed as the languages of different peoples, but of different kinds of composition, Mh. for poetry, the Śr. for prose¹).

It has been already remarked that Pr. grammarians enumerate among the Apabhraṃśas or vernaculars a Māgadhi and a Śauraseni Apabhraṃśa. The two great Pr. varieties, the Māgadhi and the Śauraseni-Māhārāṣṭri, are simply the high or literary forms of these two low or Apabhraṃśa ones. They are, probably, to some extent artificial; yet there can hardly be a doubt — as the following comparison will show — that they have retained the leading peculiarities of the two vernaculars, of which they are the refinements.

The fact that these two vernaculars, the Mg. Ap. and the Śr. Ap., have furnished both the substratum and the name for the two great High-Pr. varieties, proves that they were the two leading vernaculars of North-India, typical of all the others. Accordingly we find that Pr. grammarians (as Mārkaṇḍeya, etc.) arrange the eastern dialects in a great group around the Mg. Pr. as their type. Among those which they name as its members, the following are the most important: the Māgadhi, Arddhamā-

1) Thus Viṣṇanātha Kavirāja in the Sahityadarpana says: „noble and educated women, speaking in prose, are to use Śr., but Mh. in speaking in verse“ (see Ls. 35).

gadhi, Dākshinātyā, Utkalī, and Śābarī¹). Māgadhi is the speech of modern Bihār and (western) Bangāl, and corresponds generally to the present Bangālī (incl. of the E. H. dialects, the Māgadhi and Maithilī). Arddhamāgadhi is described as a mixture of Māgadhi and Śaurasenī (or Māhārāshṭrī²); it follows that it must have been spoken to the west of Māgadhi, that is, in the Banāras district; it corresponds, therefore, to the Bhojpūrī or the E. H. *proper*. Dākshinātyā is the speech of Vidarbha, the modern Berār³) and adjoining districts. It corresponds, therefore, to the Dakhanī, one of the principal dialects of the present Marāṭhī, and thus to this language generally⁴). Utkalī is the speech of what is now called Orissa, and corresponds to the modern Oriyā. Śābarī is the name of the dialect spoken in the country lying between that occupied by Dākshinātyā on the one side and Māgadhi and Utkalī on the other (about the town of Ratnapur and the Mohar mountains). It will be seen, then, that the Mg. group of the Pr. grammarians consists of what we call now the Bangālī, Eastern Hindī, Oriyā and Marāṭhī languages, at a time when, probably, they were still dialects only of one great speech. Or, in other words, the old Mg. group includes both (what I call) the eastern and southern Gaudian speeches. Accordingly I have given to the two combined the name of the *Māgadhi Prākṛit tongue*.

In like manner, the same grammarians arrange the western dialects in a great group around the Śr.-Mh. Pr. as their type.

1) So R. T. in the Prākṛit Kulpataru; see Ls. 21.

2) Mḍ. quotes a saying of Bharata, that it is like Śr. (*śaurasenī adīratvād iyam eva arddhamāgadhi iti bharata*; 12th pada, fol. 49); and K. I. 12 (see Ls. 17. 393) connects it with the Mh. (*māhārāshṭrīmiśrārdhamāgadhi*). The description of E. H. as Arddhamāgadhi, i. e. half māgadhi, is a very good one; for E. H. has affinities with both Bangālī (= Māgadhi) and Western Hindī (= Māhārāshṭrī-Śaurasenī).

3) So in the S. D.: *dākshinātyā vaidarbhi* (see L. 36. 20).

4) Dākshinātyā is used to the present day in North India as a synonym for Marāṭhī; e. g., Marāṭhī Brāhmans are generally known only as Dākshinātya Brāhmans.

The most important members of this group are the Māhārāshtrī, Śaurasenī, Āvantī, Prāchyā, and Sakki. The Māhārāshtrī and Śaurasenī together represent W. Hindī; but as the future in *ih* is peculiar to Mh., and the fut. in *is* to Śr. (see Ls. 353, 4.), and on the other hand the Br. and Kn. have the fut. in *ih*, but Mw. the fut. in *as* (or *is*), it appears that Mh. corresponds to Br. and Kn., to which may be added Eastern Panjābī, while Śr. corresponds to Mw., and also to G. as having the same future in *as* (or *is*)¹). Āvantī is the speech of Ujjain and Eastern Rājputānā. Prāchyā, as its name indicates, is the most eastern member of the group and, probably, corresponds to Baiswārī²). Sakki is, probably, the speech of Sindh and the Western Panjāb³). Thus it appears that the Mh.-Śr. group consists of what we now call Western Hindī, Gujarātī, Panjābī and Sindhī. To these, for reasons previously stated, Naipālī must be added. In other words, the Mh.-Śr. group represents the Western and Northern Gaudian speeches; and accordingly I have called the two combined the *Śaurasenī Prākṛit tongue*.

1) Śūrasenā is the name of the country about Mathura or of the Vraj; but it must be remembered that Śr. and Mh. are with the Pr. grammarians not exactly the names of local, but of prose and poetic dialects. Vararuchi (or Kātyāyana, the author of the Vārtikas on Pāṇini, see Pl. 12), in whose Pr. grammar the term Mh. first occurs, lived according to Hindū tradition about 56 B. C. at the court of the „great king“ Vikramāditya (see Cw. VI), whose dominions included the whole of N. W. India. The principal „speech of that great country“ or Māhārāshtrī, as Vr. calls it, was taken by him, and after him by all Pr. grammarians, as the standard Prākṛit.

2) Prāchyā is explained in the S. D. as being equivalent to Gauḍī (*prāchyā gauḍīyā*, see Ls. 36) or, apparently, Bangālī. But, on the other hand, Mḍ. makes Prāchyā to be an offshoot of Śaurasenī (*prāchyāsiddhiḥ śaurasenīyāḥ* 10th pāda, fol. 47); while, according to Dandī (see Ls. 33), the Gauḍī follows the Mg. type. Besides, in another place, in a list of Apabhraṃsas, both Mḍ. and R. T. (see Ls. Exc. 7) distinguish the Prāchā from the Gauḍī. If, then, the Gauḍī is of the Śr. type, it can hardly be anything else than the Baiswārī, the intermediate dialect between E. Gḍ. and W. Gḍ.

3) Sakki is apparently the language of the Sakas (lat. sacae, Scythians) who overran W. India and were defeated in a great battle by Vikramāditya. In Sindh, many names of villages and towns contain the name Saka; e. g., the town Sakkar on the Indus.

Mg. Pr., then, coincides with S.-E. Gd. and Śr. Pr. with N.-W. Gd. in their geographical limits. It remains to be shown that they do so philologically also. It must be remarked *in limine*, 1) that the particulars noted by the Pr. grammarians with respect to the various Apabhraṃśas are extremely scanty and, for the most part, only phonological. From this it may be justly concluded — what, indeed, is probable a priori — that the Aps. did not materially differ from their respective High-Pr. forms in their great morphological and phonological features; 2) that the silence of the Pr. grammarians as to any particular peculiarity, now found in modern vernaculars, does not necessarily prove its non-existence in their time; for they note only those peculiarities of Pr., which they could, satisfactorily to themselves, trace to a Skr. origin; all others they simply left unnoticed as being deśya (see p. XXXVII); 3) that the dialect which is treated of by Pr. gramm., such as Hemachandra, simply as Apabhraṃśa, probably occupied in the western division a position analogous to that of the other which is spoken of simply as Prākṛit; i. e., one is *the* Apabhraṃśa as the other is *the* Prākṛit¹). But, as in the case of *the* Pr., so also in the case of *the* Ap. it must, no doubt, be understood, that its rules, unless where the contrary is expressly stated, extend to all other Aps. also.

We now proceed to the examination. Of the already mentioned six important characteristics, the syntactical one (regarding the construction of the past tense) must be at once set aside. The Pr. grammarians never refer to this point at all; and from Pr. writings very little evidence is to be obtained on the subject;

1) With Mđ. this chief Ap. is called Nāgarāpabhraṃśa; he expressly connects it with the Mh.-Śr., *the* Pr. of the western division (*nāgarāpabhraṃśa mahārāshṭrisaurasenyaḥ pratishṭhitam*); e. g., respecting conjugation: *atra cha kareḥ dhareḥ ityadau tasya svaraseshatvaṃ mahārāshṭryāśrayeṇa karedi dharedi ity ādau datvaṃ śaurasenyaśrayeṇa mantavyam* (17th pāda, fol. 53. 55); its identity with W. Gd. is shown by the fact, that Mđ. gives the characteristic W. Gd. possess. pronouns *merā, terā*, to the Nāg. Ap. (*tvadye teram, madye meram* 17th pāda, fol. 56).

though what little there is makes in favour of my theory (see § 371). There remain, then, the five morphological points. In regard to these, there is a striking coincidence between the evidence of Pr. gramm. and plays on the one hand, and the result of our enquiry concerning the difference of Mg. and Śr., on the other. Thus, *firstly*: Pr. gramm. state that nouns with an *a-base* end in *o* in Śr. P., but in *e* in Mg.; our enquiry shows that in W. Gḍ. and N. Gḍ. they end in *o* (or *au*), but in S. Gḍ. and E. Gḍ. in *á*, which vowel appears to be a modification of the Mg. *e* (see §§ 47. 48). *Secondly*: according to the Pr. gramm., the Western (cf. note on pg. XXVI) Ap. Pr. has a genitive singular (= oblique form, § 366) in *ahe*, the Mg. Pr. in *áha*; according to our enquiry W. and N. Gḍ. have an oblique form in *e*, the S. and E. Gḍ. in *á*; here *e* is a modification of *ahe* and *á* of *áha* (see § 365, 1. 6). *Thirdly*; from our enquiry it appears that W. and N. Gḍ. use almost exclusively the strong form (in *o*) for *a-bases*, while as to S. and E. Gḍ., it is used almost exclusively in M., much less in E. II. and very little in B. and O. (see § 205). Now the existence of special rules in Pr. gramm. about the use of the strong form (in *ao* = Skr. *akāḥ*) in the Mh. and Ap. Pr., and its common occurrence in Pr. literature (see Ls. 288. 460. 475. Wb. 69) prove its extreme frequency in the great Mh.-Śr. vernacular. As to the other great vernacular, the Mg., there is only the scanty evidence of Pr. literature; and from this it would appear that the strong form was very frequent in the southern Mg. vernaculars, the Śakarī, Śabari and, by analogy, Dākshinātyā (cf. Ls. 431), but rare in the northern, the Arddhamāgadhi (cf. Ls. 413, 7). There is, then, a sufficiently close agreement in this case also. *Fourthly*; in Gḍ. the past participle passive is used to make the past tense active. According to our enquiry, the N. and W. Gḍ. use the past participle in *ia* or *ya*, and the E. and S. Gḍ. a past participle in *al*. Now Pr. gramm. state that the past participle in *ia* is peculiar to the Mh.-Pr. (Vr. 7, 32. Ls. 363). As to the Mg. Pr. they give no general rule; but in the few cases,

where the past participle is expressly noted, it ends in *da* (see Vr. 11, 15), and from another rule on the nominative it would appear incidentally, that generally the past participle ended in *ida* (Vr. 11, 11. cf. Ls. 396, 4. 6. 400, 3 and H. C. 4, 260. 302). From Pr. literature it appears further, that in the Low-Māgadhīś *d* and *ḍ* were apt to be changed into *l* (see Ls. 412. 423). Here again, considering the scanty evidence, the agreement is sufficiently striking¹). *Fifthly*, our enquiry shows that N. and W. Gḍ. use a future in *ih* or *as*, but E. Gḍ. in *ab* or *ib*. The latter is simply the future participle passive used in an active sense, precisely as E. Gḍ. employs the participle past passive to form an active past tense (see § 487). The W. Gḍ. future in *ih*, however, is also used in E. II. (see § 509); and it is to be noted that both future forms are promiscuously used in it in the sense of the imperative (or precative) and the future (§§ 498. 508, note). Now according to the Pr. gramm., the future in *ih* or *iss* is peculiar to the Mh.-Śr. Pr. (H. C. 3, 166—170. 4, 275), and from Pr. literature it appears that the Mh. form in *ih* was used in Mg. also (see Ls. 413. 434); while the future in *ab* was confined to the lowest kinds of Mg. (Ls. 422; देव *you will give*). The latter future form was evidently considered very low. I know, indeed, only of that *one* instance of its admission into Pr. literature; but under the circumstances, it is sufficient to establish the agreement in question²).

1) It is quite possible that while the High-Mg. had the termination *ida* (or *ida*) the Low-Mg. vernaculars generally changed it into *ila* (or *ala*), but that the latter was considered by the Pr. Paṇḍits (supposing that the change of *d* or *ḍ* to *l* had already taken place in their time) altogether too vulgar to be frankly admitted into literature, excepting a few rare cases, such as *kale* for *kade* or *kaḍe* „done“. Though it is also possible that the universal change of the termination *ida* into *ila* may have taken place after their time.

2) The compound forms of tenses (e. g., the M. future) which constitute another morpholog. character, afford us no help here. These curious formations are neither found in the Pr. gramm. nor in Pr. liter. Either they were considered too vulgar to be noticed, or more probably

As regards the morphological characters, then, my contention that E. and S. Gd. together correspond to the old Mg. Pr., and W. and N. Gd. together to the old Śr. Pr. appears to be fully borne out, considering the kind and amount of evidence, that is available on the subject. It now remains to examine the phonological characters which, according to the Pr. grammarians, distinguish the Mg. Pr. from the Śr.-Mh. Of these the following four are the most important. Mg. changes 1) *s* into *ṣ* (Vr. 11, 3. H. C. 4, 288); 2) *r* into *l* (H. C. 4, 288); 3) *j* into *y* (Vr. 11, 4. H. C. 4, 292); and 4) *ksh* into *sk* (Vr. 11, 8. H. C. 4, 296). As to the change of *s, r, j* into *ṣ, l, y* respectively see §§ 16. 18. 20. As to the change of *ksh* into *sk*, according to the Pr. gramm., *ksh* changes in Mh.-Śr. Pr. into *kkh* (Vr. 3, 29. H. C. 2, 4), but exceptionally also into *chchh* (Vr. 3, 30. H. C. 2, 17). Now according to the analogy of all similar changes (e. g., of *st* into *tth* or *tṭh* Vr. 3, 11. 12), *kkh* presupposes a form *sk*, and *chchh* a form *ṣch*. It follows of necessity that at some period of the Indo-aryan vernacular *ksh* must have been pronounced sometimes as *sk*, sometimes as *ṣch*. But the link between these two forms *sk* and *ṣch* is *ṣk*; for the Mg. speaking people, according to their custom of turning *s* into *ṣ*, would pronounce *sk* as *ṣk*, and the palatal *ṣ* of the latter would gradually palatalize the conjoint *k* into *ch*, making *ṣch*; finally *ṣch* would change into *chchh*. Now in the change of *ksh* into *kkh* there are *two* steps; viz. 1) *ksh* into *sk*, 2) *sk* into *kkh*; but in the change of *ksh* into *chchh* there are *four* steps, viz. 1) *ksh* into *sk*, 2) *sk* into *ṣk*, 3) *ṣk* into *ṣch*, 4) *ṣch* into *chchh*. It is plain that if these changes proceeded, on the whole, *pari passu*, the Mg. speaking people would have got only as far as *ṣk*, when the Mh.-Śr. speakers had already arrived at *kkh*. Now this is almost exactly what Vararuchi states

they did not exist at all at that time, i. e. 6 or 7 centuries ago. It appears that the verb *as* „to be“ was the only verb used enclitically in Pr. times, and that the employment of the verb *achh* „to be“ and the participle *gā* „gone“ and *lā* „come“ in this manner is of later date.

to have been the case in his time; viz. Mh.-Śr. had *kkh*, but Mg. had *sk*. Here *sk* must be, probably, interpreted as *ṣk* by the general rule regarding the change of sibilants in Mg.¹⁾ (cf. Ls. 398). But the form *ṣk* was only a passing step in the phonetic evolution, the end of which has been reached long since, and now for some centuries already *ksh* is pronounced *chchh* or *chh* (see § 36). As the change of *s* into *ṣ* is general in B., partial in M., and rare in E. H. (see § 20), it is, accordingly, found that in most old tadbhava words B. and M. have *chh* for *ksh*, but E. H. has *kh* or even *h*²⁾. The rule is not quite strict; nor, indeed, has it ever been so; for many instances exhibiting the Mg. change of *ksh* to *chchh* occur already in the Mh.-Śr. Pr. (see Vr. 3, 30).

Thus it appears from philological considerations not less than geographical ones, that, at some former period of its history, North India was divided between two great forms of speech, which I call respectively the *Śauraseni tongue* and the *Māgadhī tongue*. Roughly speaking, their areas occupied, one the northwestern, the other the southeastern half of North-India. Their boundary line coincided with that which now divides the areas of the N. and W. Gḍ. from those of the S. and E. Gḍ. speeches. But there is reason to believe that at a still earlier period the limits of the Mg. area extended further towards the North West. For 1) the following morphological characters of the Mg. tongue are found in different parts of the Śr. area; a) the termination *á* of the strong masculine nouns with an *a-base* in P. and, to a certain extent, in Br. and Ku.; b) the termination *á* of the obli-

1) Pr. literature, apparently, has no example of *sk* or *ṣk* (cf. Ls. 408-428); but it has numerous examples of *ṣṭ*, where H. C. gives *ṣṭ* (see Cw. 181). H. C. and T. V. have the conjunct *ḥk* with the *jihvāmūliya visarga* for *s*, except in the case of *preksh* „to see“, where, curiously enough, all the steps are actually given: viz. *prekshate* and *peṣkadi* (or *peṣkadi*) in T. V. 3, 2. 34 and *peṣchadi* or *pechchhāi* in T. V. 3, 2. 32 (cf. H. C. 4, 295. 297).

2) e. g., B. *kāchhe* „near“, „at“, E. H. *kāhī*¹ (Skr. *kakṣhe*); or B. *māchhi*, M. *māṣi*, E. H. *mākhī* (or *māchhi*) „fly“ (Skr. *makṣhikā*); or B. *dachhin*, M. *ḍaṣin*, E. H. *dakhin* (or *dachhin*) „south“ or *dāhin* „right“ (Skr. *dakṣhiṇaḥ*).

que form singular in G., M., E. R. and, again to some extent, in Br. and Kn.; c) the genitive affix, which is not only in E. Gđ. (*kai, kar, er, ar*), but also in Br. and Kn. (*kau*) and probably in M. (*chú* or old M. *chiyd*) a modification of the Pr. *kario* (Skr. *krtah*), while G., P. S., and, probably, Mw. use one of a different origin (see § 377); d) the compound future in *lá* (or *lo*) which is possessed by N. and E. R. by the side of the Śr. future in *ih* (see § 509, 4); e) the past participle in *al* which is found in E. R., in as much as it is contained in the enclitic *lá* of the compound future, which is a curtailment of the past participle *ailá* „come“ (see § 509, 4). Again 2) there occur in the Śr. area the following phonological characters of the Mg.: a) the change of *l* to *n* is found in N. (in the compound future see § 509, 4) and in G. and P. (in the active affix *ncm, núm*, see § 375); b) the change of *l* to *r* is found also in S. (see § 16, also § 14 on *ñ*). It is also worth noting that the Pr. writers themselves supply indications of the partially Mg. character of E. R. and G.; the latter (called Abhíri), though generally classed with the Śr. group, is once included by R. T. in the Mg. (see Ls. Exc. 3); and as to E. R. or Âvanti see Ls. 417. 419¹).

Generally speaking, it will be observed, that the Mg. characteristics, beginning with a very few and isolated traces in the far West, increase in number, as we proceed towards the East, till at last at the present frontier of the E. and S. Gđ. areas they predominate so as to constitute the Mg. tongue. These circumstances seem to disclose the fact that sometime in the remote past the Mg. must have reached up to the extreme western frontiers and been the only language of North India; but that in course of time it gradually receded more and more towards the South and East

1) Still the general character of the Âvanti or E. R. is Saurasenî; thus Mđ. calls it expressly „a mixture of Mh. and Śr.“ (*âvanti syân mahârâshtrisauresenîyo tu samkarât, anayoḥ samkarâd âvanti bhâshâ siddhâ syât* 11th pâda fol. 47^b); and afterwards he says that Bâhlîkî is allied to it (*âvantiâm eva bâhlîkî* ibid. fol. 48^a); see also Ls. 435. 436.

before the advancing tide of the Śr. tongue, leaving, however, here and there in the deserted territories traces of its former presence. What the eastern and southern frontiers of the Mg. may have been in those early times, when it reached to the far West of India, it is impossible to say. Very probably, as it receded before the Śr., it may have conquered fresh territories in the South and East which had not been before occupied by any Aryan tongue. The headquarters of the Śr. tongue, whence it gradually spread toward the North-East and East, appear to have been in western Rājputānā. It is possible, in some measure, to trace the direction and extent of its advancing tide. Thus a) traces of its past participle in *ia* are found as far east as in B. and O. (see §§ 305. 503), but not in M.; b) traces of its oblique form in *e* are found as far east as in the Bh. and M.; c) traces of its future in *ih* are found as far east as in Bh. It will be seen, that the tide is fullest in the West (especially in Sindh, the Panjāb and Western Rājputānā), but gradually grows weaker and narrower as it advances eastward, mainly following the course of the broad valley of the Ganges, and working itself like a wedge into the Mg. area, which overlaps it on its southern and northern banks, in the E. R., G. and N., in which the Mg. relics are most noticeable.

From these indications it would appear that the Mg. tongue is the older of the two; that is, that its occupation of North India preceded the development and extension of the Śr. Perhaps this may be taken to point to the fact that two great immigrations of people of the Aryan stock into India took place at different periods, both speaking essentially the same language, though in two different varieties. For there can be no doubt that the two varieties, the Mg. and the Śr., whatever their differences may be, are essentially the same language, of which the Sanskrit variety, being its literary or high form, preserves on the whole the oldest phase. Thus one of the most striking points of identity is the ancient Skr. present tense active, which is preserved to the present day

in all Gd. languages of North-India alike (see § 474)¹). Even in those cases where the outward shape or grammatical use of a particular form widely diverged, the original unity can be traced by easy and natural steps. Thus as to outward shape, the E. Gd. future in *ab* or *ib* can be traced back (see § 314) to the ancient participle future passive in *tavya* (or *itavya*), and the E. and S. Gd. past tense in *al* or *il* to the ancient past participle passive in *ta* (or *ita*), which, in an other direction, has given rise to the N. and W. Gd. participle in *ia*. These two instances are also examples of a change in grammatical use. For in E. Gd. the two participles, which had originally a passive sense and indeed have it still in S. and W. Gd., are used to form active tenses, viz. the participle future passive in *itavya* to form the future active in *ab* or *ib*, and the participle past passive in *ita* to make the past active in *al* or *il*. Here the intransitive verbs, the „passive“ of which naturally becomes a „middle voice“, afford the connecting link (see §§ 303, note. 309. 371. 487).

We have traced the Mg. tongue back to the extreme western frontiers of North India. Beyond that line lie the areas of the Pashtú and Káfirí languages. They immediately adjoin that of the present Panjábí. Trumpp in his essays on those two languages²) has called attention to their many affinities with the Gaudians. Among these there are some with both of the principal varieties of Gd., the N.-W. Gd. or Śr. and the S.-E. Gd. or Mg. But what is, perhaps, more remarkable than the mere fact of their affinity is that, in some of the oft-mentioned great test-points, they — and more especially the Pashtú — exhibit decided Mg. characteristics. Thus a) the masculine strong form of *a-bases* ends in Pashtú with *ai*, corresponding to E. and S. Gd. *á*, Mg. Pr. *aë*; b) the past participle ends with *alai* (strong form) or *al* (weak form)

1) Modern M. is an exception in using this old pres. tense as a habitual past; but old M. retains it as a present tense.

2) See J. G. O. S. vol. 20 pg. 377 and vol. 21 pp. 10 ff. 23.

corresponding to (strong form) *alá* in M. and (weak form) *al* in E. H. ¹⁾; e) the Káfirí has a compound future made with the enclitic participle *la*, just like the M. future and the E. H. present ²⁾; d) the auxiliary verb has in Pashtú an initial *š*, like the initial *s* of M., which is a modification of the E. Gđ. *chh* ³⁾; e) Pashtú like M. has a double set of palatals, viz. *ch* and *ts*, *j* and *dz*. Lastly f) Pashtú has the dative affix *lah*, like the M. *lá*, and the dative affix *vatah*, like the E. H. *bate* or *bare*.

It would appear from this, that the Mg. Pr. and the Pashtú and Káfirí were once in close connection, perhaps one language; and that, at some time in the remote past, they became separated by the Šr. Pr. tongue, like a wedge, cleaving them asunder and gradually pushing the Mg. farther and farther away towards the east.

Accordingly four periods may be distinguished in the linguistic history of India. First, when the Mg. tongue, in some form, was the only Aryan vernacular in North India. Secondly, when the Šr. tongue existed there beside the Mg. Thirdly, when these were broken up, each into two speeches, the W. and N. Gđ. and the E. and S. Gđ. Fourthly, when these four speeches were subdivided into the several Gđ. languages. The last period is that now prevailing. As to the date of the first period we know nothing. The earliest Pr. grammar of Vararuchi (1st cent. B. C. or earlier) already discloses, in the second period, the two great

1) e. g., weak form Psh. *kʀal* = E. H. *kayal*, B. *karil* = Ap. Mg. **karide*, Skr. *kṛtaḥ*; and strong form Psh. *kaʀalai* = M. *kelá* (for *kailá* = *karilá*) = Ap. Mg. **karidae*, Skr. *kṛtakāḥ*. — The other, i. e. the Šr., form of the past part. also occurs in Psh. It ends in a *quiescent* (weak form) or in *ai* (strong form), precisely as in W. and N. Gđ.; e. g., weak form Psh. *kaʀ* or *kʀah* „done“, O. H. *kar* or *kari* = Ap. Pr. *kariü*, Mh. Pr. **kario*, Skr. *kṛtaḥ*; strong form Psh. *kaʀai* = Bs. *kará* or Br. *karau* or *karyau* = Ap. Pr. *kariaü*, Mh. Pr. **kariao*, Skr. *kṛtakāḥ*. But it should be remembered that the E. Gđ., too, has both part., to make the first and second preterites, see §§ 503. 505.

2) e. g., Kf. 3. sg. *baláde* „he will say“ = M. *bolel*, E. H. *boláid*.

3) e. g., Kf. *ši* „he is“ = M. *ase*, O. *chhe* or *achhe*, B. *chhe* or *áchhe*.

divisions of the Sr. and Mg. in occupation of North India. The earliest Gd. literature exhibits the third period already existing; for in the Western Gaudian poet Chand (end of 12th cent. A. D.) W. H., P. and G. are indistinguishable; in the Southern Gaudian poets Námdeva and Dnándeva (end of 13th cent. A. D.) M. is seemingly separate; in the Eastern Gaudian poet Bidyapati (middle of 14th cent. A. D.¹) B. and E. H. are as yet one language. The later Gd. writers of the 15th, 16th and 17th cent. (as the W. Hindi Kabir, the E. Hindi Tulsí Dás, the Bangálí Kabi Kankan, the Oriya Upendro Bhanj, the Maráthí Tukarám, the Gujarátí Narsingh Mehta; see Bs. I, 82—96) show the modern division of the Gd. languages already existing.

Note. I believe, it will be found on closer examination of the W. H. that its two dialects, the Mw. and Br., must, in reality, be classed as two different languages of the W. Gd. group, in the same sense as P. and G. For Mw. and Br. differ from each other in the same degree, as either of those two from P. and G. Thus in declension: 1) the termin. of the obl. form sg. of strong masc. nouns of the *a*-base is *á* in Mw., but *e* in Br.; here Mw. agrees with G., but Br. with P.; e. g., Mw. *ghorá ro*, G. *ghodá no* „of a horse“; Br. *ghore kau*, P. *ghore dá*; 2) Mw., like S., uses no active case-affix; but Br. has *nem*, corresponding to P. *nai*; e. g., Mw. *ghorai*, G. *ghodáe*, „by a horse“; Br. *ghore nem*, P. *ghore nai*. In conjugation: 1) Mw., like G., forms the fut. ind. with the suff. *as*, but Br. with *ih*; e. g., Mw. *karasi*, G. *karase* but Br., *karihai* „he will do“; 2) the auxiliary verb has *chh* in Mw. and G., but *h* in Br. and P.; e. g., Mw. *chhai*, G. *chhe* „he is“; Br. and P. *hai*; etc.

1) Or, according to Beames (Ind. Antiquary Febr. 1873), middle of the 15th cent.

Table of Affinities.

Literary.	High = Vernaculars = Low.				Semi- aryan.
	Ancient Sansk.				
Class. Skr.	Pāli	Anc. Ap.			Pais.
	Mh.-Śr., Mg.	Ap. Mg.	Ap. Śr.		
		E. Gd.	S. Gd.	W. Gd.	N. Gd.
	H. B., H. II., etc.	O., B., E. II.	M.	W. II., P., G., S.	N.
					Urdū.

EASTERN HINDI LITERATURE.

As regards E. H. literature, there is very little to be said. In the E. II. proper or the Bhojpúrí there is, apparently, no literature whatever, either prose or poetry. All my inquiries on this subject have been alike fruitless. I have heard people say, that there are a few poems in the more easterly dialects of the E. II., as the Maithili. But I suspect the reference was to the well known religious songs of Bidyapati and others of the Vaishṇava school. These, however, belong to the earlier period, in which E. II. was not yet separate from B. The only specimens of literature of the strictly E. II. period are the writings of Tulsí Dás, especially his great work, the Rámáyan, a Hindí version of the well known story of Ráma, though not by any means a translation of Válmiki's famous Sanskrit work of the same name. The language of Tulsí Dás, however, is not E. H. proper or Bhojpúrí, but the Baiswári, which is a dialect formed by a mixture of W. and E. II. (see pp. V. VI). Tulsí Dás was a native of Hájipúr, a village near the celebrated hill of Chitrakúṭa in the state of Riwá, about 50 miles S. E. of the town of Bandá in Bandelkhand. He lived from 1541 to 1624. Once he made a journey to Brindaban (and Delhi?); but for the most part he lived in Benares as minister of the Rájá of that town. For some more, mainly legen-

dary particulars of his life, see Garcin de Tassy's *histoire de la littérature Hindouie* vol. 3, pp. 235—244, where also some other less known works of his are enumerated.

All the other celebrated Hindí poets wrote in some dialect of W. H., generally Br. or Kn. The oldest of them is Chand Bardaí, who was a native of Lahore, but lived at the court of Prithiráj, the last Hindú ruler of Delhi, at the end of the 12th cent. He is the author of the *Prithiráj Rasau*, an epic poem recounting the exploits of that monarch. He belongs, however, strictly speaking, to the pre-Hindí period, when W. H. was not as yet separate from P. and G. Next to him come Kabír of Benares in the second half of the 15th cent., the author of the *Ramainis* and *Šabdas*. After him are Śúr Dás of Mathurá, Nabhájí and Keshava Dás of Bijapúr, the authors respectively of the *Súrságar*, the *Bhaktamálá* and the *Rámchandrika*, etc. They flourished in the 16th cent., during the reigns of Akbar and Shah Jehan, the Augustan age of North India. Then follow Biháří Lál of Ambir near Jaipúr, the author of the *Satsai*, and Lál Kavi from Bandelkhand, the author of the *Chhatra Prakaś*, in the 17th cent. For further particulars as to the lives and works of all these poets, see the respective articles in Garcin de Tassy's *hist. de la litt. Hind.* They all were natives of Western Hindústán, except Kabír, whose sect (the Kabír-panthís) still numbers most of its adherents in the E. II. area. He was born in or near Benares, and died and is buried in Magahar near Gorakhpúr in the Benares district. Yet his writings are certainly not in E. II., but in W. H. The fact is strange and has not, I think, been sufficiently noticed. Though he afterwards became a Hindú and even the founder of a Hindú sect, he was brought up originally by his Muhammedan foster-father in his own religion; and apparently he spent some part of his life in or near Delhi at the time of the emperor Sikandar Lodi. Perhaps one or both of these facts may be the reason of the peculiarity.

THE TERMS TATSAMA, TADBHAVA, etc.

The term *tatsama* means lit. „the same as it“ or *Sanskritic*. It denotes properly those Gaudian words which have retained exactly the same form as they were in Sanskrit; e. g., E. H. *bhrātā* „brother“, *rājā* „king“. But practically it includes all words which have been reintroduced into the Gd. directly from the Skr., though in the process they have undergone slight phonetic changes, analogous to, but not so thorough as those which have been suffered by the tadbhava words (see §§ 40 ff.); e. g., E. H. *chhamā* „forgiveness“, for Skr. *kṣhamā*; E. H. *āgyā* „command“, for Skr. *ājñā*; E. H. *bisnu* „Vishnu“, for Skr. *viṣṇuḥ*; E. H. *kripā* „mercy“, for Skr. *kṛpā*; E. H. *karam* „work“, for Skr. *karma*; E. H. *putar* „son“, for Skr. *putrah*. These might be called *semitatsamas*.

The term *tadbhava* means lit. „having the same nature as it“ or *Prākritic*¹⁾. It denotes those Gd. words which, though the same in substance as in Skr., are considerably different in form. Practically it includes all those words which have come into Gd. from the Prākrit, and not from the Skr. In the E. H. these

1) Pr. Gramm. distinguish two kinds of tadbhavas; thus S. R. (fol. 1^a) *saṃskṛtabhavaś cha dvividhā, siddhyamānasamskṛtabhavaś siddhasamskṛtabhavaś cheti*; i. e. „there are two kinds of words which have the same nature as in Sanskrit; viz. those which must be shown to be so, and those which are admittedly so.“ It is not quite clear, however, wherein the distinction exactly consists, as no examples are given. Probably such forms are referred to, as *rāt* and *rattī* „night“ (H. C. 2, 88), both for Skr. *rātriḥ*. The latter (*rattī*) is a *siddha tadbhava*, for its identity with the Skr. *rātriḥ* is evident and follows from the general rules (viz. H. C. 2, 79. 1, 84); but the former (*rāt*) is a *sāddhyamāna tadbhava*, because its identity must be established by a special rule (viz. H. C. 2, 88). It will be seen that the distinction is analogous to what in Gd. I have distinguished as *semitatsamas* from the proper tadbhavas (as *putar* and *pūt* „son“), or to Beames' distinction of *late* and *early tadbhavas* (see Bs. I, 13–17). But our „semitatsamas“ or „late tadbhavas“ are not identical with the Pr. Gramm. *siddha tadbhavas*; for the former *ex hypothesi* have not come through the Pr. at all, but are directly resuscitated from the Skr. at various periods. For this reason, and because they are clearly nearer in form to the pure tats. than to the pure tadbh., I have preferred to class them as a subdivision of tats. rather than (as Bs.) of tadbh.

words are generally obtained from the A. Mg.; but sometimes from the Śr. Thus compare the following prakritic words with the above list of sanskritic ones: E. II. *bhāi* „brother“ for A. Mg. *bhāie*; E. H. *rāy* „king“ for A. Mg. *lāyā* or *lāā*; E. H. *khet* „field“ for A. Mg. *khetam* (Skr. *kṣhetram*); E. H. *dāhin* „right“ for Pr. *dāhiṇam* (Cw. 100. Skr. *dākṣiṇam*); E. H. *ān* „order“ for Mg. *aññā* (H. C. 4, 293); E. II. *kānh* „krishṇa“ for A. Mg. *kaṇhe* (Skr. *krishṇah*); E. II. *kisān* „husbandman“ for A. Mg. *kisāne* (Skr. *kṛshāṇah*); E. II. *kām* „work“ for A. Mg. *kamme*; E. H. *pūt* „son“ for A. Mg. *putte*; etc. It should be remembered that the Gds. are not descended from the high or literary (Mh.-Śr. and Mg.) Pr., but from the low vernacular or Ap. (Śr. and Mg.) Pr. This fact explains, why some Gd. tadbhava words show a higher state of preservation than that observed in the corresponding words of the High-Pr.; for, in some instances, the latter had suffered a greater amount of decay than those of the Low-Pr. Generally speaking, the Low-Pr. is more tenacious of medial consonants than High-Pr. (see Ls. 396. 457). Thus E. H. *rāti* „night“, Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *latti* (cf. H. C. 4, 330), but High-Mh. Pr. *rāi* (Vr. 3, 58, but also *ratti*); E. H. *khāi* „eaten“, Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *khāida*, but Mh. Pr. *khāio*. Sometimes the more and the less perfect forms exist side by side; as E. H. *gāis* (= *gāi* + *s* „thou wentest“), for Ap. (Śr.) Pr. *gāiu si* or *gāido si* or *gamido si* (Pāli *gamito si*, High-Mh. Pr. *gao si* or *gado si*) and E. II. *gāitēs* or *gāitēs* „thou wentest“, for Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *gāida si* or *gamide si*. Hence, in some cases, it will always be doubtful whether a particular form must be considered as prakritic or sanskritic. Thus E. H. has both *nair* (or *nayar*) and *nagar* „town“; the former is clearly a tadbhava for A. Mg. *ṇayalam* or *ṇaalam*; but the latter may be either a tatsama for Skr. *nagaram* or a tadbhava for Ap. Mg. *ṇayalam*.

Native grammarians add the *deśya*, as a third division, to the tatsama and tadbhava¹). The term *deśya* means lit. „belonging

1) Thus S. R. (fol. 1^a) *iha prakṛtasabdās trāḍhā, saṃskṛtasamās saṃskṛtabhavad deśyās cheti*; i. e. „there are three kinds of Prakrit words, viz. the same as Skr., of like nature as Skr., and provincial (or country born).“

to the country", i. e., *provincial* or perhaps *aboriginal*. They designate by this name all those words which they are unable to derive satisfactorily to themselves from some Skr. word and, therefore, consider to have had their origin in the country (i. e., *rural* or *provincial*). In what way exactly they suppose them to have originated is not clear; namely whether borrowed from the aborigines, or invented by the rustic Aryans themselves in post-sanskritic times (Beames I, 12), or so corrupted by their common parlance from a Skr. original as to make them unrecognisable. The last seems to me the most probable, to judge from the sentiment of modern Paṇḍits on the subject. The results of modern research tend towards diminishing the number of these *deśya* words, by discovering, through means unknown to native grammarians, their real origin and tracing them back to Pr. and Skr. In so far, they make in support of the opinion of those grammarians. But the question, as to whether they are or are not Aryan, is by no means decided thereby. A word may be Prākritic or Sanskritic, and yet may not be Aryan. Whatever non-Aryan elements there may be in the Indo-aryan languages, they must have been incorporated in the earliest times; i. e., at the period, when *Paṣācī* and the Ancient *Apabhraṃṣa* were spoken by the subject aborigines and their Aryan conquerors respectively, and when old Sanskrit was the Aryan high language; a period which was anterior to that of what is now commonly called (classical) Sanskrit.

Natives distinguish between the *ṭheṭh* or *gāṃvārī* and the *khari* or *nāgarī bhāṣā*. *Ṭheṭh* means *genuine* or *pure* and *gāṃvārī* means *rustic* or *vulgar* (from *gāṃ* = *grāma* „village“); again *khari* means *standard* and *nāgarī* *urban* or *cultivated* (from *nagar* „town“). The relation of these two *bhāṣās* is analogous to that of English or rather of the South-German dialects as spoken in the towns or by the educated and the same as in the mouth of the village peasantry. The difference exist mainly in the pronunciation and in the vocabulary. Thus, in the *ṭheṭh bhāṣā* the auxiliary verb is pronounced *bārāi* or *bārāi*, but in the *khari bhāṣā* *bātāi*. Again in the latter, tatsama and even Urdū words are much more frequently employed than in the former which is almost entirely destitute of them. The specimens of E. II. appended to this grammar, being written by a Paṇḍit, are rather in the *khari* than in the *ṭheṭh bhāṣā*.

FIRST SECTION. ON LETTERS AND SOUNDS.

1. CHAPTER. THE ALPHABET.

1. The E. H. is commonly written in the *Kaithí* (कैथी or कड़्ही) alphabet. Its name is derived from Káyath (Skr. कायस्थ), the designation of the writer-caste among the Hindús. Though it has a general resemblance to the modern Devanágari, there are but few of its letters, which do not exhibit some points of difference; indeed, as will be seen by a reference to the table, all the vowels, and the consonants *kh*, *ch*, *jh*, *bh*, *d*, *dh* and *r* differ entirely in the two alphabets; and the horizontal top-line is omitted by the Kaithí in all letters alike¹). It will be further noticed, that in Kaithí the consonants *k* and *ph*, *p* and *dh*, *r* and *l* very closely resemble each other, being distinguished in each case merely by the addition of a hook or curve to the latter; again, that there is only one sign for each of the following groups of Nágari letters: 1) ण (properly = *n*) for the nasals ण *ñ*, ञ *ñ*, ण *n*, ण *n*; 2) श (a combination of *s* and *ś*) for the sibilants स *s*, ण *ś*, ण *sh*; 3) व for the labials ब *b* and व *v*; 4) ण (properly = *j*) for the palatals ण *j* and ण *y*; and also that of the two forms of *h* one is very much like to one of the two forms of *dh*, the other to one of the two forms of *y*. For the vowels Kaithí has only four fundamental signs: अ *ā*, इ *ī*, ए *ē*, ओ *ō*. The others

1) Sometimes a series of lines is first ruled across the page, and the letters are afterwards hung on to them. These lines must not be confounded with the top-line of the Devanágari, and in native writing the two are easy to distinguish.

are distinguished by diacritical marks, as shown in the table. In Manuscripts the initial *í* and *ú* are rarely distinguished from *ĩ* and *ũ* or the medial *ú* from *ũ*. It will be seen that altogether the Kaithí alphabet has only *twenty nine* distinct signs. It is used in printing as well as in writing; but owing to the preponderance of H. H., which has adopted the Devanágari, the latter is much more common in books. I shall adopt it in this work also, as the more generally known of the two.

2. *Affinities.* Four principal types of alphabet are used in North-India; the Kaithí, the Bangálí, the Oṛiyá and the Gurmukhí. The Kaithí is the most widely spread; it is used in writing not only in Eastern, but also, slightly modified, in Western Hindústán, Maráthá and Gujarát. In G. and sometimes in E. H. it is adopted also in print. The Bangálí, Oṛiyá and Gurmukhí are used in Bangál, Orissá and the Panjáb respectively, in writing and printing. The Gurmukhí probably takes its name from being originally used in committing to writing the oral traditions of the Sikh Gurus (Nának, etc.). The general likeness of these four types to one another as well as to the older Kutila and Gupta is unmistakeable, though their exact relation among themselves, their origin and age are matters not as yet fully elucidated. For some account of them see Bs. I, 54 ff. Besides these, there are two sub-types much in use in the area occupied by the Kaithí, to which they are the most nearly related. These are the Nágari or Devanágari and the Mahájani or Koṭhívál. The first is an improvement, the second a corruption of the Kaithí or of its more ancient original. The exact meaning of the term Devanágari (divine city alphabet) is uncertain; but it suggests its being, as it certainly is, a caligraphic (polished or sacred) writing. The Mahájani (mercantile) is, as its name implies, the shorthand writing of the merchants and bankers, their *Koṭhívál* or *office-writing*; and is still commonly used by them. The Devanágari, on the other hand, is the type adopted for printing in Hindi and Maráthí; and as it is exclusively taught in the schools, it

4. The neutral vowel is the shortest possible vocal utterance, and very obscure in its character. It may be compared to the English *u* in *but*; but it is shorter and more indistinct; like the vowel in the final syllables *ble* or *tre*, as in *amiable*, *centre*. It resembles the Hebrew *Sh'va mobile*; just as *ě* is like the Hebrew *Khateph Segol*, and *ǒ* like the Hebrew *Khateph Qamez*.

5. The five special E. H. vowels are principally met with in the following places:

a) the neutral vowel is pronounced: 1) often in rustic speech, at the end of a word, instead of the *quiescent* *ā* (see § 24), as घर- ghar' house, for घर ghar; and 2) in the penultimate of any word having more than two syllables and ending in a heavy one; as घर-वा ghar'vá house; घोडा-वा ghōṛ'vá horse; कर-तो kar'tō if I did; पढ़-लो parh'lō I read, etc. A compound consisting of two polysyllabic words is treated as if the words were distinct.

b) the short *ě*, *ǒ*, *ā*, *ā* occur 1) always in the antepenultimate; e. g., बेटिया bēṭiyá daughter; पड़ोसिया parōsiyá neighbouring; लोट-वा lōṭ'vá vessel; बोलावत bōlāvat calling; 2) optionally in the genitive affixes के kě and कै kái as घर के ghar kě of the house (see § 372); 3) in the short pronominal forms in ह (see § 433), as जेह कर् jēh kar of which (but जे कर् jé kar); 4) in the conjugational suffixes ऐस् ěs, ऐन् ěn and ऐँ āi (see §§ 504. 506); as कर-तेस् kar'těs (if) thou didst; पढ़-लेस् parh'lěs he read; रह-लेस् bylěs thou remainedst; कर-तेन् kar'těn (if) they did; पढ़-लेन् parh'lěre they read; कर-तै kar'tāi (if) they did; पढ़-लै parh'lāi they read; first the suffix ए ě of the conjunctive participle (§ 490), as कहे के kalē of having said; 6) in some frequently used words, as और āir and औ āū and (see § 26).

6. *Affinities.* The short vowels (they are not diphthongs) *ě* and *ǒ* must have existed in Pr. already; thus before conjuncts, as in पोट्रा (or पिट्रा for निट्रा Vr. 1, 12), पोट्रं (for नीट्रं Vr. 1, 19), सेचं (for शैचं Vr. 1, 35), सेज्जा (for शय्या Vr. 1, 5), सेव्वा, ऐक्कं (for सेवा, एकं Vr. 3, 58), etc.; and मोज्जा (for मुक्का Vr. 1, 20), जेव्वाणं (for यौवनं Vr. 1, 41), तेज्जोक्कं (for त्रैलोक्यं Vr. 3, 58), etc.

See Ls. 145. 149. Cw. XVIII. Their existence, however, is, I believe, nowhere distinctly noticed by Pr. Gramm., except in the Ap. Pr. by H. C. (4, 410) and T. V. (3, 4. 68), कादिस्थैदोतोर उच्चारलाघवम् । i. e., after consonants *ě* and *õ* are usually pronounced short. — Both the short vowels *ě*, *õ*, *ai*, *au* and the neutral vowel are peculiar to E. Gd. The subject, however, has been as yet little attended to by Gd. Grammarians. As regards the short vowels, B. shows the short *ě*, e. g., in ऐक् *ěk* one, and short *õ* in गोम् *gõm* wheat, बोले *bõle* he speaks, etc. Oriyá, generally, follows the example of B. (see Bs. I, 69). It is usual, apparently, to substitute *ǎ* for *õ* in writing; thus B. गम्, बले; the same as occasionally in E. H. (see § 26). It is probable, that originally all Gd. languages possessed *ě* and *õ*; S. has still preserved the *ě* in some cases, but ordinarily it reduces *ě* to *ĩ*, and always *õ* to *ũ* (see Tr. X—XIII). The other W. Gd. languages always substitute *ĩ* and *ũ* for *ě* and *õ* (as to *ě* and *õ* in P. see Ld. 4); even the E. Gds. do so occasionally, see § 26 (cf. S. Ch. 330). The Psh. has both *ě* and *õ* (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 33—35). — In B. the final of the weak adjectives, is pronounced like *õ*, e. g., बड़ *bõrõ* great; but it must not be confounded with the real *õ* which is a shortening of ओ *ó*, while this *õ* is a modification of अ *ǎ*; as shown by O., which pronounces *ũ*; e. g., बड़ *bũrũ*. E. II. agrees with the W. and S. Gds. in dropping the vowel *ũ* at the end of all words; see § 24. On the other hand, both the Psh. and Kf. still retain it (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 33. XX, 393). — In tatsamas with a conjunct य् or व् before the final ञ्, the latter is commonly pronounced, as योग्य *yogyá* worthy, तत्त्व *tatva* substance.

Note: The elision of a medial neutral vowel produces a conjunct consonant. Consequently in H. H. and in M. a conj. cons. is sometimes written, as II. H. ब्रिन्ती *brintí* for ब्रिन्-न्ती *brin'tí* petition, H. H. दुल्हा *dulhá* for दुल्-हा *du'lhá* bridegroom, M. राम्या *rám'yá* for राम-या *rám'yá* Rám, or घोड़्या *ghod'yá* for घोड़-या *ghod'yá* of a horse (obl. form). It would be well, if this system of phonetic spelling were carried out uniformly.

7. The E. H. does not possess the four vowels ऋ *ṛi*, ॠ *ṛi*, लृ *lṛi*, ॡ *lṛi* of the Skr. phonetic system. Even in Skr. they occur rarely and are more or less artificial. In Pr. they had already disappeared; consequently they could not well survive in the modern Gd. In Hindī certainly, whether E. or W., they are never pronounced. In H. H. it is customary to write ऋ *ṛi* in tats. words; but in speaking the syllable रि *ri* or even इर *ir* is always substituted; thus Skr. अमृत *ambrosia* is always pronounced *amrit* (अमृत्) or *amirt* (अमिर्त्); Skr. कृपा *favor kripá* (क्रिपा) or *kirpá* (किर्प). Perhaps it would be well to follow the example of the old Prākṛit Grammarians and apply their system of phonetic spelling to our modern H. H. also. In any case it is incorrect to enumerate these four vowels or any of them as parts of the Hindī phonetic system.

8. *Nasalization*. In E. H. a vowel is pronounced in many words with a nasal tone, precisely as *n* or *m* in such French words, as *compensation*. This tone is indicated by the symbol (·), called the *arddhachandra* (*halfmoon*); the tone itself is called *anunásika* (*co-nasal*); see § 23. I shall transliterate it by a *circumflex*. It generally occurs with a long vowel, rarely with a short one or with the semivowels य् and व्; e. g., रहन्तो *rah'tō*, लेई *lei*, कोई *koī*, होई *hōih*, नौदू *nāūd*, or चललै *chalalāi*, कुम्हूर *kuāṛ*, कुम्हारी *kuāṛi*, जाँय *jāy*, जाँव *jāv*.

9. *Derivation and affinities*. The *anunásika* generally (except occasionally before ह् and र्, see § 67) indicates the elision of a consonant, i. e., of a nasal, when it occurs between two vowels (§§ 127. 128), and of the first part of a conjunct when it stands before a consonant (§ 149). The first case alone occurs in later Pr.; neither of them in earlier Pr. or in Skr.; both are common in all Gds.; see § 23.

2. CONSONANTS.

10. The E. H. possesses *thirty five* consonants. They consist of twenty consonants proper or *mutes*, five *nasals*, nine *semi*

vowels and one *sibilant*. They may be further classified according to the organ of utterance into gutturals, palatals, cerebrals (or *mūrdhanya*), dentals, labials, and according to the degree of audibility into *surd* or hard and *sonant* or soft ones; as exhibited in the following table.

	Consonants proper				Nasals sonant	Semivowels sonant or soft		Sibi- lants surd
	surd or hard		sonant or soft					
	unasp.	aspir.	unasp.	aspir.	unasp.	unaspirate	aspirate	unasp.
guttural	क् <i>k</i>	ख <i>kh</i>	ग् <i>g</i>	घ <i>gh</i>	ङ <i>ṅ</i>	—	ह <i>h</i>	—
palatal	च् <i>ch</i>	छ <i>chh</i>	ज् <i>j</i>	झ <i>jh</i>	ञ <i>ṇ</i>	य् <i>y</i>	—	—
cerebral	ट् <i>ṭ</i>	ठ् <i>ṭh</i>	ड् <i>ḍ</i>	ढ् <i>ḍh</i>	ण् <i>ṇ</i>	र <i>r</i>	ऋ <i>ṛh</i>	—
dental	त् <i>t</i>	थ <i>th</i>	द् <i>d</i>	ध <i>dh</i>	न् <i>n</i>	र <i>r</i> or ल् <i>l</i>	ह् <i>rh</i> or ल्ह <i>lh</i>	स् <i>s</i>
labial	प् <i>p</i>	फ् <i>ph</i>	ब् <i>b</i>	भ <i>bh</i>	म् <i>m</i>	व् <i>v</i>	—	—

11. The E. H. palatals are pronounced like the English. Natives, generally good judges in such matters, do not seem, as far as I could learn from them, to have observed any difference between them. I believe the same is the case in B. and O. On the other hand, it has been often observed, that the W. H. palatals are rather more dental than the English; i. e., rather more like *ts*, *dz*¹⁾. This is probably true of all W. Gd. palatals; excepting, perhaps, Sindhi²⁾. In M. they are distinctly semidental, and are pronounced as *ts*, *ts + h*, *dz*, *dz + h*³⁾. It appears, therefore, that the E. Gd. palatals are more distinctly and truly palatal than the W. and S. Gd. This seems to have been noticed already by the Pr. Grammarians. It is noticeable that both the true palatals and the semidentals occur in Psh. and Kf.⁴⁾. In M.,

1) Thus, e. g., Kl. 11.

2) See Tr. 14. His meaning is not quite clear; he seems to identify them at the same time with the „common Indian“ (that is, apparently, the W. Gd.) and with the English palatals.

3) The true palatals occur also; but apparently only in tatsamas and before palatal vowels; cf. Bs. I, 72.

4) See Tr. J. G. O. S. XX, 393. XXI, 20. 23.

ङ् is almost universally pronounced and written स् or (generally before palatal vowels) ण्; e. g., M. रोस् *bear*, E. H. रोङ्; M. सूरी *knife*, E. H. झूरी; M. माशो *fly*, E. H. माङो (see Bs. I, 218). In Mw., both च् and ङ् are pronounced (but not usually written) स्; e. g., Mw. सङ्की *wheel* for E. H. चङ्की; Mw. सास् *buttermilk* for E. H. डाङ् (see Kl. 14, 25). Also G., S., P. and B. pronounce (and write) occasionally ङ् as ण्; e. g., G. शो *who* for S. डा (see § 438, 6); B. काणे or काङ् *near* (Bs. I, 218); S. सी for Mth. डो *we are*, P. सन् for N. इन् *they are*.

Note: Both the true reading and the true meaning of the Pr. Gramm. rule, however, are doubtful. Vr. 11, 5 (MS., see Cw. 89) has चवर्गस्य स्पष्टता तयोच्चारणः, which is explained by Bhāmaha चवर्गे यथा स्पष्टस् तयोच्चारणो भवति i. e. „the palatals are so pronounced as to be *distinct*“. My MS. of Md. (12th pāda, fol. 48^b) reads चयोरुपपन्नवः स्यात्। यकारागमः। चिर्। याम् ॥ If the examples can be trusted, the true reading would seem to be चयोरु उपरि यः स्यात् i. e. „*ya* is to be written above (i. e., as first part of a conjunct) the palatals and labials; this *ya* is an (inorganic) addition; e. g., *ychiram* long, *ymāa* (?)”¹). My MS. is a Nāgarī copy of one in Oriyā characters, in which य् and प् and again ण् and र्ि would closely resemble each other. K. I. 3 (in Ls. 393) reads यपचवर्गयुक्ता मनागुच्चार्यः, which would yield a sense similar to that of Md.^s rule: „the labials and palatals in conjunction with *ya* are slightly pronounced”; or, perhaps, rather: „*ya* in conj. with l. and p. is slightly pron.” This is confirmed by the example given in the rule on the Voca-tive (Md. 12, 22, fol. 49^a); see § 48, note.

12. The cerebrals are pronounced by striking the tip of the tongue against the centre of the hard palate, the dentals by striking it against the edge of the upper teeth. It has been a matter of much controversy, whether or not the former are originally Aryan sounds. They constitute a prominent feature of the Dravidian languages, whilst among the Aryans they are peculiar

1) *ymāa* mother (*mátā*) or illusion *máyā*?

to India. Hence it has been commonly assumed that they are an importation from the former. This, however, is by no means certain. I am inclined to agree with the opinion of Beames (I, 232—234), that cerebrals of some kind belong to the original stock of the Aryan phonetic system. It is a well known fact that the (so-called) dentals of all the Aryan languages of Europe, especially of England, when referred to the standard of the Indo-aryan (true) dentals are not real dentals at all, but cerebrals of more or less purity. They are formed by striking the tip of the tongue against the anterior part of the hard palate or the gum of the upper teeth; and therefore are semi-cerebrals. To natives of India, whose ears are quick in detecting differences of pronunciation, they sound like real cerebrals and in transliterating English words, they always represent our dentals by cerebrals, as डैरेक्टर *director*, सार्टिफिकेट *certificate* (cf. § 21). The pure dentals, therefore, are as peculiar to the Indoaryan languages as the pure cerebrals and might with equal reason be adjudged non-aryan. It is far more probable that the original Aryan sound was a semicerebral (if not a pure cerebral) which has in India only, for reasons peculiar to that country, varied in two directions so as to become the true cerebral and the true dental respectively. It is deserving of notice as making for this view, that the old Indoaryan (Sanskrit) cerebral ढ and ण have also been dentalised in various parts of India. The truth seems to be, that the whole class of original Aryan cerebrals has been undergoing in India a process of gradual decerebralisation. The first to be affected were the consonants proper and ल which had already in Skr. times become to a great extent dentals¹). The next was the semivowel ञ which was dentalised in the times of Mg. Pr. Finally the nasal ण became dental in the comparatively modern times of Gd. As the dentals

1) The old (Vedic) Skr. still preserves the old Aryan cerebral ऋ. Cp. vedic मृदु *gracious* with Skr. मृदु *gentle*; also R. मृदु or मृदू with मृदु; नदृ with नृदृ; नडृ with नदृ, etc.

are softer and smoother sounds than the cerebrals, it may be supposed that the enervating climate of the great North Indian plain was, at least, one of the causes determining that process. On the other hand, it is quite natural also, that in those forms of the Indoaryan languages which were current among the common people, i. e., the Prākṛits and Gaudians, the original Aryan cerebrals should to a great extent have not only stood their ground, but even been more intensely cerebralized. For most of those people belonged to or, at all events, were most in contact with the aboriginal Dráviḍian population whose language, like their own, possessed the cerebrals. It is noticeable, that just as in Skr. times the old Aryan semicerebral consonants were often made fully cerebral, so in Pr. times in many cases the old (semidental) ण¹ is cerebralized to ण्, and in Gd. times by the side of the old semicerebral ण् a fully cerebral ण has been formed. — It may be added as some evidence against the Dráviḍian theory of the cerebrals, that though the Gd. languages have now been for centuries under the influence of Arabic and Persian, yet none of the sounds peculiar to the latter have been imported into them (see § 21).

13. The nasal ण् ṇ, I believe, never occurs in E. H., except in conjunction with a following consonant of its own class, as अङ्गिया *aṅgiyā bodice*. The others may occur by themselves. The अ ण् and ण् ण, both initial and medial, are occasionally heard in the more vulgar (*theṭh*) forms of E. H.; thus जाही *nāhī no*, अगिजा *agiṇā fire*, पारसिङ्ग *ṇarsīṅgh manlion*, पारैण *ṇārāin Nārāyan*, पाणी *pāṇi water*. But in the higher forms of E. H. they are always changed to न् ṇ, as नाही *nāhī*, नरसिङ्ग *narsīṅgh*, etc.; even in tatsama words with an original ण् ṇ, as कार्ण *kāraṇ cause* for Skr. कार्ण *karāṇa*. Hence the Kaithī alphabet has no special signs for अ ण् and ण् ण; and following its practise, I also shall limit myself in this work to the use of न् ṇ. When any of the five

1) The Europeo-aryan *r* and *n* are semicerebral or semidental.

nasals are used as the first part of a conjunct, they are always indicated by a dot placed over the preceding consonant; as पंक् *paṅk mire*, अन् *ant end*. This dot is commonly called *anusvāra*, but it must not be confounded with the real Skr. *anusvāra* which does not exist in E. H. (see § 23).

14. *Affinities*. The two nasals इ and अ (as non-conjuncts) had already been lost in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. (T. V. 1, 1. 1. H. C. 1, 1). The latter (अ), however, is expressly mentioned by Pr. Grammarians (Vr. 10, 9. 10. T. V. 3, 2. 37. 3, 4. 61. H. C. 4, 293, 294. 392), as occurring in Mg. Pr. (and also in Ap. and Ps. Pr.), where the Skr. conjuncts न्य *ny* and प्य *py* change to अ न् *an*. Agreeably with this, अ occurs in E. Gd. (especially in the respective *theth bhāshās*) before or after the palatal vowel (इ) or semivowel (य); thus E. H. अगिजा *fire* for अगिनिया, Mg. Pr. अगिपिर् (see Ls. 244 अगिणी), Skr. अग्निकः; जाही *not* for न्याही = ने + आही (ने for न or ना, as in B., see S. Ch. 331); B. आगिजा *order* (see S. Ch. 10) for (O. H.) आग्निना (Skr. आत्ता). So also in N. बाजि *at, by* S. Lk. 10, 29. 40 (H. ये) for Ap. Pr. बाणि or बापो, Skr. स्थाने; लिजा *taken* (S. Lk. 19, 8) for W. H. लीना (= लिना)¹). S. which generally follows E. Gd. phonological practices (cf. §§ 16. 18) keeps even more closely to the Mg. precedents; thus S. पुज *virtue*, Mg. Pr. पुजं, Skr. पुष्यं; S. यजु *woman's milk*, Mg. Pr. यजं, Skr. स्तन्यं; S. गजे *goes*, Mg. Pr. गजइ (H. 4, 294), Skr. गजते (§ 18); S. गजे *heeds*, Mg. Pr. गजइ, Skr. मन्यते, etc. In these instances the E. H. follows the old Ardhamāgadhī which has न् *nn*²) (see Wb. Bh. 402. 403); thus E. H. पुन् *virtue*, A. Mg. Pr. पुन्; E. H. बनै *is made*, A. Mg. Pr. वनइ; E. H. मानै *heeds*, A. Mg. Pr. मनइ. It is noticeable, that S. has also preserved the guttural nasal इ (Tr. XVI. XVIII), as छु

1) Apparently it inserts even an inorganic अ after इ; as उराजा *feared* for उराइजा (उराया); जिजा *was* for जिआ; रुपिजा *money* for रुपिआ; see S. Lk. 19, 21. 23. 24. Such forms as रुपिजा *money*, अगिजा *order*, however, I have heard also in *theth Panjābī*.

2) The Mh.-Sr. Pr. has अ न् *an* for प्य *py* (cf. H. C. 1, 66. 2, 159); but न् *nn* for न्य *ny* (cf. H. C. 2, 25. 44. 1, 243. 3, 58—61, etc.).

anu body, मङ्गणु *manāṇu* ask (E. H. मङ्गन्त्र); and apparently O. too (see Sn. 18), as केजु *keṇu* who, जेजु *jeṇu* which. This would seem to indicate, that perhaps ॠ also was not quite extinct in Mg. Pr., though I believe that it is not mentioned as present by any Pr. Gramm. I do not know of any instance of its occurrence in E. H. and B. As regards ण and न्, every ण changes to न् in Ps. Pr. (Vr. 10, 5. H. C. 4, 306); vice versa, every medial न् and optionally every initial न् become ण in all other Prs. (II. C. 1, 228. 229. T. V. 1, 3. 52. 53). Agreeably to this, ण् is found as a medial in all Gd. languages, and as an initial occasionally in the Hindi. It is, however, now confined more or less to the theth or low forms of the Gds. In Urdu, H. H., H. P. and H. B., especially, ण (even when originally existing in Skr.) has uniformly given way to न्¹). Thus E. H., etc. पाणी, M. पाणी "water, Pr. पाणिञ्च (Vr. 1, 18), Skr. पानीयम्, but H. H., etc. पानी; E. H. पारैण् or नारैण् *Nārāyaṇ*, Mg. Pr. पारायणे or नारायणे, Skr. नारायणः, H. H. नारैन् or नारायन्. As regards म्, it is uniformly preserved in the earlier Pr.; in later Pr. it is in a few cases elided, nasalizing the following vowel, as जडपा *Jamṇa* for Skr. यमुना (H. C. 1, 178. T. V. 1, 3. 11). In the Gds. this practice is rather common, see §§ 23. 127.

15. E. H. possesses four new consonants, which do not exist in the Skr. phonetic system; the semivowels र् *r*, र्ह *rh*, ल्ह *lh* and र्ह *rh*. The र् *r* is a pure dental like ल्, which explains their facile interchange (§ 30. 110); र्ह and ल्ह are their respective aspirates, pronounced as *r + h* and *l + h*, as बर्ह *barhai* grows, कोल्ह *kolhā*

1) Ps. Pr. possesses only न्; the other Prs., as a rule, only ण्. The high Gds., then, follow the Ps. It is a curious coincidence, that the area of the modern Ps. practice is nearly coterminous with the area of direct Mohammedan, i. e., foreign influence; see Intro. — Vr. 2, 42 does not yet admit any option in the change of the initial न्; it is allowed only by the later Gramm. H. C. and T. V., who moreover do not admit the change of न् to ण् at all, if it is the resultant of a Skr. conjunct, as Pr. नाञ्चो (not पाञ्चो) for Skr. न्यायः. This circumstance — unless Vr.'s silence as to the option be merely an oversight — would seem to indicate the commencement of the modern Ps. practice.

sugarmill. The ङ, pronounced $r + h$, as बुढ़िया *burhiyā* old woman, is the aspirate of ङ which is a pure cerebral, and, therefore, is equivalent to the Skr. ङ *r*. For the latter is said by Skr. Grammarians to be a cerebral, not a dental¹). In fact, it is not, as commonly supposed, the cerebral ङ *r* which is the new letter, but the dental ङ *r*. The old Skr. ङ has assumed a new sound, while its old one is represented by ङ. To avoid the inconvenience of diacritical marks, I shall adopt the Gurmukhī form ङ for ङ and ङ for ङ, and the Gurmukhī cerebral ङ for the Skr. cerebral ङ. The aspirates ह *rh* and ल्ह *lh* are single sounds in the same sense as ङ *rh*; all three are in certain cases interchangeable with ङ *dh*, precisely as ङ, ल and ङ with ङ *d*.

16. *Affinities*. Vedic Skr. has a cerebral ङ and ल्ह, which in certain schools take the place of an original medial ङ and ङ *dh* (see M. M. 4). These complete the series of the semi-vowels. In genealogical order they follow thus: from ङ and ङ arise (cerebral) ङ and ल्ह, then Skr. or W. Gd. (cerebral) ङ or ङ and ङ, then (dental) ल and ल्ह, finally E. Gd. (dental) ङ and ह. Most words which in W. H. contain a non-initial ल, have in E. H. an ङ, as O. H. फल *fruit* for W. H. फल; E. H. उरहे *it grows up* for W. H. उलहे. Indeed the affinity between these two sounds is so close and the transition so easy that E. Hindús seem to be hardly conscious of saying ङ instead of ल. This proves, *firstly*, that the E. H. ङ is a pure dental sound, and *secondly* that it is more modern than ल, of which it is, in fact, a comparatively recent modification²). Hence it follows that wherever E. H. has its

1) The Skr. ङ is, perhaps, not a full cerebral, but a semicerebral, like the English so-called dentals; only in so far, can the modern full cerebral ङ be called a new sound.

2) It existed, however, already in the A. Mg. of the Bhagavatī (see Wb. Bh. 393). It may be noted, that while the Mg., treated of by H. C., has ल for ङ (H. C. 4, 288), ङ for त् (H. C. 4, 260. 302), and थ or ह for य् (H. C. 4, 267. 302), the Mg. of the Bhag. has, precisely like E. Gd., ङ for ल, elides ङ, and uses only ह (cf. Wb. Bh. 410. 428. 429), e. g., in H. C. फलदि, in Bhg. करेइ, in E. H. करै *he does*; in H. C. यापथ or तपथ, in Bhg.

dental ॠ, there must have been formerly a ल्. This exactly agrees with what, the Pr. Gramms. tell us, was the case in their time. They say (see H. C. 4, 288. T. V. 3, 2. 36 and the examples in Vr. 11, 8. 10. 12. 13), that Mg. Pr. changes every Skr. ॠ into ल्, that is, it turns the cerebral ॠ into the dental ल्. The E. H. has gone a step further and has converted every dental ल् into dental ॠ; e. g., Skr. ज्ञिः *night*, Mg. Pr. लज्ञी, E. H. रात्; Skr. नः *man*, Mg. Pr. नले, E. H. नॠ. There are, however, a few exceptions, as E. H. लेगुरी for Mg. Pr. *लंगुलिष्ठा (with pleonastic लिष्ठा = डिका) = Skr. रंग्, E. H. लरै *he quarrels*, Mg. लउङ्, Skr. (रुटति (see § 110). These bear out the statement of the Pr. Grammarians. But further, that dentalizing process of E. H. is still at work in the present day, turning most W. H. ॠ (= Skr. cerebral ॠ) into dental ॠ, as E. H. तोरै *he breaks* for W. H. तोडे; and occasionally the intermediate (Mg. Pr.) ल् is still preserved, as in the W. H. pleonastic suffix ङ which is in E. H. ला and रा; e. g., W. H. डेगे *goat*, E. H. डेली or डरी (Skr. डग्गी, Ap. Pr. डायडिष्ठा), or W. H. नाडी *watercourse*, E. H. नाली or नारी¹). Again the very same process, by which the E. H. has already changed all *dialectic* Mg. Pr. ल् into (dental) ॠ, it applies in the present day to all non-initial *original* (Skr.) ल् also; as Skr. फलं *fruit*, Mg. Pr. फलं, E. H. फॠ; Skr. कदलकः, Mg. Pr. कयलए or केलए, E. H. केरा. Initial *original* ल्, it is true, are exempted, as Skr. लम्बः *long*, Mg. लंबे

ज्ञाणह्, in E. H. ज्ञानह् *you know*. It appears, then, that the change of ॠ to ल् belongs to the most ancient period of Mg., and that the present phonetic state (of ॠ for ल्) existed already in the Mg. period of the Bhag. In the phonological part of the present work, however, I shall generally give the *ancient* Mg. equivalents (with ल्) of E. H. words; for this reason, more than any other, to keep before the student's mind the fact of the change of the Skr. ॠ to E. H. ॠ, through Mg. ल्.

1) Apparently in these exceptional cases the ल् was already present in Skr.; cf. the Skr. pleon. suff. ल and र; and Skr. नड or नल, Ved. नड *tubular reed, bone, artery*, etc., whence perhaps नः *man*; and Skr. नाडी or नाली *watercourse*, whence, perhaps, नारी *water*.

or लम्मे (see § 18), E. H. लाम् (W. H. लंबा), yet the tendency to the change is shown in the occasional substitution of ण् or न् in the place of ल्, as in the pleonastic suffixes णा or ना for ला (e. g., अण्णाम् or अण्णाम् *own*, cf. M. अण्णाम्); a substitution which is still more common in B. and O. (see Bs. I, 75); for the cerebral ण् contains the sound of *r*, being somewhat like *rn*. Again the trustworthiness of the Pr. Gramms. is shown by their noting the remarkable agreement of S. with E. H., on which point see below. Thus Md. and R. T. say, that S. which is called the *pāschā* dialect, is distinguished by the interchange of *l* and *r*¹). It is also noticeable that in the Kaithī alphabet, proper to E. H., the sign for the dental *r* (र) is different from that originally used for the Skr. cerebral *r* (ऋ) and still preserved in the Gurmukhī for the P. cerebral *r*; it is, in fact, a slight modification of the original sign for ल (ल) made by omitting the semicircular stroke (ऌ), and improved into the modern Devanāgarī (र). According to the Pr. Gramm. the change of ऋ to ल् does not obtain in the Mh.-Sr. Pr.; i. e., the latter does not change the cerebral into a dental. This agrees with the fact that to the present day in W. Gd. (i. e., W. H., P., G., excl. Br. and S.) र् is more or less distinctly cerebral; and accordingly they do not interchange their ल् and र्, nor have they a cerebral र्²), but on the other hand they possess a cerebral ऋ. The same is true of the S. Gd., which like its original, the Dk. Pr. (Ls. 415), follows the W. Gds. (i. e., Mh.-Sr. Pr.). In fact their system of semivowels is very much the same still as in (Vedic) Skr. P. shows a tendency to change its cerebral ऋ to र्, and rarely its ल् to र्; hence, probably, its र् is not fully cerebral. S., on the other hand, agrees with E. H. in

1) Md. पाश्चात्या रेफव्यत्ययेन (18th pāda, fol. 56); and R. T. पाश्चात्यता ल्याद् र्लपययेण (Ls. Ap. 5).

2) Their र् is always *ṛ*, not *r*; and their *r* is equivalent to र्; whence, e. g., W. H. ब्रह्मेला *wild hog*, probably written for ब्रह्मेला = ब्रह्मेला from Skr. ब्रह्म + pleon. ला; W. H. मंतार् or मंतार् for Skr. मंतार्.

every respect; it has the dental ॠ and cerebral ॡ, the interchange of ॢ and ॠ, and no ॣ; so also Br., except that it does not usually interchange ॢ and ॠ. N. and B., again, agree with E. H. in the dental ॠ and cerebral ॡ, and the want of ॣ; and though they do not interchange ॢ and ॠ, they have the analogous change of ॢ to ॣ or ॡ. The same is the case with O., except that it possesses the ॣ; this is strange; I suspect that its ॣ is not a pure cerebral; for sometimes it has both ॣ and ॢ, e. g., गोल and गोळ *ball*; sometimes it has ॢ, where the W. Gds. have ॣ, e. g., G. टड्डु, M. टड्डो, but O. टलिआ *to confound*. To sum up: W. Gd. (excl. S.) and S. Gd., like the Mh.-Sr. Pr., keep the cerebral ॡ; but E. Gd. and N. Gd. dentalize it, like the Mg. Pr.; S., like the old Páschá, follows the E. Gd. practice.

17. In E. H. the semivowels ॥ and ॥ are never *organic*, but always *euphonic*, i. e., either simply inserted, or produced by sandhi in order to prevent a hiatus. Thus जीवै *he lives* for जी + ऐ (Pr. जीवइ); खायल् *eaten* for खाइल् (Pr. खाइदे); जाय् के *having gone* for जाइ के; जाय् *they may go* for जा + ऐ; again लेवै *to take* for लेऐ; रोवल् *he wept* for रो + अल्; घोडवा *horse* for घोडवा; जाय् *I may go* for जावै, etc. It follows that they can never occur at the beginning of a word. It should be remembered, however, that in Kaithí, ॥ is always written for ॥, and ॥ not uncommonly for ॡ. Whenever such apparently organic ॥ or ॥ occur initially, they must be pronounced ॡ or ॥ respectively; as योग् or जोग् *jog worthy*; संयुत् or संजुत् *sanjút joined*; बात् or बात् *bát word*; बाटै or बाटे *bátai he is*; संवत् or संबत् *sambat year*. This applies even to tatsamas as यात्रा *játrá pilgrimage*, आचार्य *ácháraj preceptor*. The sound of ॥ is very peculiar; it is neither distinctly *b* nor *v*; of the two it is nearer to *b*; but in many cases it is difficult to say which it is. This is especially the case in the *theth bháshá*; in the *khari bháshá*, it is, as a rule, distinctly *b*. The same remarks apply to B. and O. — Nor does an *organic* ॥ or ॥ ever occur in the middle of a word; it is always vocalized and commonly combined with the adjacent vowels, as नारैन्

or नारायण *Nārāyaṇ* (Pr. नारायणे); देवोदार *pine* (Pr. देवदारु). This applies also to tatsamas, as देवता *deota* (देवोता) *idol*. In tatsamas it is the usual, though not the universal practice to write \ddot{v} and \ddot{z} ; but the Pr. Grammarians' practice of phonetic spelling would be greatly preferable; and for clearness' sake I shall observe it in this work.

18. *Affinities.* This subject is involved in some obscurity. According to the Pr. Gramm. an initial \ddot{v} always changes to \ddot{z} in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. (Vr. 2, 31. H. C. 1, 245. T. V. 1, 3. 74), but in the Mg. Pr. it not only remains unchanged, but even \ddot{z} (whether initial or medial) changes to \ddot{v} (H. C. 4, 292. T. V. 3, 2. 39. cf. Vr. 11, 4. K. I. 5 in Ls. 393); e. g., Skr. योत्रन्म्, Sr. ज्ञोत्रणं, Mg. योत्रणं. But not only is the modern E. and S. Gd. practice precisely the reverse of that of Mg., and the same as that of Mh.-Sr.; but even in the contemporary (Mg.) Pr. literature the Sr. Pr. almost uniformly prevails; e. g., in the Bhagavati (see Wb. Bh. 394; also Ls. 406. 411. 425). It seems impossible to admit that the Pr. Grammarians should have deliberately foisted on a language, and that in some cases probably their own vernacular, a rule the opposite of which they knew to be the truth. And it seems to be an equally impossible supposition — it is, indeed, as just stated, contradicted by the Pr. literature —, that a revolution so complete in the pronunciation of Mg. should have taken place within the last few centuries, as the accustomed interpretation of their rule would involve. Yet if the \ddot{v} , which they mention, is understood in the sense of the ordinary semi-vowel *y*, there seems no escape from one or other of these two improbable alternatives. The solution of the difficulty appears to me to be the admission of the fact, that in the old Mg. Pr. times there must have existed an obscure sound, intermediate between *y* and *j*, and doing duty for both these two; precisely analogous to the obscure sound which took the place in Pr. of the two sounds *v* and *b* and which still exists in E. H. (§ 17). These two obscure or neutral sounds I shall call the *semiconsonants* \ddot{v}

and य . The palatal semiconsonant y still appears to exist here and there in isolated cases. It has been noticed by Beames to occur in the Panjáb¹⁾. But from the Pr. Gramm.' statement, it is probable that it once universally prevailed in the Mg. Pr. The two cases, of य and य़ on the one side and of य़ and य़ on the other, are closely analogous and serve to elucidate one another. The existence of such *semiconsonants* य and य़ is, apparently, nowhere expressly noted in the Pr. Gramm.; but it follows almost of necessity from the fact, that side by side with them Pr. possesses an *euphonic* य and य़ ²⁾. The latter are very common in modern Gd., and are pronounced precisely like our ordinary semivowels y and v ; whence it follows, that the organic य and य़ must have had in Pr. more of a real consonantal character, and are, in fact, semiconsonants, i. e., neutral sounds between the full semivowels and the full consonants³⁾. It is this semiconsonant य़ ,

1) „The Hindi holds fast the correct pronunciation (of य़), but Panjabi rather finds it a stumbling-block. When a Panjabi says मक *majh* “a buffalocow” the sound he produces is something very odd. It might be represented by *meyh*, a very palatal y aspirated; perhaps in German by *möch*, or rather, if it may be so expressed, with a medial sound corresponding to the tenuis *ch*” (Bs. I, 71). It is probably the sound, given to g (as in *lebendig*) in the Rhenish Provinces.

2) Thus K. I. 1, 45. कृचियत्वं वा ॥ गमयणं गयणं वा ॥ 46. कृचिद्वत्वं वा । सुहृओ सुह्रवो वा ॥ i. e. sometimes (when a consonant is elided) an euphonic y or v is inserted, as *gayanaṃ* for *gaṇaṃ* (Skr. *gaganam*), *suhavo* for *suhao* (Skr. *subhagah*). Again II. C. 1, 180. अयणो ययुतिः; and T. V. 1, 3. 10 ययुतिः । नयरं ॥ in the place of an elided consonant between the vowels य or अ an euphonic y is pronounced; as *nayaraṃ* (Skr. *nagaram*), etc. Ml. 2, 2. has अनादिव् अदितो वयो पठितव्यो । यकारवदिति पाठश्चित्ता ॥ (MS. fol. 8^a). — See also Wb. Bh. 399.

3) The Pr. Gramm. themselves note a distinction in the sound of the two sets; thus T. V. 1, 3. 10 calls the euphonic y लघुप्रयत्नतरयकार „pronounced with smaller effort“; in the same rule among the examples of the euphonic य the Pr. पायणं *eye* for Skr. नयनं is given; this would have no sense, unless the organic (Skr.) य was pronounced in Pr. differently from the euphonic य . Again य and य़ are in Pr. sometimes *vocalized* and, by combination with the adjacent vowels, form ए and ओ ; this

which according to the Pr. Gramm. is sometimes *substituted* for a single medial Skr. प or ब , but as a rule *elided*, both in Mh.-Sr. and in Mg. Pr.¹⁾. They give no rule as to the substitution of the semicons. व् for an initial or a conjunct Skr. ब ; whence it may be concluded, that in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. the latter remained unchanged. This conclusion, indeed, is indirectly supported by the fact that the Skr. conj. म्ब *mb* does not change in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. into म्म *mm*, as it would do according to Vr. 3, 8, if it were pronounced in Pr. म्व *mv* with the semicons. $\text{व्}^2)$. Thus Skr. जम्बु° , Pr. जम्बु° or जम्बु° (Spt. 192); Skr. निम्ब° , Pr. णिम्ब° or णिम्ब° (Spt. 252); Skr. अम्बु° , Pr. अम्बु or अम्बु (Spt. A. 32); Skr. बिम्बं , Pr. बिम्बं or बिम्बं (Spt. 208); also Pr. अम्बं or अम्बं (Vr. 3, 53, for Skr. अम्);

occurs, as a rule, in declension and conjugation, and it will be observed, that the य् and व् thus treated are always the euphonic semivowels; thus Skr. जयति of $\text{जि} + \text{अति}$ is Pr. जेदि , Skr. भवति of $\text{भू} + \text{अति}$ is Pr. होदि , Skr. तन्वी of $\text{तनु} + \text{ई}$ is Pr. तणुई , etc.; on the other hand, the organic semiconsonants य् and व् are not vocalized, but as a rule elided; thus Skr. नयनं is Pr. पायनं (T. V. 1, 3. 8); Skr. लावपयं is Pr. लावणं (T. V. 1, 3. 8). In short, the euph. semivowels य् and व् are treated like vowels; but the semiconsonants य् and व् like consonants. Again note the change of Skr. काया to Pr. काहा (Vr. 2, 18).

1) Vr. 2, 15 पो वः *v takes the place of p*; H. C. 1, 237. T. V. 1, 3. 61 ओ वः *v takes the place of b*; Vr. 2, 2 पयवां प्रायो लोपः ; Md. 2, 2 प्रायः पयवां लोपः (MS. fol. 8^a) „as a rule *v* etc. are elided”. These rules are given on Mh., but they apply to Sr. and Mg. too (by H. C. 3, 302. 286). It is noticeable, that they do not apply to the Ap. Pr., which possesses the full consonant व् ; thus H. C. 4, 396 $\text{अनादौ स्त्रादसंयुक्तानां कवतयपतां गवदधत्तमाः}$ „medial single *p*, *ph* etc. become *b*, *bh* etc.”.

2) While conjuncts consisting of a semivowel with an antecedent nasal are assimilated in Pr. (Vr. 3, 2. 3), those consisting of a consonant with an antecedent nasal are not. Hence the second part of the conjunct in the examples must be pronounced $\text{व् } b$, not $\text{व् } v$; otherwise the forms ought to be जम्बु , etc.; as, indeed, they were probably in Mg. The rule Vr. 3, 3 does not apply to the consonant $\text{ब } b$, but only to neutral व् ; the example लोडन्नो for Skr. लब्धकः does not prove that it does, as व् would be assimilated, in any case, by the analogy of the rule Vr. 3, 1.

Skr. चुम्बति *he kisses*, Pr. चुम्बइ or चुंबइ (H. C. 4, 239). On the other hand, it is very probable, that both the initial and the conjunct Skr. वृ were pronounced in the Mg. Pr. as the semiconsonant वृ. For the following reasons: *firstly*, while the W. and S. Gd., the descendants of the Mh.-Sr. Pr., show, like the latter, the cons. वृ in the place of the Skr. conjunct वृ, the E. Gd., the descendant of the Mg. Pr. (and S. which generally follows E. Gd. practices, cf. § 16), shows मृ which postulates in Mg. a conjunct मृ¹⁾ (and hence the pronunciation मृ for Skr. मृ; thus Skr. तम्बुः, Mh.-Sr. तम्बू, M. तौबू, G. तौबु, but E. H., B., O. ताम्, S. तामु, Mg. *तम्मू; Skr. निम्बः, Mh.-Sr. निम्बो, W. H., M., G. नीबू, but E. H., B., O. नीम्, Mg. *निम्मे; Skr. निम्बूकः, Mh.-Sr. निम्बूको, W. H., M., G. निम्बू, but E. H., B., O. नीम्, S. निम् or लिम्, Mg. *निम्मू; Skr. लम्बः, Mh.-Sr. लम्बो, W. H. लम्बा, but E. H. लाम्, Mg. *लम्मे; Skr. अमृम्, Mh.-Sr. अम्बं, W. H., P. अम्ब, M. अम्बा, G. अंबो, but E. H., B., O. अाम्, S. अामो (also अम्बु), Mg. *अम्मं; Skr. तामृम्, Mh.-Sr. तम्बं, W. H., P. तौब्रा, M. तौब्रे, G. तौबु, but E. H., B., O. ताम् or तामा, S. टामो, Mg. *तम्मं (cf. Ls. 246); in Skr. कम्बलः *blanket*, Mg. *कम्मले, E. H. कम्मल् (cf. § 143 exc.) the original Mg. *म् is preserved; Skr. सम्बुध्यते, Mg. *सम्मुत्कइ, E. H. समुक्ते²⁾. *Secondly*, while E. Gd. (and Br.) possesses the initial semiconsonant वृ, the other Gd. languages have either the semivowel वृ or the consonant वृ (see Bs. I, 252. Kl. 11. 13) at the beginning of words. *Thirdly*, while the Gurmukhī (i. e. Panjābī) and Gujarātī alphabets possess two separate signs for *v* and *b*, the Kaithī (incl. Devanāgarī), Bangālī and Oriyā have only one, namely वृ, to denote both sounds *v* and *b*, and hence, for distinction's sake, they place a dot *under* (E. H. व) or *over* (O. व̇) it when it has the sound of *v*; as E. H. रावन् *Rāvan*,

1) The Mg. semicons. वृ seems to have a tendency to change to मृ, e. g., Mg. माहृण for वाहृण (Skr. ब्राह्मण); Mg. वेसमपा for वेसवपा (Skr. वैश्रवपा); see Wb. Bh. 414. 415; also see § 134.

2) In the last instance सम्मु⁰ the assimilation म्मु appears to be common to all Gds.; cf. Bs. II, 108. H. समकौती, G. समनुती, M. समनूत्.

कवन् *kavan who*; but वचन् *bachan word*, वन् *ban wood*¹⁾. On the whole the case appears to stand thus: In Mh.-Sr. Pr. the Skr. semivowel व् and consonant व् remain unchanged at the beginning of words, but become the semiconsonant व् in the middle. On the other hand, in Mg. they are pronounced as the semicons. व् in every case whether initial or medial. In E. Gd. the Mg. initial semicons. व् has a tendency to be hardened into the consonant व्, and the Mg. medial semicons. व् has a tendency to be softened into the semivowel व् and vocalized and combined with the adjacent vowels; thus Skr. बुध्यते, Mg. बुद्धइ, E. H. बूजै *he knows*; Skr. ग्रथम्, A. Mg. सवहं, E. H. सोह. The case of य् and ज्ञ् is precisely analogous. It is the semiconsonant य्, to which the Pr. Gramm. rule refers²⁾. From this rule it appears, that just as the semiconsonant व् was pronounced in Mg. Pr. for both the Skr. semivowel व् and consonant व्, so the semicons. य् was pronounced in it for both the Skr. semivow. य् and cons. ज्ञ्; and that, again, in every case, both in the beginning and middle of a word. Moreover, just like the Skr. conjunct म्ब *mb* is pronounced in Mg. म्ब *mv* and changed to म्म *mm*, so the Skr. conjunct न्ज *nj* is in Mg. pronounced *उय् *ny* and becomes उज् *nn*³⁾. Once more: as the Bangáli and Oriyá alphabets have only one character for both *v* and *b*, so they have only one sign for both sounds *y* and *j*, and hence, for distinction's sake, they place a dot (B. य्) or hook (O. य्) under the य् when it has the sound

1) This proves, that the semicons. व् was felt to be more like *b* than *v*; for otherwise the dot would be used, when it signified *b*; as indeed it is in Devanágari, the alphabet of W. H. and M., where व् (i. e. व or dot within व) signifies *b*.

2) Thus Vr. 11, 4 जो यः *y takes the place of j*; H. C. 4, 292. T. V. 3, 2. 39 त्रययां यः *y takes the place of j, dy and y*.

3) Thus H. C. 4, 293. T. V. 3, 2. 37 न्यययज्ञां उजः *nn takes the place of nj* etc.; as म्बजली for Skr. म्बजली, धपाउजए for Skr. धनजयः, पउजले for Skr. पाञ्चलः *straight*; none of these words, I believe, have survived in the modern Gds.; nor do I happen to know any other instance in B. or O.; in S., perhaps, there is मिजु *marrow* for Skr. *माज्ज^o (see Tr. XXVII).

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of *y*¹). On the other hand the Gurmukhī and (in this case also) Kaithī have two separate signs for *y* and *j*, just as in the case of *v* and *u*²). Finally as in the case of the Mg. semicons. *य*, so here too the Mg. init. semicons. *य* has been hardened in the modern E. Gd. into the full consonant *य*, and the Mg. medial semicons. *य* is softened into the semivowel *य*, vocalized and combined with the adjacent vowels; thus Skr. ज्ञानाति *he knows*, Mg. यानाड, E. H. ज्ञानै; Skr. रत्नानी *night*, Mg. रणानी, E. H. रत्नि or रैनि. To judge, however, from the evidence of the A. Mg. Pr. of the Bhagavatī, where *ry* and *rj* as a rule appear as *yy*, but *j* remains unchanged (see Wb. Bh. 394. 389), and from the fact that the Kaithī has separate signs for *y* and *j*, it is possible, that the A. Mg. never possessed the *single* semicons. *य*, but only the double semicons. *य*, following in the former respect the Mh.-Sr., in the latter the Mg. In any case, in its modern representative, the E. H., the semicons. *य*, whether single or double, has become a full consonant. — This theory of the semicons. *य* is confirmed

1) This shows again that the semicons. *य* was in Mg. Pr. more like *j* than *y*. — It is noticeable that Bhāmaha in his Comm. on Vr. 11, 4 does not use the term स्थाने (he says ञकारस्य ञकारो भवति), which he employs in all other sūtras where an actual phonetic change is enjoined; thus on Vr. 11, 3 he says ञकारस्यकार्योः स्थाने ञकारो भवति; and so even on Vr. 11, 7 यकारञ्कार्योः स्थाने यो भवति i. e. *yy* for *rj* and *ry*. Now in the Bhagavatī *rj* and *ry*, as a rule, change into *yy*, but *j* does not change (Wb. Bh. 394. 389). This curious coincidence would seem to show, that the difference in Bhāmaha's terminology, if it was intentional, was meant to indicate, that in the case of *j* the change was one in *writing* only, but in the case of *rj* and *ry* it was one both in *writing* and *pronunciation*. In other words: in Bhām.' time the semicons. *य* had already hardened into the full cons. *य*, though it was still written *य* (as in modern B. and O.), but the double *य* was still both written and pronounced as semicons. The latter would naturally hold out longer. In modern E. Gd., however, it too has hardened to *य*.

2) It may be remarked, however, that in Kaithī, too, a dot is placed under *य*, when it signifies an *organic y* in tatsama words; thus सत्य *true*; which shows, that formerly *य* (without dot) signified *j*, the Pr. substitute of the Skr. organic *y*.

by and elucidates the treatment of the Skr. conjunct ज्ञ *mn* in Pr. and Gd. According to the Pr. Gramm. ज्ञ changes to ञ् *nn* in Mh.-Sr.¹⁾ (H. C. 2, 42. T. V. 1, 4. 37. Vr. 3, 44), to ञ् *nn* in Mg. (H. C. 4, 293. T. V. 3, 2. 37) and to न् *nn* in the A. Mg. (Wb. Bh. 402. 403). The Gds. show no trace of the form ञ् *nn*, but have always न् *n* or ण् *n*; as Skr. राज्ञी *queen*, Pr. रणी or रनी , E. H. रानी or रणो , N. रानी , M. G. P. S. रणो ; Skr. यज्ञोपवीतं *sacrificial thread*, Pr. * यज्ञोवित्रं or यज्ञोवित्रं (cf. Vr. 4, 1), G. यज्ञो , E. H. यज्ञो (for यज्ञो see § 26. 122), M. यज्ञो , S. यज्ञो , W. H. यज्ञो ; Skr. आज्ञा *order*, Pr. आणा (Vr. 3, 55) or आना , H. आन् ; Skr. संज्ञा , Pr. सणा or सना , H. सान् *sign*; Skr. विज्ञापिका , Pr. विसन्निधा or विन्निधा , H. बिनती *respectful information, petition*; Skr. संज्ञापिका , Pr. ससन्निधा or सन्निधा , H. सन्ती *instead* (lit. *killing*)²⁾. If ज्ञ was pronounced as a semicons. (य), it would easily be assimilated to the succeeding nasal. Besides from the form न् *nn* it appears, that this palatal semicons. य had a tendency to pass into the dental class. There are, however, traces in Pr. of another modification of ज्ञ , beside that into ञ् or न् . The Skr. base राज्ञ *king* becomes in Ps. Pr. राचिन (Vr. 10, 12) and in the later Mh. Pr. राइण (H. C. 3, 50—55. K. I. 237. 238. Cw. 45. Ls. 315). The latter presupposes a Sr. form * राज्ञिण or * राज्ञिन or Mg. * रायिञ . Here, evidently the conjunct ज्ञ has been dissolved into ज्ञिण or ज्ञिन , which the Ps., as usual, changes to चिन . On the same principle the E. H. word सइन् or सेन् *hint* (also S., see Tr. XXXIV) is formed from the Pr. * सइणा or * सज्ञिणा , Skr. संज्ञा ³⁾. Instead, however,

1) They state, however, that ज्ञ of the R. ज्ञा *know* always becomes ज्ञ (Vr. 8, 23); this is born out by Gd., which has ज्ञान् ; they also say that ज्ञ of derivatives of the R. ज्ञा *optionally* becomes ज्ञ (H. C. 2, 83. T. V. 1, 4. 82. Vr. 3, 5); but Gd. shows no trace of this.

2) Also देवान् or देवाना *mad*, Pr. दइवणू (H. C. 2, 83) or * दैवन्नू , Skr. दैवतः (lit. *inspired*); and वीन् or वीना *seeing*, Pr. * विषू or * विन्नू , Skr. विज्ञः (lit. *knowing*); these two words, however, are probably introduced from the Persian, which accounts for their metaphorical meaning.

3) H. has both सान् and सैन् *hint*, but only रानी *queen*, not रैनी ; probably to avoid confusion with रैनी *night* for Skr. रत्नी .

of ण being elided, it generally appears in the modern Gd. either as ण् *g* (E. and W. Gd.) or ण् *d* (S. Gd.). This can be naturally explained, if the original ण be supposed to have been at first pronounced as the semicons. ण्. The latter, as already stated, has a tendency to pass into the dental class, but it passes even more easily into the guttural; i. e., original णिन becomes णिन or णिन. Next the nasal was suppressed and the two hiatus-vowels of णिन् contracted to ण्य. This is still the common practice to the present day in regard to tatsamas in P. and H.; e. g., P. णिन्, H. ण्यन् *knowledge* for Skr. ज्ञानं; P. अणिन्, H. अण्य order for Skr. अज्ञा; but it must have existed already in the Ap. Pr., as evidenced by the modern H. जग् or जग् *sacrifice*, which presupposes an Ap. Pr. form जग् in which the conjunct ण् *gy* has become subject to the ordinary Gd. laws on the treatment of conjuncts (see § 144. 147. 150); so also the S. सर्वग् *omniscient* for *सर्वग् (Tr. XXXII). — In G. tatsamas °णिन्° is changed to ण्य *gnya*; and M. has द्य *dnya* for °णिन्°; e. g., Skr. ज्ञान is in G. *gnyān*, in M. *dnyān*. It is usual, however, to retain in writing the Skr. conjunct ण् *jñ* in the place of the modern awkward triple nexus. — It has been already noted, that traces of the insertion of the euphonic semivowels ण् and ण् are already found in Pr. The practice is far more general in Gd.; in E. H., especially, these euph. letters are regularly employed in the formation of the *long* form of nouns (see § 203).

19. E. H. does not possess the two sibilants ण् *s* and ण् *sh* of the Skr. phonetic system. Even in tatsama words they are always pronounced as ण् *s*, as णिन् *sin* (सिन्) *Siva*. Already in the A. Mg. Pr., the original of E. H., they had uniformly given way to the latter (see Wb. Bh. 393. 415. Ls. 411). In writing the symbols ण् and ण् are commonly used; but they are always pronounced *s* and *kh* respectively (as ण् *khūs happy*, pers. خوش), and, in fact, are the E. H. (Kaithī) signs of those two sounds. To avoid misunderstanding, however, I shall employ in this work the usual Devanāgarī characters ण् *s* and ण् *kh*.

20. *Affinities.* The sound of श्र had been already lost in all Prs.; that of श्र in the Mh.-Sr. and that of श्र in the Mg. (Vr. 2, 43. 11, 3). Accordingly none of the Gds. have श्र , the E. Gd. (exc. E. H.) has no श्र , W. and N. Gd. no श्र . S. Gd. and E. H., follow, like their prototypes (the A. Mg. and Dk. Pr.), the example of the Mh.-Sr. and have, as a rule, no श्र . In other words, like their respective originals, E. Gd. (excl. E. H.) pronounces all three Skr. sibilants alike as श ; W., N., S. Gd. and E. H. as श . In H. H., however, and in the other literary forms of W. Gd. both श and श्र are sounded in tatsamas, but alike as palatal श ; thus शिव and विष्णु are *śiva* and *viṣṇu*. — In writing, the character श्र , more or less modified in the different alphabets (see the table), is preserved in all Gds., and used as a symbol of श्र *kh*. Similarly E. Gd. uses श्र , and W. and N. Gd. श्र , and S. Gd. श्र and श्र indifferently, as a symbol for their *one* sibilant. In the literary or high forms of the various Gds., the use of all three characters श , श्र , श्र (not of their sounds), has been reintroduced; chiefly in tatsamas; in tadbhavas, owing to an imperfect knowledge of their derivation, they are sometimes wrongly employed by native writers.

21. Such foreign sounds as do not occur in the E. H. phonetic system, are assimilated in the following manner:

1) The semigutturals (arabic) ق *q*, خ *kh*, غ *gh* and ح or ه become respectively the pure gutturals क , ख , ग and ह ; as कौल for قول *agreement*, खाली خالی *only* or *empty*; गरीब غریب *poor*; हान حال *state*; हर هر *every*.

2) The semipalatals (arabic) ذ *ḏ*, ز *ẓ*, ص *ṣ*, ظ *ẓ* become pure palatal ज ; as कागड (O. H. کاغذ) *paper*; जास्ती زیادتی *more* (see Bs. II, 54); जमिंदार زمیندار *landholder*; जामिन ضامن *surety*; जाहिर ظاهر *manifest*.

3) The semicerebrals (english) *t* and *d* become pure cerebral ट and ड respectively; as कलकट *collector*, लाड *lord*.

4) The semidentals ط *t* and (sibilants) ث *ṭ*, ص *s* and ش *sh* become pure dental त and स respectively; as तैयार طیار *ready*; साबित ثابت *proved*; साहिब صاحب *master, sir*; खुश خوش *happy*.

5) The semilabial ف *f* becomes pure labial फ़, pronounced *ph*, not *f* as in W. H.; e. g., फ़ैदा *phaidá* for فَايِدَة *faidá profit*.

6) The spirants ع *a* and (sometimes) و *v* are dropped, and if they were medial, the hiatus-vowels are contracted; as مَالُوم *known*, مَوَافِق *like*.

3. THE VISARGA AND ANUSVÁRA.

22. The E. H. does not possess the *Visarga* (:) or unmodified sibilant (see M. M. 4) of the Skr. phonetic system. Already in Skr. the visarga had ceased to be pronounced in certain cases and was assimilated either to the preceding vowel or to the following consonant. In Pr. this became the universal practice (cf. Ls. 142. 229. 230). It follows that none of the Gds. can possess the visarga; on the contrary, they further subject the assimilated vowel or consonant of the Pr. to the disintegrating action of their own laws. Thus compare the following examples: Skr. अन्योऽपि *also another*, A. Mg. Pr. अन्ने चि, E. H. अनउ or अनौ; Skr. यशोवान् *glorious*, A. Mg. Pr. जसोवन्ते or जसवन्ते, E. H. जसवन्त्; Skr. दुर्बलः *weak*, Mg. दुव्वले, E. H. दूबर्; Skr. निश्चिन्तः *thoughtless*, Mg. निच्चिते, E. H. निच्चित्; Skr. निस्ताजयति *he pours off*, Mg. नित्याल्ड, E. H. निथारै; Skr. निष्फलं *fruitless*, Mg. निष्फलं, E. H. नीफल; Skr. अग्निः *fire*, Mg. अग्नी, E. H. अग्नि; Skr. दुःखं *pain*, Mg. दुक्खं, E. H. दुख; Skr. अन्तःकरणं *conscience*, Mg. अंतक्कलणं, E. H. अंतकर्न्; Skr. निष्कालयति *expels*, Mg. निक्कालड्, E. H. निकालै; Skr. निश्वासः *breath*, A. Mg. निस्सासे, E. H. निसास्. It will be seen from this, that the spelling with a visarga (as दुःख्, अन्तःकरण्), affected by Hindí purists (especially foreign lexicographers), is indefensible. A sound, which had disappeared in Pr. already, could not have survived in Gd. As a matter of fact, no Hindú pronounces or writes¹⁾ it, even in tatsamas; they say *dukh* not *dukhkh*, and *antakaran* not *antahkaran*. The latter is even

1) I have seen a native writer use the visarga to indicate a sonant final *a*, as कर्त्रः *karaba* (you will do); the practice, however, is not to be commended; as little as the use of the anusvára to indicate *nasalization* (§§ 23. 8); both are abuses of the Skr. symbols.

sometimes pronounced *antkaran*, where the *quiescence* of the *ā*, which could not be unless the *ā* were final (see § 41), clearly proves the absence of a visarga.

23. The E. H. does not possess the *Anusvāra* (·) or unmodified nasal (M. M. 4) of the Skr. phonetic system. The *anusvāra* should be carefully distinguished from the *anunāsika* (◌ṃ). The former is a separate sound (like the visarga or like any vowel or consonant), while the latter is merely the nasalization of a sound. If the breath is emitted wholly through the mouth, the *pure* sounds, whether vowels or consonants¹), are produced; if a part only be thus emitted, while the rest is allowed to escape simultaneously through the nose, a nasalized sound, whether vowel or consonant¹), is produced; if the breath is expelled wholly through the nose, the mouth being shut, a pure nasal sound (unmodified by any organ of speech in the mouth) is the result. The latter is the *anusvāra*, which, therefore, is called by native Grammarians *nāsikya*, because pronounced in the nose only. The second group, the nasalized sounds, are called by them *anunāsika* or *co-nasals*, because they are pronounced through both mouth and nose *at the same time*. The pure nasal, monopolising as it does the whole of the breath, cannot be pronounced *together with*, but only *after* an other sound. Hence it is called by the native Gramm. *anusvāra*, i. e. *after-sound*. — Now any sound, whether vowel or consonant, may be nasalized, except *ṛ* *r*, *ṣ* *s* and *ḥ*²); but only five of these, when thus nasalized, are written with separate letters; viz. the nasal consonants or, briefly, the *class-nasals*, *ṅ* *ṅ*, *ṇ* *ṇ*, *ṁ* *m*. The nasalization of the rest (i. e. *ṡ*, *ṣ*, *ṣ* and the vowels, which I shall call, briefly, the *anunāsika*) is indicated by the sign (◌ṃ), called *arddhachandra* (halfmoon); thus *ṅṃ* *ṅ*, *ṇṃ* *ṇ*, *ṁṃ* *m*, *ṡṃ* *ṡ*, *ṣṃ* *ṣ*, *ṣṃ* *ṣ*, etc. (§ 8). The pure nasal (or *anusvāra*) is denoted by the sign (·), called *bindu* (dot);

1) Modified in the mouth, according to the organ of speech, into gutturals, palatals, etc.

2) In Skr. also *ṣ* *ṣ* and *ṣ* *sh*; and in Gd. also *ṣ* *r*.

thus अं *ám* is the vowel *á* succeeded by a nasal tone, while अँ *á̃* is the nasalized vowel *á*. The latter is but *one* sound; the former are two successive sounds. The two cases, therefore, are quite distinct. — The anusvára has the nearest affinity to the class-nasal म् *m*; the latter is formed by a momentary, the former by a prolonged contact of the lips. — As to the use of these three kinds of nasals (the class-nasals, the anusvára and the anunásika) in Skr., Pr. and Gd. respectively, the following *general* laws may be laid down. *Firstly*, as regards the nasal in the *body of the word*. 1) In Skr.: a) a nasal standing before स् *s* (स्, ष्) and ह् *h* must be the anusvára; b) before any consonant proper it must be the respective class-nasal; c) before nasals, semivowels and vowels it must be one of the three, ण् or न् or म् (cf. M. M. 5. 7. 59. 60). 2) In Pr.: a) a nasal standing before स् (Mg. ण्) must be the anusvára; b) before ह् and any cons. proper it may be either the anusvára or the respective class-nasal; in the latter case ह् changes to घ् (H. C. 1, 264. T. V. 1, 3. 86); c) before nasals, semivowels and vowels ण्, न् and म् remain, as a rule, unchanged¹); but occasionally म् before म् may be changed to anusvára, while before vowels it may become घ् with or without 'anunásika or be elided²) (cf. ad a. b., Vr. 4, 17. H. C. 1, 29. 30. T. V. 1, 1. 47. 48; ad c., Vr. 3, 2. 3. 43. 44. 53. 2, 3. T. V. 1, 4. 78. 79. 37. 48. 49. 3, 2. 37. 44. 3, 3. 3. 1, 3. 11. H. C. 2, 42. 56. 61. 78. 79. 1, 23. 4, 397. 1, 178). 3) In Gd.: a) the nasal is never anusvára under any circumstances; b) before स्, ह्, and any cons. proper it may be either anunásika or the respective class-nasal; if anunásika, the preceding vowel is almost universally lengthened; if class-nasal, ह् becomes घ्; c) before semivowels

1) Unless the conjunct is dissolved; as Skr. अम्लिका *tamarind*, Pr. अमल्लिका, H. इमली (see § 167).

2) Occasionally न् before vowels is changed to anusvára or anunásika in Pr.; as Skr. गृहाणि *houses*, Pr. घ्राइ or घ्राई (H. C. 3, 26. T. V. 2, 2. 31), M. घ्रे.

and vowels it is often changed to *anunásika*, in which case the hiatus-vowels are generally contracted. Compare the following examples: *ad a. b*) Skr. हंसः *goose*, A. Mg. हंसे, E. H. हँस् or हन्स्; Skr. सिंहः *lion*, A. Mg. सिंहे or सिङ्गे (or सिंवे), E. H. सोँह् or सोँघ् or सिङ्ग् (or सिंघ् § 13); Skr. पङ्कः *mud*, Mg. पंके or पङ्के, E. H. पाँक् or पङ्क् (or पंक् § 13); Skr. अञ्जनम् *eyessalve*, Sr. अंजनां or अञ्जनां, E. H. अँजन् or अञ्जन्; Skr. कण्टकः *thorn*, Mg. कंटर् or कण्टर्, E. H. काँटा or कण्टा; Skr. चन्द्रः *moon*, Mg. चंदे or चन्दे, E. H. चाँद् or चन्द्; Skr. कम्पति *he trembles*, Mg. कंप्ड् or कम्पड्, E. H. काँपे or कम्पे; *ad c*) Skr. पुण्यम् *virtue*, A. Mg. पुण्यां or पुन्नं, E. H. पुन्; Skr. गम्यते *he heeds*, Mg. मन्ड्, E. H. मानै; Skr. गम्यते *it passes*, Mg. गम्मड्, E. H. गमै; Skr. तन्मूलः *roseapple*, Mg. तन्मुले or *तम्मुले (§ 18), E. H. तामुन्; Skr. अमृम् *mango*, Mg. अम्वं or *अम्मं (§ 18), E. H. अाम्; Skr. जन्मयते *is born* (Den. R.), Mg. जम्मड् (H. C. 4, 136), E. H. जामै or जमै; Skr. भ्रमरकः *bee*, Ap. भवँरुड, E. H. भौँरु; Skr. कमलम् *lotus*, Ap. कवलं, E. H. कवल; Skr. कुमाजः *prince*, Mg. कुमाले or कुमले (H. C. 4, 302. 1, 67), E. H. कुबँर् or कुघर्; Skr. स्थाने *at (a place)*, Mg. यापे or (Ap.) यापि, E. H. येँ; Skr. पञ्चत्रिंशत् *thirty five*, Mg. पण्तीसा or पणतोसा (cf. H. C. 2, 174. 43), E. H. पैँतीस् (for पयँतीस्). There are a few exceptions; 1) in Pr.: *a*) occasionally the *anusvára* is optionally dropped, in which case the preceding vowel is generally lengthened (Vr. 1, 17. 4, 16. H. C. 1, 28. 29. T. V. 1, 1. 46. 48); *β*) occasionally an *anusvára* is substituted for a consonant proper forming the first part of a conjunct (Vr. 4, 15. H. C. 1, 26. T. V. 1, 1. 42); *γ*) the nasal preceding a consonant proper which is not *ásanna* (T. V. 1, 1. 47), i. e., between which and itself another consonant has been dropped, *must* be *anusvára* (H. C. 1, 25. T. V. 1, 1. 41); *δ*) a nasal, preceding ह् by transposition, remains, as a rule, unchanged; very rarely it is elided and the preceding vowel lengthened (Vr. 3, 8. 32. 33. H. C. 2, 74. 75. T. V. 1, 4. 67—70. H. C. 2, 73. T. V. 1, 4. 64). 2) In Gḍ.: *a* and *β*) the Pr. practice is retained and extended, only substituting *anunásika* for *anusvára*; *γ*) in this case also *anunásika* is substituted for *anusvára*; *δ*) either ह् is elided and the preceding



vowel lengthened or the conjunct is dissolved. Compare the following examples: ad *a*) Skr. विंशतिः *twenty*, Pr. बीसा, E. H. बीस्; Skr. सिंहः *lion*, Pr. सीहो or सिंहो, E. H. सीह् or सीह्, etc. (see above); Skr. मांसम् *flesh*, Pr. मासं or मंसं, E. H. मास् or मास् or मन्स्; Skr. संहरति *he collects*, Pr. संहरइ or सहरइ (T. V. 3, 1. 133), E. H. सहरै; Skr. सम्मुखे *before*, Pr. समुहे or समुहे, H. सामहे or समुहे or सोहो; Skr. पठन् *reading*, Mg. पढंते, E. H. पठन्; Skr. संस्यः *together with*, Mg. संये or सत्ये, E. H. साय्; ad *β*) Skr. वक्रम्, Pr. वंक्, E. H. बाँक्; Skr. अश्रुकम् *tear*, Pr. अंसुं, E. H. आँस्; Skr. सत्यम् *true*, Pr. सच्चं, E. H. साँच्; Skr. निद्रा *sleep*, Pr. णिद्रा, E. H. नौद्र, etc. (see § 149); ad *γ*) Skr. पङ्क्तिः *row*, Pr. पंती, E. H. पाँति; ad *δ*) Skr. चिह्नम् *sign*, Pr. चिपहं (H. C. 2, 50), E. H. चीन् or चिन्हा; Skr. ब्राह्मणः *Brāhmaṇa*, Mg. बम्हणे, E. H. ब्रामन् or ब्रमहन्; Skr. कृष्णः *krishna*, Mg. कणहे, E. H. कान् or कनह् (as in कानपुर *Cawnpur* and कनहैया लाल *Kanhaiyá Lál*); Skr. अस्मे, A. Mg. अम्ह, E. H. हम् *we*; Skr. कुष्माण्डः, Mg. कोहले, E. H. कोहर; Skr. युष्म, Pr. तुम्ह, E. H. तोहरा *your*. Secondly; as regards the nasal म् at the end of a word: 1) in Skr. a) before consonants it *may* become anusvára or the respective class-nasal; b) before vowels it remains म् (M. M. 29). 2) In Pr. a) before consonants it *must* become anusvára; b) before vowels it generally becomes anusvára or remains unchanged; but it may occasionally become anunásika or be elided (Vr. 4, 12. 13. H. C. 1, 23. 24. T. V. 1, 1. 39. 40. §. C. 1, 1. 39. 40. H. C. 3, 25. T. V. 2, 2. 30). 3) In old Gd. it becomes anunásika if preceded by a long vowel, and is elided if preceded by a short one; this is on the whole preserved by M., G. and S.; in the other modern Gds., as in H., B., etc., it is always elided. Compare the following examples: Skr. फलं तोटयति or फलन्तोटयति *he breaks fruit*, Pr. फलं तोडइ, E. H. फर तोडै; Skr. फलं लभते or फललुभते *he takes fruit*, Pr. फलं लहइ or लेइ, E. H. फर ले; Skr. फलमवहति *he gathers fruit*, Mg. फलं अवहलइ or फलमवहलइ, E. H. फर (ओहरै); Skr. दधि *curds*, Pr. दहिं or दहिं or दहि; Skr. दधिकम्, Pr. दहिं, M. दही, E. H. दही. This induction clearly proves two things. Firstly; that in the main a gradual attenuation of the nasal has taken place. The nasal

consonant of the Sanskrit becomes anusvára in Pr., and *anunásika* in Gd., and finally drops of altogether¹). In one instance, however, a consolidation of the nasal has taken place; namely the Skr. anusvára before स् and ह् has become in Pr. a nasal consonant before ह्, and in Gd. before both स् and ह्. Secondly, that Gd. possesses no anusvára. This fact has been much obscured by the objectionable modern practice of writing and printing the anusvára, instead of the *anunásika*, as मैँ I for मैँ, होँ lip for होँ, etc. The correct practice, which is still generally followed by natives of the old school in their writing and printing²), is to use the anusvára, just as in Skr. (M. M. 5. 59), only when the full nasal consonant ought to be written and *must be pronounced*. Here, of course, the *dot* is not the real anusvára, but merely a sort of stenographic sign for the class-nasal, used for the sake of more expeditious writing and not affecting the pronunciation in any way. The *anunásika*, on the other hand, is used whenever a vowel is to be pronounced with a nasal tone. Thus natives write and pronounce either चाँद् *chád* or चंद् *chand*, but not चाँद्. It would be well, to revert generally to this older and more correct practice. In the present work the distinction will be carefully observed.

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2. CHAPTER. EUPHONIC PERMUTATION OF LETTERS.

1) IN PRONUNCIATION AND INFLECTION.

VOWELS.

24. If any word ends in a short अ ऌ, that अ ऌ becomes *quiescent*, that is, it is not pronounced; and such a word may practically be considered as one ending in a consonant. The

1) H. C. (4, 411) and T. V. (3, 4. 67) have a rule on the Ap. Pr. which seems to indicate such an *attenuation* of the final nasal (anusvára); बिन्दोर् अन्तेः पदान्ते वर्तमानस्य बिन्दोर् अपभ्रंशे उच्चारलाघवं भवति प्रायः॥ i. e. the anusvára at the end of a word is usually pronounced *slightly*.

2) In writing the *anunásika* commonly appears as two dots (·), the second being merely an abbreviation of the semicircle (◡).

quiescent *ā* will, for the sake of clearness, be indicated in this work by the *virāma* (cf. § 3, note). Thus बाघ् *bāgh* tiger (not *bāgha*); बात् *bāt* word; चलत् *chalat* walking; होइब् *hoīb* we shall be.

Exception. It is always pronounced in the 2nd pers. plur. in conjugation; thus होइब् *hōība* you shall be (not *hoīb*), बाट *bāṭa* you are (not *bāt*).

25. An antepenultimate अ *a* is always made अ *ā* which with a following इ *i* or उ *ū* optionally, yet generally, combines to ए *ai* and औ *au*. Antepenultimate ई *ī*, उ *ū*, ए *e*, औ *ō* are shortened whenever followed by a consonant (excl. *euphonic* वृ and वृ̣). Thus रम-वा *ram'vā* long form of राम् *rām* *Rāma*; गिध-वा *gidh'vā* of गीध् *gidh* vulture; घो-वा *ghor'vā* of घोरा *ghorā* horse; बेट-वा *beṭ'vā* of बेटा *beṭā* son; मिट-का *miṭ'kā* of मीटा *mīṭā* sweet; नउवा *naū'vā* or नौवा *naūā* of नाउ *nāū* barber; भइया *bhaiyā* or भैया *bhaiyā* of भाई *bhāī* brother; बतिया *baṭiyā* of बात् *bāt* word; सुत-लो *suṭ'lo* 1st pr. sg. pret. of सूतब् *sūtab* to sleep; खइयो *khaībō* or खैयो *khaiō* 1st pr. sg. fut. of खाइब् *khāīb* to eat; करउतो *karaūto* or करौतो *karaūto* 1st pr. sg. pret. conj. of कराइब् *karāīb* to cause to do (for कराव-तो *karāv'tō*, see § 34); but पीयतो (if) *I drank*; छूयलो *or* छूवलो *I touched* (see § 65).

Exception. The long vowel of a transitive (or causal) root is never shortened; e. g., मार-लो *mār'lo* *I killed* of मारब् *caus.* of मरब् *to die*.

Note: There are traces of this law in Pr.; e. g., Ap. Pr. तइसो for *ताइसो (H. C. 4, 403. T. V. 3, 3. 10) = Mh. तारिसो, Skr. तादृशः *such*.

26. The short ऐ *ē* and औ *āi* are sometimes reduced to इ *i*, and short ओ *ō* and औ *āi* to उ *ū*; or, more often, all four to अ *ā*. Thus: बेटिया *bēṭiyā* or बिटिया *biṭiyā* daughter; कहे *kaḥē* or कहि *kahi* having said; गैलेन् *gaiṭēn* or गैलन् *gailan* they went; गैल *gailāi* or गैल *gailā* they went; लोटिया *lōṭiyā* or लुटिया *luṭiyā* brass vessel; परोसिया *parōsiyā* or पऱसिया *parasiyā* neighbouring; जनोउ *janōu* or जनउ *janāū* brahmanical thread; औ *āi* or अ *a* and; और *aur* or अर *ar* and; मुमाखी or मौमाखी *honey-bee*; चवालिस् or चौवालिस् *forty four*, etc.

Note: There are traces of this law in Pr.; e. g., वेद्यपा or विद्यपा *pain* (Vr. 1, 34); सप्तिच्छरो *saturday* for Skr. शनैश्चरः, E. H. रानीक्षर (H. C. 1, 149. cf. Vr. 1, 38); सन्तुत्तरस्य *one hundred and seven* for Skr. सप्तोत्तरशतम् (Wh. Bh. 427); अनूनं or अनूनं *mutual* for Skr. अन्योन्यम् (H. C. 1, 156); सुडो *drunk* for Skr. शोषणः (Vr. 1, 44); Ap. कवणु *who* (H. C. 4, 395. cf. 4, 408) for केवणु = केवडु (lit. of *what sort*, see § 438, 2).

27. A final *anunāsika* is often omitted; thus तूँ *tū* or तू *tu* *you*; तैँ *taĩ* or तै *tai* *thou*; मैँ *maĩ* or मै *mai* *I*; मेँ *mē* or मे *me* *in*; नाँही *nāhĩ* or नाही *nāhi* *not*; जानीँ *jānĩ* or जानी *jāni* *we know*, etc.

28. To avoid the *hiatus* of two contiguous vowels, *y* is inserted after आ *á*, ई *ĩ*; and optionally व् *v*, after उ *ú*, ओ *o* and ए *e*. But neither *y* nor *v* can be inserted, if the second vowel be इ *ĩ* or ई *ĩ*; in this case the hiatus, as a rule, remains, though अइ *aĩ* may and ईइ *ĩĩ* must be contracted to ऐ *ai* and ई *ĩ* respectively, if they are followed by a heavy syllable. Thus: खिया + अल् = खियायल् *khiyáyal* *it was eaten*; जा + ए = जाये *to go*; पी + अय् = पीयय् *piyab* *to drink*; पी + ऐ = पीयै *piyai* *he drinks*; again चूवत् *chúvat* or चूअत् *chúat* *dripping* from चू + अत्; चूवै *chúvai* or चूऐ *chúai* *it drips* from चू + ऐ; रोवत् *rovat* or रोअत् *roát* *weeping* from रो + अत्; रोवै *rovai* or रोऐ *roai* *he weeps* from रो + ऐ; लेवै के *levai ke* or लेऐ के *leai ke* *to take* from ले + ऐ. But खा + ई = खाई *khái* *he shall eat*; खा + ईला = खाईला *kháilá* *we eat*; पी + ईला = पीईला *phíilá* *we drink*; चू + ई = चूई *chúi* *it will drip*; चू + ईला = चूईला *chúilá* *we drip*; बोई *boi* *he will sow*, बोईला *boilá* *we sow*; देई *dei* *he will give*, देईला *deilá* *we give*; again खाइबै *khaibai* or खैबै *khaibai* *we shall eat* from खा + इबै; पीबै *pibai* *we shall drink* from पी + इबै; खाइबू *khaíb* *we shall eat* from खा + इबू; पीइत् *phíit* (if) *we drank* from पी + इत्; चूइबै *chúibai* and चूइबू *chúib* *we shall drip*; बोइबै *boibai* and बोइबू *boib* *we shall sow*; लेइत् *leit* (if) *we took* from ले + इत्.

Exception 1. The suff. ई (3. pr. sg. fut. ind.) may optionally combine with a preceding ई to ईई; thus पी + ई = पीई *phí* or पी *pi* *he will drink*; जी + ई = जीई *jí* or जीई *jíi* *he will live*.

Exception 2. The initial *अ* of the suffs. of the fut. ind. (viz. *अबो* etc.), of the pres. part. (*अत्*) and of the pret. conj. (viz. *अतो* etc.) combines with a preceding *आ* or *ए*, and with *ओ* of the verb *हो* to become to *आ*, *ए*, *ओ* respectively; thus *खा + अबो* = *खाबो* *khābō* I shall eat; *दे + अबो* = *देबो* *debō* I shall give; *हो + अबो* = *होबो* *hobō* I shall be; *खा + अत्* = *खात्* *khāt* eating; *दे + अत्* = *देत्* *det* giving; *हो + अत्* = *होत्* *hot* being.

SINGLE CONSONANTS.

29. *र* *r* is generally substituted for *ऋ* *r̥*; thus E. H. *तेरै* *he breaks* for W. H. *तेरे*; E. H. *तेरै* *he joins* for W. H. *तेरे*; E. H. *बारी* *garden* for W. H. *बारी*; E. H. *तेरू* *wife* for W. H. *तेरू*; E. H. *नारी* *artery* for W. H. *नारी*, etc. Sometimes also *ई* *rh* for *ऋ* *r̥*; as E. H. *बार्है* *he grows* for *बारे* (W. H. *बारे*); E. H. *गार्है* *he beats into form* for W. H. *गारे*.

30. *र* *r* is almost universally substituted for a non-initial *ल* *l*; thus E. H. *फरू* *fruit* for W. H. *फल*; E. H. *गारी* *abuse* for W. H. *गाली*; E. H. *चरै* *he walks* for W. H. *चले*; E. H. *उरै* *he throws* for W. H. *उले*; E. H. *करिया* *black* for *कलिया*, etc.; but never *रोग* for *लोग* *people*, etc.

Exception. The *ल* of the suff. *अल* of the past tense never changes; e. g., *गयल* *gone*, not *गयर*; *पढलो* *I read*, not *पढरो*.

31. *ल* *l* and *न* *n*, if initial, are sometimes interchanged: thus *ल* for *न* in *लीला* *dark blue* or *नीला* (Skr. *नील*); and *न* for *ल* in *नोन्* *salt* or *लोन्* (Skr. *लवण*, cf. Vr. 1, 7); *नंगोट* *waistcloth* or *लंगोट* (Skr. *लिङ्गपट्ट*; Mg. *लिंगवट्ट*)¹.

32. *ह* *h* may be dropped; 1) always final, thus *तेह* *के* or *ते के* *of whom*; *ओह* *के* or *ओ के* *of that*; *ऐलह* or *ऐल* *aila* *you came*; *करतह* or *करत* *karata* (if) *you did*. 2) sometimes medial (see § 126); as *ताँ* or *तहाँ* *there*, *काँ* or *कहाँ* *where*, *जाँ* or *जहाँ* *wheresoever*, *मे* or *मेँ* or *माही* *within*; *के* or (O. H.) *काही* *towards*; *मराठा* or *मरुठा* *a Maráthá*; *सगा* *full brother* for **सगहा* (see § 120); *दिवा* *day* for **दिवहा* (see § 134, note).

1) Not from *नंग*, Skr. *नग्न* *naked*, as Bs. I, 248; the original *ङ* of *लिंग* is preserved in the *ए* of B. *नेंगुटि*.

33. A medial *v*, followed by *इ* or *ई*, is always elided; and further *इ* (but not *ई*) combines with a preceding *आ* *ā* (or *अ* *ā* by § 25) to *ए* *ai*; thus पाव् + इबो = प + इबो = पैबो *I shall find*; आव् + इबे = ऐबे *thou wilt come*; बियाव् + इबह् = बियैबह् *you will cause to eat*. But पाव् + ई = पाई *he will find*; आव् + ई = आई *we come*; बियाव् + ईला = बियाईला *we cause to eat*.

34. A medial *y* or *v*, containing a *neutral* vowel (see § 5, a), are vocalized to *इ* *i* and *उ* *u* respectively, and optionally combine with a preceding *अ* *ā* (or originally *आ* *ā* by § 25) to *ए* *ai* or *औ* *au*. Thus गयल् + ऐस् (= गयल्स् *gay'les*) = गइल्स् *gail'es* *thou wentest*; पिया + अल्यू (= पिययल्स् *piyay'lyū*) = पियइल्यू *piyail'yū* or पियैल्यू *piyail'yū* *I could be drunk*; कारव् + अतो (= कर्षतो *karav'tō*) = कर्उतो *karav'tō* or कर्ौतो *karav'tō* (if) *I caused to do*; चराव् + अलेस् (= चर्वल्स् *charav'tes*) = चर्उलेस् *charav'tes* or चर्ौलेस् *charav'tes* *he caused to walk*.

35. *Affinities*. There are instances of this change in Pr.; thus आइरिओ or आयरिओ = Skr. आचार्यः (H. C. 1, 73); केलं for *कइलं for कयलं = Skr. कदलम् (H. C. 1, 167); ओरं for *अउरं for *अवरं = Skr. अदरम् (H. C. 1, 170); आसरइ for *अउसरइ for अवसरइ = Skr. अपसरति (H. C. 1, 172); पाउरणं = Skr. पावरणम् (H. C. 1, 175); उतहो or वसहो = Skr. बृषभः (H. C. 1, 133); also in inflexion as नेदि = *नइदि = Skr. नयति; होदि = *हउदि = Skr. भवति, etc.; see § 18, note 3, p. 18).

COMPOUND CONSONANTS.

36. *क्* *ksh* is always pronounced and written *क्* *chh*; thus छोटा *chhotā* small (Skr. क्षुद्रकः?); छत्रि *chhat'ri* a *chhat'ri* (Skr. क्षत्रियः); क्षमा *chhamā* forgiveness (Skr. क्षमा *kshamā*).

37. *ज्ञ* *jñ* is always pronounced and generally written *ग्य* *gy*; as ग्यान् *gyān* knowledge (Skr. ज्ञान *jñāna*);-आया *āgyā* command (Skr. आज्ञा *ājñā*).

38. *ङ्* *ṅh* is always pronounced and generally written *ङ्* *ṅh* (or *ङ्* *ṅh*); as सङ्घ *saṅgh* collection (Skr. संहः *saṃhah*); सङ्घात् *saṅghāt* collection (Skr. संहतः *saṃhatah*); सिङ्घ *siṅgh* lion (Skr. सिंहः); सिङ्घासन *siṅghāsan* throne (Skr. सिंहासनम्), etc. (see § 159).

39. 'स् *ns* is always pronounced and written 'स् *ns* (i. e. न्स *ns*, cf. §§ 13. 23); as बन्स् (or बन्स्) *bans race* (Skr. वंशः *vamśah*); बंसीधर् (or बन्सीधर्) *bansidhar a name* (lit. flute-holder, Skr. वंशीधरः *vamśīdharah*); हिंसा (or हिन्सा) *hinsā slaughter* (Skr. हिंसा *himsā*); हंस् (or हन्स्) *hans goose* (Skr. हंसः *hamsah*), etc. (see § 159).

Note: It has become the fashion in modern times, to resuscitate the writing of न्न and 'ह्; but the practice of the older, native school is more correct and preferable.

2) IN DERIVATION¹⁾.

a) CHANGES OF FINAL SOUNDS.

40. *In limine*, it should be observed, that Skr. and Pr. nouns pass into Gd. in the form of the nominative singular, the final sound of which undergoes the following changes:

41. A *visarga* or *anusvāra* is dropped, and a preceding य becomes quiescent; thus E. H. पुत्र son (a tats.) for Skr. पुत्रः; E. H. कवि poet for Skr. कविः; E. H. गुरु teacher for Skr. गुरुः; E. H. परगट् manifest, Skr. प्रकटम्; E. H. बन् forest, Pr. वणं (Vr. 4, 12), Skr. वनम्; E. H. सै or सय् hundred, Mg. सयं (Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. शतम्; E. H. खेत् field, Pr. खेत्तं (II. C. 2, 17 क्षेत्रं), Skr. क्षेत्रम्; E. H. वारि water, Pr. वारि or वारिँ or वारिँ- (cf. II. C. 3, 25), Skr. वारिः; E. H. मधु honey, Pr. मधु or मधुँ or मधुं (cf. H. C. 3, 25), Skr. मधु, see § 23.

42. Pr. masc. or fem. या or य becomes quiescent य; thus E. H. नीदू sleep, Ap. निदू (H. C. 4, 418), Pr. निदू (Vr. 1, 12), Skr. निद्रा (fem.); E. H. बाह् arm (also बाँह्), Ap. बाह (H. C. 4, 329), Pr. बाहा (H. C. 1, 36. 4, 329), Skr. बाहा (fem.); E. H. बात् word, event, Pr. वत्ता (Vr. 3, 24), Skr. वार्ता (fem.); E. H. राय prince, Ap. राय (H. C. 4, 402), Pr. राया (H. C. 3, 136) or राया (Vr. 5, 36), Skr. राजा (masc.).

43. Pr. masc. or fem. ई or इ becomes इ or quiescent य; thus E. H. दीह् or दीहि sight, Ap. दिह् (H. C. 4, 330) or Pr. दिह्

1) This list of sandhi-laws lays no claim to completeness, a quality unattainable in the present state of our knowledge of Gd. derivation; but it contains, perhaps, all the more important and more general phenomena.

(H. C. 1, 128), Skr. दृष्टिः (fem.); E. H. बहिन् or बहिनि *sister*, Ap. बहिणि (H. C. 4, 351) or Pr. बहिणी (H. C. 2, 126), Skr. भगिनी (cf. § 132, note); E. H. आग् or आगि *fire* (fem.), Pr. आगी (Vr. 5, 18, fem.), Skr. अग्निः (masc.); E. H. आँख् or आँखि *eye* (fem.), Ap. अक्खि (cf. H. C. 4, 396), Pr. अक्खी (Vr. 4, 20, fem.), Skr. अक्षि (neutr.); E. H. मुन् or मुनि *sage*, Ap. मुणि (cf. H. C. 4, 341) or Pr. मुणी (cf. H. C. 3, 125), Skr. मुनिः (masc.); E. H. बिहफै or बिफै *thursday*, Pr. बिहफई (H. C. 1, 138), Skr. बृहस्पतिः (masc.); E. H. ज्ञान् or ज्ञानि *sage*, Pr. ज्ञानी, Skr. ज्ञानी (masc.).

44. Pr. masc. or fem. उ or उ becomes उ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. तर् or तर् *tree*, Ap. तर् (H. C. 4, 370), Pr. तर् (H. C. 1, 177), Skr. तर्ः (masc.); E. H. पाँसु *rib*, Pr. पंसू (H. C. 1, 26), Skr. पशुः (masc.); E. H. तन् or तन्नु *body*, Ap. तणु (H. C. 4, 401) or Pr. तणू (cf. Vr. 5, 18), Skr. तनुः (fem.); E. H. पतोह् or पतोहु *daughter-in-law*, Pr. पुत्रवहू (cf. Spt. 122), Skr. पुत्रवधू; E. H. सास् or सासु *mother-in-law*, Pr. सासू (Spt. 339), Skr. श्वश्रूः.

45. Pr. masc. ए or इ becomes ऐ ई or इ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. माग् *road*, Mg. मगि or मगो (Mehh. 96, 20), Skr. मार्गः; E. H. नर् *man*, Mg. नलि or नले (H. C. 4, 288), Skr. नजः; E. H. काम्, Mg. कम्मि or कम्मे (Wb. Bh. 420, masc.), Skr. कर्म (neutr.); E. H. कर्त् *doing*, Mg. कलंति or कलेन्ति or कलेते (Mehh. 108, 18), Skr. कुर्वन्; E. H. र्खल् or र्खिल् *kept*, Mg. लक्खिदि or लक्खिदे (Mehh. 112, 6), Skr. उचितः. Also in locatives; as E. H. लाग् or लागि *till*, Ap. लगि or लगो (H. C. 4, 334), Skr. लग्ने; and in conjunct participles, as E. H. कह् or कहि or कहे *kahē having said*, A. Mg. कहे (see Wb. Bh. 435) or Mh. कहिअ, Skr. कथित्वा (see § 490, 491).

46. *Affinities.* The termin. ए or इ is Mg. Pr.; the Mh.-Sr. is ओ and Ap. उ (H. C. 4, 332) and both become in W. Gd. उ or quiescent अ; in O. H. and especially in S. the Ap. उ is still preserved; thus W. H. नर्, O. H. and S. नर् (Tr. 33) *man*, Ap. नर् (H. C. 4, 362) or णर् (K. I. 9) or Pr. नरो or णरो (H. C. 1, 229); W. H. काम्, S. कम् (Tr. 33) *work*, Ap. कम्मु, Pr. कम्पो (Vr. 4, 18); W. H. माग्, O. H. मागु, S. मागु *road*, Ap. मागु (H. C. 4, 357), Pr. मगो (Vr. 3, 50); Kn. कर्त्, Br. कर्त् *doing*, Ap. कर्त्तु,

Sr. कर्त्तो or करेत्तो. — It will be observed that just as Mh.-Sr. ओ is reduced to Ap. उ, so Mg. ए is reduced to इ. This is expressly stated by Vr. 11, 10. K. I. 12 (cf. Ls. 393. 402) and Md. 12, 20 (fol. 49^a) सौ पुंस्यदेदितौ। पुंसि सौ परे अकार एदितौ स्याताम्। i. e., masc. nouns in *ā* have a nom. sing. in *e* or *i*. The form in इ (like that in उ) was probably Ap. Mg. It only occurs exceptionally in the Bhag. (see Wb. Bh. 416). H. C. (4, 287) and T. V. (3, 2. 30) do not notice it; which, perhaps, shows that Ap. Mg. इ was pronounced like short ऐ *ē* (cf. H. C. 4, 410. and see § 6). — In the Gds., especially in their literary forms, the final इ and उ generally become quiescent, and hence are omitted in *writing*, and thence again have come to be practically identical with quiescent अ. — Occasionally E. H. has Ap. Sr. forms; as घाव् *wound*, Ap. घाउ (H. C. 4, 346), Sr. घाओ, Skr. घातः.

47. Pr. masc. अए becomes आ; thus E. H. घोरा *horse*, Mg. घोउए, Skr. घोटकः; E. H. भला *good*, Ap. भल्ला (H. C. 4, 351), Mg. भल्लए, Skr. भट्कः; E. H. घरा *pitcher*, Mg. घउए, Skr. घटकः.

48. *Affinities*. The term. अए is Mg.; the Mh.-Sr. is अओ, and Ap. अउ; the latter contracts in the W. and N. Gd. to ओ or (Br.) औ; thus Br. घोओ, भल्लौ, घडौ; Mw., G., S., N. घोओ, भल्लौ, घडौ; only P. forms an exception in having the E. H. term. आ, and hence it has got into Urdū and H. H.; thus P., U., H. H. घोडा, भला, घडा. Again M., B. and O. have आ like E. H. It will be seen, then, that while E. and S. Gd. have आ, W. and N. Gd. have ओ or औ; again Mg. Pr. has अए, Mh.-Sr. Pr. has अओ; hence it may be concluded, that the E. and S. Gd. termin. आ is a modification of the Mg. Pr. अए, while the W. and N. Gd. ओ or औ is a modification of the Mh.-Sr. अओ. The Ap. Pr. has both अओ and अउ (H. C. 4, 332). Probably the Br. औ is a contraction of the Ap. अउ; as Ap. भल्लउ, Br. भल्लौ *good*; while the Mw., G., S., N. ओ is a contraction of the Ap. अओ, by the quiescence of अ; as Ap. भल्लओ, Mw., G., S. भल्लौ (i. e. भल्लओ). The Ap. Mg. form, corresponding to the Ap. Sr. अउ, would be अइ (cf. § 46); this is still preserved in the Psh. ऐ (Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 37), as Psh. तल्लै *talai bottom*,

E. H. तरा or तला, S. तलो, Ap. Mg. तलइ or तलए, Ap. Sr. तलउ or तलओ, Skr. तलकः; but the Psh. has also occasionally the E. Gd. form आ; as Psh. लगिआ *applied*, P. लगिआ, Bs. and H. H. लगा, Ap. Mg. लगिअइ or लगिदए, Skr. लग्नकः (lit. *लगितकः), Ap. लगिअउ, Br. लग्यो, Sr. लगिअओ, S. लगिओ or लग्यो. The Psh. ऐ *ai*, then, corresponds to Br. ओ *au*; being contractions of (Ap.) Mg. अइ *ai* and Ap. (Sr.) अउ *au* respectively; on the other hand, E. and S. Gd. आ corresponds to W. and N. Gd. ओ, being contractions of the Mg. अए and Sr. अओ respectively, by the quiescence of अ. It appears, then, that the termin. आ is distinctly Mg., and merely a (comparatively modern) modification of the old Mg. ए; and not, as it is usually assumed, of the old Sr. ओ. There are, however, some traces of the term. आ in Pr.; moreover, they seem to be distinctly connected with Mg. Pr. *Firstly*: Vr. (11, 17) expressly gives शिआला as a Mg. by-form of शिआले *jackal* (E. H. सियार). *Secondly*: Vr. (11, 13) and K. I. (Ls. 393) state that the Mg. vocative ends in आ, and Mđ. (12, 21. 22. fol 49^a) adds also ए, as चेलए or चेलआ (E. H. चेरा) *oh! disciple*¹). That is, the nom.

1) Vr. 11, 17 शृगालस्य शिआला शिआले शिआलकाः॥ and Mđ. 12, 21 एदोतो सम्बोधने प्रायः। पुंसि सम्बोधने एदोतो स्यातां। हे वञ्चसे। हे वञ्चसो। प्रायो ग्रहणात्। हे गोमिका। हे भद्रिहालाया॥ i. e., the voc. of masc. nouns in *ā* ends in *e* or *o*, as, *he voamse, he voamso* (Skr. वयस्य); and Mđ. 12, 22 आदाक्षपे। पुंसि सम्बुद्धौ अकार आ स्याद् आक्षेपे। अले ले खेलआ। चकारात्। खेलए। खेलओ॥ i. e., the voc. of masc. nouns in *ā*, in the sense of rebuke, ends in *a*; also in *e* and *o*. Neither H. C. nor T. V. give these rules in their chapter on Mg; but they have an allusion to the voc. in आ in their chapt. on the Ap. (H. C. 4, 330. T. V. 3, 4. 1); e. g., होला मई तुहुँ वारिआ मा कर् दीहा माणु; this is Bs. होला मै तूँ के आरा मत् कर् दीहा मान् i. e., lit. boy! I have forbidden you, do not make long sulkiness!; again ब्रिट्टीए मई भणिअ तुहुँ मा कर् वंकी दिट्ठि, = Bs. बेटी मै भनि तूँ के मत् कर् वंकी दीह् i. e., lit. daughter! I have told you, do not make a coquettish look. It is to be noted, that K. I. (16. 18. cf. Ls. 450) gives both आ and ए as the termin. of the voc. in Ap. Pr. In the present day, E. H. has a voc. in आ, but W. H. in ए; as E. H. हे चेरा, W. H. हे चेले *oh disciple*. This, perhaps, explains the silence of H. C. and T. V. as to the Mg. nom. and voc. in आ; they have relegated it into their chapt. on Ap., in which as, perhaps, indicated in H. C. 4, 447

sing. in ए is used in Mg. as voc., and the form in आ is but a slightly worn down by-form of the nom. (as usual with Pr. voc., cf. H. C. 3, 38. T. V. 2, 2. 42¹). The latter form, which was at first (in Mg.) confined to the voc.-nom., is in Gd. extended to the nom. generally. *Thirdly*: H. C. gives several instances of a nom. in आ in the Ap. Pr.; e. g., भल्ला हुआ नु मारिआ बहिणि महारा कंतु। (4, 351); this is A. Mg. Ap.; the corresponding Sr. Ap. is in कंतु महाराउ हलि सहिए निच्छइ रत्सेइ नासु। (4, 358); the former is Bs. (a kind of semi E. Gd., see Introd.) भल्ला हुआ नु मारा बहिन् मोरा काँत, i. e., it has happened well, sister, that my husband has killed; the other is Br. (W. II.) काँत मेरौ सहेली निहँच रत्से नासु i. e. surely friend! with whom my husband is angry²).

49. Pr. masc. इए and उए become ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. II. तेली oilman, Mg. तेलिए (cf. H. C. 2, 98), Skr. तैलिकः; E. H. माली gardener, Mg. मालिए, Skr. मालिकः; E. H. बहिनोई (W. II. भौनाई) sister's husband, Mg. बहिणिवइए, Skr. भगिनीपतिकः; E. H. नातो grandchild, Pr. नत्तिओ (H. C. 1, 137), Skr. नप्तृकः; E. H. भाई brother, Pr. *भाइओ (cf. H. C. 1, 137), Skr. भातृकः; again E. H. बिहू scorpion, Mg. बिहूए (Vr. 1, 15. 3, 41, T. V. 1, 4. 18), Skr. वृश्चिकः; E. H. लडू a kind of sweetmeat, Mg. लडुए, Skr. लडुकः; E. H. गोहूँ wheat (H. II. गेहूँ), Ap. Mg. गोहूँवे (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Mg. गोहुमे, Skr. गोधुमः.

50. *Affinities*. These contractions into ई and ऊ are common to all Gds.; but in W. and N. Gd. they arise from the Mh.-Sr. termin. इओ and उओ respectively; as W. II. तेली, Sr. तेलिओ; W. H. माली, Sr. मालिओ; W. H. भौनाइ, Sr. भागिणिवइओ (cf. H. C. 1, 190); W. II. बिहू, Skr. बिहुओ; W. H. लडू, Sr. लडुओ; W. II. गोहूँ, Sr. गोहुमो. But M. and S. have भाउ brother, Dk. भाउए or भाउओ

and T. V. 3, 4. 71, rules of various Ap. dialects would seem to be mixed up (see also Ps. IX).

1) The voc. in Mh.-Sr. Pr. is either like the nom. हे चेलो or worn down हे चेल; so in Mg. either like nom. हे चेले, or worn down हे चेला.

2) It is also like P., which shares the nom. in आ with E. Gd., भल्ला होइआ जो मारिआ बहिन् मेरा काँत।

(H. C. 1, 131); नातू *grandson*, Pr. ननुओ (H. C. 1, 137). This contraction as well as those noted in the following paragraphs, may be explained by the apparently Pr. tendency of lengthening the antepenultimate इ (see Wb. Bh. 438) and उ; while at the same time the final ए and ओ have a tendency in the Ap. to be shortened to इ and उ (see § 46), and in Gd. to be cast off altogether (see § 45); thus Mg. तेल्लिए, Ap. *तेल्लिइ, *तेल्लोइ, Gd. तेली, Sr. तेल्लिओ, Ap. तेल्लिउ, *तेल्लोउ, Gd. तेली; or Mg. लुडुए, Ap. *लुडुइ, *लुडुइ, Gd. लुडु, Sr. लुडुओ, Ap. लुडुउ, *लुडुउ, Gd. लुडु (cf. § 65, note). There are some traces of this contraction in Pr.; thus Pr. पवासू *traveller* (T. V. 1, 2. 48) or पावासू (H. C. 1, 44. T. V. 1, 2. 10) or पावासुओ (H. C. 1, 95) = Skr. प्रवासी (or प्रवासक); Pr. सव्वण्ण *omniscient* (H. C. 1, 56) for *सव्वण्णओ (= Skr. सर्वज्ञक); and other words in णू.

51. Pr. fem. इआ and उआ become ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. II. ओरी *mare*, Pr. ओडिआ, Skr. ओटिका; E. II. माटी *earth* (W. H. मिटी), Pr. मट्टिआ (H. C. 2, 29), Skr. मृत्तिका; E. II. लाठी *club*, Pr. लट्टिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 247), Skr. यष्टिका; E. II. मउती *mother's sister*, Pr. माउसिआ (H. C. 1, 134. 2, 142), Skr. मातृवसृका; E. H. माई *mother*, Pr. *माइआ (see § 63), Skr. मातृका; again E. II. पतोहू *son's wife*, Pr. पुन्नवहुआ (cf. Spt. 35), Skr. पुन्नवधुका; E. II. बालू *sand*, Pr. बालुआ, Skr. बालुका.

52. *Affinities*. Here all Gds. agree; as do also all Prs. But M. has माउ *mother*, Pr. माउआ (H. C. 1, 131), Skr. मातृका. The steps of change are probably these (see § 42); Pr. ओडिआ, Ap. ओडिअ (H. C. 4, 330) or *ओडोअ, Gd. ओडो; Pr. बालुआ, Ap. बालुअ or *वालूअ, Gd. बालू, etc.

53. Pr. neut. अअं, इअं and उअं become आ, ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. II. सोना *gold*, Pr. सोपणाअं (cf. Spt. 194) or सुवण्णाअं (cf. H. C. 1, 26), Skr. सुवर्णकम्; E. H. तामा *copper*, Mg. *तम्मअं (see § 18) or तम्बअं (cf. Vr. 3, 53), Skr. ताम्रकम्; E. H. लोहा *iron*, Pr. लोहअं, Skr. लोहकम्; again E. H. घी *clarified butter*, Pr. घिअं (cf. Spt. 22), Skr. घृतम्; E. H. पानी *water*, Pr. पाणिअं (Vr. 1, 18), Skr. पानीयम्; E. H. दही *curds*, Pr. दहिअं, Skr. दधिकम्; E. H. मोती

pearl, Pr. मोन्निअं, Skr. मौक्तिकम्; again E. H. आँसू *tear*, Pr. अंसुअं (cf. H. C. 1, 26), Skr. अश्रुकम्; E. H. जू *yoke*, Pr. जुअ, Skr. युगम्; E. H. आलू *potato*, Pr. आलुअं, Skr. आलुकम्.

54. *Affinities.* As regards the forms in आ, B., O. and also P. agree with E. H.; thus B., O., E. H. तामा, P. तौआ. M. has ऐ; as तौऐ. The M. nouns are neuter, but the corresponding E. Gd. ones are masc.; compare the masc. forms in § 47. In Mg. Pr. neuter nouns either end in अअं or (becoming masc.) in अए (cf. Wb. Bh. 416. Ls. 399). From the Mg. अअं or with the favorite euph. य, अयं, which form still occurs occasionally in O. H., arises the contracted M. ऐ. From the Mg. masc. अए arises probably the E. Gd. आ. On the other hand, the corresponding termin. in G. is उँ or उ; as तौँ or तौँ; in Mw. ओँ or ओ, as तौँ or तौँ; in Br. औँ or औ (or also आ); in S. ओ, as टामो. The forms with anunásika are neuter, those without it are masculine. These W. Gd. forms have arisen from the Ap. (Sr.) Pr., which has the neut. termin. अउं (H. C. 4, 354. T. V. 3, 4. 26). This contracts in W. H. to औँ or औ, and is shortened in G. to उँ. By dropping the final anunásika, the neuters would, naturally, become masc., through identity of termination; see § 48. This masculinizing tendency is seen already in the Ap. Pr., where the neut. termin. अं sometimes becomes masc. उ (Ls. 460. 476. H. C. 4, 331. 445; as m. जलू *water* for n. जलं, cf. H. C. 4, 395), and similarly neut. अउं would become masc. अउ. As regards the forms in ई and उ, they are alike in all Gds., except in M., which adds a final anunásika (as पाणीँ *water*, आँसू *tear*) and treats them as neuters, while the other Gds., having dropped the original anunásika, treat them as masculines.

b) CHANGES OF MEDIAL SOUNDS.

a) SINGLE VOWELS.

55. अ becomes इ or ई; rarely; thus E. H. पिंनरा *cage*, A. Mg. पंनलअं (cf. Sp̃. 225), Skr. पंनजकम् (also पिंनजकम्? M. W. 572, 3); E. H. किरकिरू *splashing*, Skr. कर्करम्; E. H. सुमिरन् *memory*, A. Mg.

सुमलणं (cf. H. C. 4, 426), Skr. स्वप्णम्; E. H. पिचोतरसे *one hundred and five*, A. Mg. पंचुन्नलसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. पंचोन्नज्ज्ञतम्; E. H. चिर्ई *sparrow*, Pr. चउइश्चा (cf. H. C. 4, 445?), Skr. चउकिक्को; E. H. खियावै *he feeds*, Pr. खयावइ, Skr. खाद्यति (*खदापयति); E. H. छिन् *moment*, Pr. छणो (H. C. 2. 20), Skr. क्षणाः; E. H. फिठ-करो *alum*, Mg. *फट्टिक्कालिश्चा (or *फिट्टिक्कालिश्चा cf. H. C. 4, 177), Skr. रफट्टिकाजिका; E. H. निनानन्ने *ninety nine*, Pr. *नवाणाव्वई, Skr. नवनवतिः (see § 397); E. H. छियालिस् *forty six* for O. छयालिस् (see § 152). Especially before ह्; as E. H. छिहत्तर *seventy six*, Mg. छहत्तलि (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. षटसप्ततिः; E. H. छिलोतरसे *one hundred and six*, A. Mg. क्लुन्नलसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. षडुन्नज्ज्ञतम्; E. H. लिहल् *taken*, Mg. *लहिदे¹), Skr. लद्धः (*लमितः); E. H. दिहल् *given*, Skr. दत्तः; E. H. लिहिस् *thou tookst*, O. H. लिहेस्, Ap. Pr. *लहिश्चसि, Skr. लद्धोऽसि (*लमितोऽसि); E. H. लिहिन् *they took*, O. H. लिहेन्, Ap. Pr. *लहिश्चहिं, Pr. *लहिश्चन्ति, Skr. लद्धाः सन्ति (in active sense); E. H. दिहिस् *thou gavest*, दिहिन् *they gave*; E. H. किहिस् *thou didst*, O. H. किहेस् for *कहेस्, Ap. *करिश्चसि, Skr. कृतोऽसि²); E. H. किहिन् *they did*. Again ई in तीसो *flux*, Skr. अतसी (cf. § 172).

Note: W. H. गिन् *he counts*, Pr. गणाट् (H. C. 4, 358), Skr. गणायति; W. H. छिमा *forgiveness*, Skr. क्षमा; W. H. पिक्कलो or पक्किलो, Ap. Pr. पक्किल्लुत्त (Skr. पश्चाकः); but E. H. गनै, छिमा and पाक्किल् or पक्किला.

56. च becomes उ or ऊ; very rarely; as E. H. पुञ्चाल् *straw*, Skr. पलाली; E. H. मूङ् (also मोंङ्, see § 57) *mustache*, Pr. मंसू (H. C. 2, 86 or *मंङ्? cf. H. C. 1, 265), Skr. श्मश्रु; E. H. खुत्तली *itch*, Ap. Pr. *खत्तुडिश्चि (Skr. खर्तुः).

Note: W. H. उंगली *finger*, Pr. अंगुलिश्चा (cf. H. C. 4, 333), Skr. अङ्गुलिका; O. H. सुगन् *bird* (Chand), Ap. Pr. समुण्ण, Skr. शकुनः; but E. H. अंगुत्तो, समुन्.

1) cf. Spt. 146 लहिउपा = Skr. *लमित्वा or लद्ध्वा; and P. past part. लद्ध्मा.

2) Regarding the forms लिहल्, लिहिस्, लिहिन्, किहिस्, etc. see §§ 307. 501. 503.

57. अ becomes ए, ऐ, ओ or ए, ऐ, ओ; rarely; E. H. मेहर (or मेहरी or मेहरारू) *woman*, Pr. महिला (Spt. 48), Skr. महिला; E. H. केवार (or केवारा) *door*, Pr. कवाडो, Skr. कपाटः; E. H. चोँचू *beak*, Pr. *चंचू, Skr. चञ्चुः; E. H. मोँहू *mustache* (see § 56), Pr. मंसू (H. C. 2, 86), Skr. मस्यु; E. H. सेँधू *hole* (in a wall), Pr. संधी (cf. H. C. 4; 430), Skr. सन्धिः; and others see § 148.

58. इ becomes अ; rarely; E. H. ऐतना *this much*, Mg. एन्निलए (cf. H. C. 2, 157), Skr. इयतकः, cf. S. एतिरो, G. एटलो; E. H. तेतना *so much*, Mg. तेन्निलए, Skr. तावतिकः; E. H. जेतना *how much soever*, Mg. जेन्निलए, Skr. यावतिकः; E. H. केतना, Mg. केन्निलए, Skr. कियतिकः; E. H. लंगोट् *waistcloth*, Mg. लिंगवट्टे, Skr. लिङ्गपट्टः; E. H. धरती *earth*, Mg. धल्लिन्निआ, Skr. धज्जिका; E. H. पोरसा *fathom*, A. Mg. पडलिसअं (cf. H. C. 1, 111. 4, 287), Skr. पौरुषकम्; and optionally E. H. परखै or परिखै *he examines*, Mg. पलिकखइ, Skr. पजीक्षते; E. H. °अल् or °इल् *suffix of past part.*, Mg. इदे, Skr. इतः; e. g., E. H. पळल् or पळिल् *read*, Mg. पळिदे, Skr. पठितः; E. H. °अय् or °इय् *suffix of infinit.*, Ap. इव्वं (K. I. 50. Ls. 468), Skr. इतव्यम्; e. g., E. H. पळय् or पळिय् *to read*, Ap. पळिव्वं, Skr. पठितव्यम्.

Note: Also W. H. गहर *deep*, Pr. गहिरं (H. C. 1, 101), Skr. गभीरम्; W. H. बहर *dumb*, Pr. बहिरो (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. बधिरः; W. H. कलेस् *trouble*, Pr. किलंसो (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. क्लेशः; W. H. हरस् *joy*, Pr. हरिसो (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. हर्षः; W. H. बरस् *rain*, *year*, Pr. बरिसं, Skr. वर्षम्; W. H. फरस् *touch*, Pr. फरिसो (cf. H. C. 4, 182), Skr. स्पर्शः. But E. H. गहिर, बहिर, किलेस्, हरिस्, बरिस्, फरिस्. The Pr. form एन्निलं or (in some MSS.) एन्निल्लं is probably a curtailment of एन्निअलं, composed of एन्निअ and pleon. suff. ल (or ल्ल), and curtailed just as Ap. इव्वं from Mh.-Sr. इअव्वं, e. g., Ap. पळिव्वं for Sr. पळिअव्वं.

59. इ or ई becomes उ or ऊ; very rarely and optionally; E. H. पहर or पहरी or पहरा *watchman*, Mg. पहली, Skr. प्रहरी; E. H. बुदी or बिदी or बुंदा or बुँदू *drop*, Pr. बिंदू (cf. H. C. 1, 34), Skr. बिन्दुः.

Note: Compare Pr. पवासू (H. C. 1, 44) for Skr. प्रवासी *sojourner*.

60. उ becomes अ; rarely; thus E. H. आपन् or आपुन् *own*, Pr. अप्पुल्लं (H. C. 2, 163), Skr. आत्मीयम् (or आत्मभवम्), cf. M. आपला,

G. चापणो; E. II. पतोह् *son's wife*, Pr. पुत्रवह्, Skr. पुत्रवधू; E. H. उडगन् *stars*, Mg. उडगणे (cf. H. C. 1, 202), Skr. उडगणा; E. H. कुटकी *a kind of medicine*, Pr. *कटुकिञ्चा, Skr. कटुकिका; E. H. जया *troop*, Pr. *जुत्यञ्च, Skr. यूयकम्; E. II. सामहूँ or समहूँ *in front of*, Ap. सम्मुहह्, Skr. सम्मुखे (H. II. साम्हने); optionally कपूत् or कुपूत् *bad son*, Mg. *कुपुते, Skr. कुपुत्रः; also E. H. बूँद or बुँदा *drop*, Mg. विंदुर, Skr. विन्दुका.

Note: Also W. II. उंगलो *finger*, Pr. शंगुलिञ्चा, Skr. शङ्गुलिका; W. H. बिल्ली, Pr. विज्जुलिञ्चा (Vr. 4, 26), Skr. विजुत्; W. H. कूकर *dog*, Pr. कुक्कुरो, Skr. कुक्कुरः; W. II. तौबन् *roseapple tree*, Pr. तंबुलो, Skr. तम्बुलः; W. H. समजे *he understands*, Pr. संवुज्जह्, Skr. सम्बुध्यते; Mw. कण् or कुण् *who* (see § 438, 2); but E. II. शंगुरी, बिलुरी, कुक्कुर, तामुन्, समुजै, कौन्. As regards E. II. आपन् *own*, the change of उ to अ, and ल् to न् appears already in Pr. अप्पणायं (H. C. 2, 153. 4, 350) = E. II. अपना, see § 111.

61. उ and ऊ become respectively इ and ई; very rarely; as E. H. तनिक् *small*, Pr. तणक्के, Skr. तनुकः; फिन् or फुन् or पुन् *again*, Pr. पुणो or पुणु (H. C. 4, 343), Skr. पुनर्; E. H. चाई (fem.) *wind*, Pr. वाउ (masc.), Skr. वायुः (or वातिः masc.); बुँदो (fem.) *drop*, Pr. विंदू (masc.), Skr. विन्दुः.

62. उ becomes ए; very rarely; as फेकरा *lungs*, Skr. फुफ्फुसः.

63. ऋ becomes इ; very rarely; thus E. H. किसान् *husbandman*, A. Mg. *किसापो, Skr. कृषापा; E. H. मोध् *vulture*, Mg. मिडे (Md. 1, 31), Skr. गृध्रः; E. H. माई *mother*, Mg. माइञ्चा (Wb. Bh. 178. cf. H. C. 1, 135), Skr. मातृका; E. II. भाई *brother*, Mg. *भाइए, Skr. भ्रातृकः; E. H. भतीजा *brother's son*, Mg. *भतिज्जए, Skr. भ्रातृजकः.

Note: None of these words are mentioned in the exceptional lists of H. C. I, 128—144. T. V. 1, 275—291. Vr. 1, 28—30, enjoining this change instead of the regular one of ऋ to अ (H. C. 1, 126. Vr. 1, 27), exc. माईणं gen. pl. for Skr. मातृणाम् (H. C. 1, 135); but Md. gives घिडो and Bh. माइय^०; and it is plain from the general form of the words, that in all of them the change of ऋ to इ must have taken place in Pr. already. In H. C. 1, 128 we find किसिञ्चो for कृषितः as an analogy for किसानो; and in 1, 137 नत्तिञ्चो and नत्तुञ्चो for नप्तृकः as an analogy for भाइञ्चो and भाउञ्चो (H. C.

1, 131) = भ्रातृकः; and in 1, 135 माइहं for मातृगृहं as an analogy for भन्निजो = भ्रातृजः.

64. ओ becomes ए; very rarely; as गेहूँ or गोहूँ, Pr. गोहुमो, Skr. गोधुमः; but only W. and H. H.; the E. H. only गोहूँ.

65. Short vowels become long; very rarely; E. H. ठोला loose, A. Mg. सिढिलए (cf. Vr. 2, 28. H. C. 1, 215), Skr. शिथिलकः; E. H. पूर or पुर town, Pr. पुरं, Skr. पुरम्. Comp. H. C. 1, 113 मूसलं, E. H. मूसर for Skr. मुसलम्; especially in the verbal roots पी drink, सी sew, चू leak, छू touch, मू die, सो sow, नो bow, भो roam; e. g., E. H. पीये, Pr. पिअर, Skr. पिवति; E. H. चूरे, Pr. चुअइ (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. श्रोतति.

Note: This is a very common change in M., made for the purpose of compensating the shortening of the ultimate; as M. हत्तीण she-elephant for Pr. हत्तिणी; and it may explain the origin of the modern long termin. आ, ई, ऊ (§§ 47—49); e. g., E. H. घोरी mare for घोरीअ = Pr. घोडिआ, etc. It is, also, very common as the result of the elision of part of a conjunct, see § 147.

66. Long vowels become short; 1) regularly in the first part of a compound; thus E. H. पनसार watering place, Pr. पाणिअसाला (or perhaps Ap. *पाणिसाला, eliding अ as in इअं for इअवृं see § 58, note), Skr. पानीयशाला; E. H. पनचक्की watermill, Pr. पाणिअचक्किआ, Skr. पानीयचक्रिका; E. H. फूलवारी flowergarden (for फूलवारी), Pr. *फुल्लावाडिआ, Skr. फुल्लावाटिका; E. H. अधपका half-ripe (for आधपका), Mg. अठपक्कए, Skr. अर्धपक्कः; E. H. नदीया name of a town in Bengal (for नादीया), Mg. नअदीयए, Skr. नवद्वीपकः; E. H. मुमाली honey-bee (for मौमाली), Mg. महुमक्लिअ, Skr. मधुमक्षिका, etc. 2) rarely otherwise; thus E. H. दिया lamp (also दीया and दोवा), Mg. दीयए (or *दियए cf. H. C. 1, 101 पलिअिअं = प्रदीपितं), Skr. दीपकः; also in semitats. as E. H. पखान् stone, Skr. पाषाणः; E. H. पताल् hades, Skr. पातालम्; E. H. मुरझा swoon, Skr. मूर्छा; and see also § 25, as E. H. दुअर weak from दूअर, Mg. दुअलए, Skr. दुर्बलकः, etc.; and § 146, as E. H. सब् all for *साब्, Mg. सबे, Skr. सर्वः, etc.

67. Vowels are nasalized; often optionally before ह and स; as E. H. मुँह or मूँह or मुह mouth, face, Mg. मुहं (H. C. 4, 300),

Skr. मुखम्; E. H. मेह् or मेह् *rain*, Mg. मेहे (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. मेघः (lit. cloud, ?); E. H. सोह् or सोह् *oath* (fem.), A. Mg. सवहे (cf. H. C. 1, 179), Skr. श्रपयः; E. H. झाह् *shade*, Pr. झाही (H. C. 1, 249) or झाहा (Vr. 2, 18), Skr. झाया; E. H. बाह् or बाह् (fem.) *arm*, Pr. बाह or बाहा (H. C. 4, 329), Skr. बाहा (fem., but बाहुः masc.); E. H. माहै or माही or माही *within*, Ap. मत्कहिं, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. खाँसो or खासो *cough*, Pr. खासिन्ना (cf. H. C. 1, 181), Skr. क्वासिका; E. H. हाँसो or हासो *laughter*, Pr. हासिन्ना (cf. H. C. 3, 105), Skr. हासिका; E. H. घाँस् or घास् (fem.) *grass*, A. Mg. घासे, Skr. घासः (masc.), etc.; rarely otherwise; as E. H. पाँव् or पाव् *foot*, Ap. पाउ, Sr. पाघे, Skr. पाद्; E. H. कूँवा or कूँवा or कूँवा or कूँवा *well*, Ap. कूवउ or कूवउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Skr. कूपकः; sometimes ह् is elided after nasalization, as E. H. जाँय् or जाँय् *they go* (for जाँहिं), Ap. जाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), Pr. जति (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. यान्ति.

Note: In Ap. Pr., too, व् is sometimes nasalized; as Ap. तिव्व or तिव्व *how* (see H. C. 4, 397), E. H. इव्व; Ap. तिव्व or तिव्व *thus*, E. H. त्व्व.

β) VOWELS IN CONTACT.

68. The *hiatus* of vowels is treated in three ways: 1) the two contiguous vowels may be contracted or expanded partly by the ordinary Skr. rules of *sandhi*, partly by special Gd. rules given below §§ 71 ff. Or 2) they may be separated by an *euphonic* semivowel (§ 28), and the dissyllable, formed thereby, sometimes again contracted (§ 34). Or 3) they may be left in hiatus. On the whole, the third case is less usual, than the two others; even in E. H.; but certainly in Gd. generally; for sometimes, when E. H. preserves the hiatus of the Pr., other Gds. make sandhi; thus E. H. कइसन् of *what kind*, but W. H. केसा, M. कसा, for Ap. Pr. कइसो (H. C. 4, 403); or E. H. गइल् *he went*, but M. गेला, Mg. *गमिदे; or E. H. खाइल् *caten*, but M. खाला, Mg. खाइदे.

69. The semivowels, which may separate contiguous vowels,

are generally य् or व्, rarely ह्. About the use of य् and व् see § 28. Examples of an inserted euphonic ह् are probably; E. H. वटिहा or वटिया *inferior*; E. H. छूहै or छूवै or छूरै *he touches*; E. H. दिहल् *given* for दे + अल् (probably by analogy to लिहल् *taken*, cf. § 307); E. H. दिहिस् *he gave* for दि + इस्, and किहिस् *he did* for कि + इस् (analogous to लिहिस् *he took*, see § 307); E. H. पहिचान् *cognizance* for पइचान् (Pr. परिचक्षणं, Skr. परिचयनम्?); E. H. °अनिहार *a suffix of agency*, Ap. Pr. अणिअग्रडो (see § 321); E. H. अहा *a pleon. suff.*, Mg. अग्रए, Skr. *अककः (§ 208); E. H. आहट् or आवट् *a suffix of abstract nouns*, Pr. अअवट्टो (see § 288). There is, apparently, one instance of an euphonic ल्; viz. E. H. दिलोतरसो or दियोतरसो *one hundred and two* (made analogously to तिलोतरसो 103, चलोतरसो 104, क्षिलोतरसो 106); see §§ 394. 397.

70. *Affinities.* All three semivowels य्, व् and ह् are already used in this way in Prākṛit. Thus य् is especially mentioned by H. C. 1, 180. T. V. 1, 3. 10. §. C. 1, 3. 5 and apparently both य् and व् by K. I. 1, 45. 46 (in Ls. Ap. 41). About ह् there is no rule; but it occurs apparently in the words कलिहो, निहसो, चिहुरो, झाहा, etc. (for स्फटिक, निकष, चिकुर, झाया) mentioned in Vr. 2, 4. 18. H. C. 1, 186. 249. They not unfrequently occur in Pr. literature; especially in Mg.; thus in the Bhagavatī (see Wb. Bh. 397. 409. 411. 415); also in the Saptasāṭaka (see Wb. Spt. 28. 29. 45); see also Ps. X.

71. Gd. *sandhi* is made in two ways; 1) by *contracting* the two vowels, or 2) by *expanding* the second. By *expansion* I mean the change of ए or इ to य *ya*, and of ओ or उ to व *va*. Peculiar Gd. contractions are: अ or आ with इ to ऐ; अ or आ with उ to औ; इ with अ to ऐ or ए or ई or इ; उ with अ to औ or ओ or ऊ; ए with अ or इ or उ or ए to ए; ओ with अ to औ. See in detail § 73, etc.

72. *Expansion-sandhi* is not unknown in Skr.; but it affects the first vowel; thus ए, ऐ, ओ, औ become respectively अय्, आय्, अव्, आव्, and in certain cases इ or ई and उ or ऊ become इय् and उव् (see M. M. 53); e. g., gen. sing. रै-अस् = रायः; नौ-अस् =

नावः; धी-अस् = धियः; लू-अस् = लुवः. In Pr. there are traces of the Gd. expansion; thus ओ or उ to व in पवदो or पओदो or पउदो = Skr. प्रकोष्ठ (Vr. 1, 40); आवत्तं for *आओत्तं or आउत्तं = Skr. आतोयम् (H. C. 1, 156); उ or उ to व in सोअमल्लं for *सोअमल्लं for *सोउमल्लं = Skr. सोकुमार्यम् (Vr. 1, 22); दुअल्लं for *दुअल्लं or दुउल्लं = Skr. दुकूलम् (Vr. 1, 25); ओहलो for *उवहलो (cf. H. C. 1, 173) for उउहलो = Skr. उदूखलः (H. C. 1, 171); सोमालो for *सुवमालो for सुउमालो = Skr. सुकुमारः (H. C. 1, 171). I do not recollect any example of ए or इ to व. Also the contraction of इ + अ to ए and उ + अ to ओ is found in Skr.; as in gen. sg. अग्नि-अस = अग्नेः; मधु-अप् = मधोः. Here the change is commonly explained as a *guna* of the final इ or उ; but it may be, as in Pr. and Gd. it undoubtedly must be, explained as an expansion of इ and उ to अय् and अव् and contraction of the resultant dissyllable अय and अव to ए and ओ; as *अमयः = अग्नेः; *मधवः = मधोः. Instances of this change in Pr. are not uncommon; thus वेइल्लं for *वयइल्लं for विअइल्लं = Skr. विचकिलम् (H. C. 1, 166); कखेरो for *कखयारो for कखिआरो = Skr. कर्णिकारः (H. C. 1, 168); एपिहं for *अयसिं for इआपिं = Skr. इदानीम् (H. C. 2, 134. Ls. 129); एन्निअं for *अयन्निअं for *इअन्निअं = Skr. इयतिकम्; केन्निअं for *कयन्निअं for *किअन्निअं = Skr. कियतिकम् (H. C. 2, 157); एदूहं for *अयदूहं for *इअदूहं = Skr. *इयादृशम् (i. e. *इयत् + दृश or ईदृश; cf. Wb. Spt. 59); केदूहं for *कयदूहं for *किअदूहं = Skr. *कियादृशम् (or कोदृश) H. C. 2, 157. Again ओ for *अव for उअ = Skr. उत (H. C. 2, 172); cf. ओहरइ for अवहरइ = Skr. अवहरति (H. C. 1, 172); पोरो for *पवरो for *पूअरो = Skr. पूतर् (H. C. 1, 170); पोष्कलं for *पवष्कलं for *पूअष्कलं = Skr. पूगकलम् (H. C. 1, 170); सोणारो for *सवखारो for *सुअखारो for सुवखारो = Skr. सुवर्णकारः (Spt. 194. H. C. 1, 26), etc. An instance of the change of अ + इ to ऐ in Pr. is ऐ for अइ = Skr. अयि (H. C. 1, 169); but the Pr. tendency is to produce and retain the hiatus अइ, अउ, आउ, as दइओ = Skr. दैत्यः (H. C. 1, 151), पउरो = Skr. पौरः (H. C. 1, 162), पाउरणं = Skr. पावरणम् (H. C. 1, 175), etc. Somewhat analogous are in Skr. स्वैरम् for स्वईरम्, प्रौढः for प्रउढः, etc. (M. M. 19).

73. अ or आ with अ or आ becomes आ; as E. H. इहाँ here,

Ap. Pr. एहं, Skr. ईदृशे (sel. स्याने, see § 467); E. H. तोहार yours (W. H. तुम्हारौ), Ap. Mg. *तुम्हल्लिए or *तुम्हकल्लिए or तुम्हक्केले (cf. H. C. 2, 99. 147. 4, 422), Skr. युष्माकम्; E. H. खात् eating, Mg. खावते, Skr. खादन्; E. H. सडाँध (fem.) bad odour, Pr. *सडिअधो, Skr. *प्रदितगन्धिः (cf. H. C. 4, 219); E. H. राउत् name of a caste, Mg. *लाम्मउत्ते, Skr. गजदूतः; E. H. लोहार blacksmith, Mg. लोहमाले, Skr. लौहकारः; E. H. चमार leather-worker, shoemaker, Mg. चम्ममाले, Skr. चर्मकाजः; E. H. परिवा first day of a lunar fortnight, Mg. पडिवम्रा (Vr. 4, 7), Skr. प्रतिपत्.

Exception. Sometimes व् is inserted; as in the nominal long forms, e. g., रमन्वा Rāma for Mg. लाम्मआह, Skr. रामकस्य (see § 369, 2); sometimes य्, as in रैन or रयन् night, Mg. लम्पणो, Skr. गजनी.

74. इ or ई with इ or ई becomes ई; as E. H. पी or पीई he will drink, Pr. पिइइइ, Skr. पास्यति (*पिविष्यति), W. H. पीहै = Pr. *पिइइइ; E. H. पीओ I shall drink, Ap. Pr. पिइव्वडं, Pr. पिइअव्वमि, Skr. पातव्यं (*पिवितव्यं), see § 309.

75. उ or ऊ with उ or ऊ becomes ऊ; as E. H. दूना twofold, Mg. दुउणए (cf. H. C. 1, 94), Skr. द्विगुणकः.

76. *Affinitics.* There are some examples of the preceding contractions in Pr.; as Ap. अम्हार (H. C. 4, 345) = *अम्हअरिओ or *अम्हकरिओ, Mh. अम्हक्केरो (H. C. 2, 147), Skr. अस्माकम् (lit. *अस्मकृतः), H. H. हमार, E. H. हमार, W. H. हमारो (Br.) or म्हारो (Mw.) our; Pr. खाइ or खाम्इ (H. C. 4, 228), Skr. खादति, E. H. खाय् he eats; Pr. राउलं or राम्मउलं (Vr. 4, 1), Skr. राजकुलम्, E. H. राउर, W. H. राउल् a title of honor; Pr. भापां or भाअपां, Skr. भाजनम् (H. C. 1, 267) vessel; Pr. सोणारं (Spt. 194) for सुवस्मअरं, Skr. सुवर्णकारं, E. H. सोनार goldsmith; Pr. कुम्मारो or कुम्भआरो (Vr. 1, 4), Skr. कुम्भकारः, E. H. कोहार, W. H. कुम्हार potter; Pr. पावाल्लिआ for पम्मावाल्लिआ (Spt. 162), Skr. प्रपापालिका guardian of a well; again उआसो for *उउआसो for उववासो (H. C. 1, 173, see § 34), Skr. उपवासः, E. H. उपास् (perhaps a semitatsama) fasting, etc. See Wb. Spt. 32. But as a rule, Pr. prefers to preserve the hiatus; see Wb. Bh. 408. Skr. has similar laws, see M. M. 14. 52.

77. अ with इ becomes ऐ, if antepenultimate, but ऐ or अय aya

or *ay*, if penultimate, optionally; as E. H. गयल् or गइल् or गैल् gone, Mg. गमिदे (see §§ 307, 109), Skr. गतः, W. H. गयौ, P. गइया, Ap. Pr. *गमिअउ; E. H. भयल् or भइल् or भैल् been, Mg. *भविदे (see § 307), Skr. भूतः, W. H. भयौ, P. होइया, Ap. Pr. भविअउ or ह्विअउ (cf. H. C. 4, 401); E. H. कय् or कै having done for कइ, W. H. करि, Ap. Pr. करि (H. C. 4, 357), Pr. करिअ (H. C. 1, 27), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. पइठै or पैठै he enters, Pr. पइठइ (cf. H. C. 4, 444), Skr. *प्रविष्टति (see § 352); E. H. खइलो or बैलो I ate, Mg. खाइइन्दि, Skr. खादितोऽस्मि (see § 487); E. H. गइलो or गैलो I went, Mg. गमिदिऽम्हि, Skr. गतोऽस्मि; E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् such, Ap. Mg. तइसिल्ले (see § 111), A. Mg. तारिसे (H. C. 4, 287) or तादिसे (Ls. 115), Skr. तादृशः.

Exception. The termin. ऐ and ऐँ of the 3. pr. sg. and pl. pres. and of the gen.-affix कै are always thus contracted; e. g., E. H. चलै he walks (not चलइ or चलय्), Pr. चलइ, Skr. चलति; E. H. करै they do, Ap. करहिं (H. C. 4, 382), Pr. करंति, Skr. कुर्वन्ति; E. H. कै of (lit. done by) = O. H. करि, Ap. *करिउ or *करिओ or केरो (H. C. 4, 422), Skr. कृतः. In the oblique form of the singular and in postpositional locatives अइ becomes generally ए or ई; as E. H. भले obl. form of भला good, O. H. भलहि, Ap. Pr. भल्लहे, Skr. भद्रस्य (see § 365, 6. 367, 4); E. H. पाइँ or पाइँ or पाइँ or पाइँ after, G. पाइी, Ap. Pr. पच्छइ (H. C. 4, 334. 420; for पच्छहि, see § 367, 4) or पच्छहिं (§§ 367, 5. and 378), Skr. पश्चे; E. H. आगे before, Ap. Pr. अगइ (H. C. 4, 391), Skr. अग्रे; E. H. माँहँ or माँहँ (cf. § 67) within, S. मंके, Ap. Pr. मन्कहिं or मन्कहि, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. पाइँ near, by side of, Ap. पक्खहिं, Skr. पक्षे; E. H. लागे or लगे with, for, till, M. लागीँ, Ap. लगहि, Skr. लगे.

78. अ with उ becomes औ, if antepenultimate, but औ or अव ava or अव् av, if penultimate, optionally; thus E. H. चौय् or चवय् or चउय् fourth, Mg. चउये (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. चतुर्थः; E. H. चौया or चउया fourth, Mg. चउयए (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. चतुर्थकः; E. H. औध् or अवध् the province of Oudh, also अउधा (W. H. अउधा semitats.), Mg. *अयुढा or *अउढा, Skr. अयोध्या; E. H. रौरा or रउरा a honorific title, you (cf. § 25), Mg. लाउलए (cf. Vr. 4, 1), Skr. गजकुलकः; E. H. ऐकलोता or ऐकलउता (or अक° or °टा) only-born son, Mg. एक्कलउत्तर

(cf. Wb. Bh. 439) or ०दृए (cf. H. C. 2, 165. Vr. 12, 5), Skr. एकलपुत्रकः; E. H. तेठौत् or तेठउत् *son of husband's elder brother*, Mg. तेदुउते (cf. Wb. Bh. 315), Skr. ज्येष्ठपुत्रः.

Exception. The termin. औ or ओ of the 1st pr. sg. pres. is always thus contracted; e. g., E. H. करोँ or करोँ *I do*, Ap. कर्उं (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. कर्मि, Skr. करोमि; Ap. Pr. सउ *hundred* is in E. H. सो beside सौ, सव्, सउ; Skr. शतम्. In the *postpositional* locatives अउ becomes उ; as E. H. पाङ् behind, Ap. Pr. पच्छुहुं, Skr. पश्चे, etc.; see § 367, 5.

79. *Affinities.* In Pr. अइ and अउ generally remain in hiatus, but sometimes become ए and ओ; thus देवँ and दइवँ *fate* (H. C. 1, 153), Skr. दैवम्, but E. H. दैब; Ap. केहो *of what kind* for *कइहो or *कादिहो, Skr. कीदृशः (cf. Ls. 455); Pr. केलं for *कइलं or कयलं (H. C. 1, 167), Skr. कदरम्, also E. H. केरा *plantain*; again Pr. लोपां for *लउपां or लवपां *salt* (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. लवणम्, also E. H. लोन् or नोन्; Pr. चोव्वारो or चउव्वारो *shed, court* (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. चतुर्वारः, but E. H. चोव्वार; Pr. चोत्यो or चउत्यो (H. C. 1, 171), but E. H. चौय्. Only in one exceptional case अइ becomes ऐ, viz. Pr. ऐ for *अइ = Skr. अयि (H. C. 1, 169). These remarks refer to the Mh.-Sr. and Ap. (Sr.) Pr.; perhaps the Mg. even more strictly preserved the hiatus; for thus it may be explained why *on the whole* the E. and N. Gd. have ऐ and ओ, while the W. and S. Gd. have ए and ओ and occasionally even modify ए to ञ (just as the Mg. nom. sing. term. ए; see §§ 47. 48), or exceptionally (shortened) to अ; thus E. H., B., O., also M. चौया, N. (also Br.) चौयो *fourth*, but G., S., Mw. चोयो; E. H., B., O., N., also M. चौदा or चौदह् *fourteen*, but Mw., G. चोद (or चौद), S. चोउहँ; again E. H. गैल् *gone*, but M. गेला; E. H. कैल् *done*, but M. केला; E. H. भैल् *been*, but M. काला (for *हैला, *काला); E. H. खैलोँ *I ate*, M. खालोँ; E. H. ऐलोँ *I came*, M. आलोँ; E. H. तैसन् *such*, M. तसा. The contraction of the Ap. Pr. loc. term. अहिं to ईँ is quite regular in M.; see Man. 28, 2. 3; as M. घरौँ *in a house*, Ap. घरहिं (K. I. 12, 27. in Ls. 451. see § 367, 5), Skr. गृहे; M. पासौँ *by the side of*, Ap. Pr. पासहिं (cf. H. C. 2, 92),

Skr. पाठे; M. घाटी for (affix of dative), Ap. Pr. षट्ठिं (cf. H. C. 2, 32), Skr. अर्थे; M. ठाई in (Man. 127), Ap. ठाणाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थाने, etc.

80. अ with ई or उ becomes ऐ or अय् and ओ or अव् respectively; optionally; as E. H. कन्हई or कन्है or कन्हय् *kanhai* (krishṇa); E. H. घड्ड or घडौ or घडव् *pitcher*, redundant forms of कान् or कनहा (W. H. कान्ह्) and घडा, see § 356.

81. अ with ए, ओ, see § 97.

82. आ with इ or ई and with उ or ऊ remains in hiatus; thus E. H. खाइय् *we shall eat*, Ap. खाइया (scl. ५म्ह), Pr. खाइय्याऽम्हो, Skr. खादितव्याः स्मः (with active sense, see § 309); E. H. खाई *he will eat*, Pr. खाहिइ (H. C. 4, 228), Skr. खादिस्यति (W. H. खाहै = Pr. *खाहइ); E. H. माई *mother*, Mg. माइया (see § 61), Skr. मातृका; E. H. ब्राई *wind* (see § 61); E. H. राउरू *you*, Mg. लाउले (cf. Vr. 4, 1), Skr. गतकुलः; E. H. नाऊ *barber*, Mg. नाविए or पहाविए (cf. H. C. 1, 230), Skr. नापितः.

Exception. The suff. उ of the 2nd pr. sg. imper. combines with आ to ओ; as E. H. तो *go thou*, Ap. ताउ (cf. H. C. 4, 387. Ls. 467), Skr. याहि; E. H. खो *cut thou*, Ap. खाउ, Skr. खाद. A final इ or उ optionally becomes य् and व्; as E. H. खाय् or खाइ *having eaten*, Ap. खाइ (cf. H. C. 4, 439), Pr. खाइअ, Skr. खादित्वा; E. H. जाय् or जाइ *having gone*, Ap. जाइ, Pr. जाइअ, Skr. यात्वा; E. H. जाँय् or जाँइ *they go*, Ap. जाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), Pr. जाति, Skr. यान्ति; again E. H. घाव् or घाउ *wound*, Ap. घाउ (H. C. 4, 346), Pr. घाओ, Skr. घातः; E. H. पाव् or पाँव् or पाउ or पाँउ *foot*, Ap. पाउ, Skr. पादः; E. H. राव् or राउ *a title of nobility, prince*, Pr. राउ (as if Skr. राजः); E. H. खाव् *I eat*, Ap. खाउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. खामि or खाअमि, Skr. खादामि; sometimes also penultimate इ or उ; as E. H. खायल् or खाइल् *caten*, Mg. खाइदे, Skr. खादितः; E. H. रावरू or राउरू *you* (see above).

83. इ with अ becomes ए; as E. H. डेरू or डेरू *one and a half*, for *दिअरू, Mg. दिवड़े (Wb. Bh. 190. 411, and § 416); sometimes optionally; as E. H. नियरू or नेरू *near*, Mg. निअउं, Skr. निकटम्; when final, ए is shortened to ऐ or इ, as E. H. करे or करि *having*

done, Mg. कलिघ (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. चल्यो, O. H. चलेउ, Ap. *चलिघउं (see § 505), Pr. चलिघऽम्हि, Skr. चलितोऽस्मि.

Exception. The nominal termin. इघ contracts to ई; as E. H. पानी water, Pr. पापिअं; see § 53. 49. 50.

84. उ, with घ becomes घो; as E. H. सोधा sweet scent, Mg. सुअंधए (cf. Spt. 13), Skr. सुगन्धकः.

Exception. The nominal termin. उघ contracts to ऊ; as E. H. आँसू tear, Pr. अंसुअं; see § 53. 49. 50.

85. *Affinities.* Both the above contractions are not uncommon in Pr.; thus Pr. लेइ he takes for *लिहइ or लहइ (H. C. 4, 335), Skr. लभते, E. H. ले (cf. E. H. past part. लिहल्); Mg. ओत्ताए (cf. H. C. 1, 173) magician for *उअत्ताए or उवत्ताए, Skr. उपाध्यायः, E. H. ओका; Mg. होते for *हुअते or हुवते (cf. H. C. 3, 180), Skr. भवन्, E. H. होत्, etc. (see § 72). They are common alike to all Gds.

86. इ or उ with आ become इया and उवा; optionally; the insertion of ए is usual, that of व् unusual; thus E. H. हिया or हिआ heart, Pr. हिअअं, Skr. हृदयम्; E. H. बियाह marriage. Mg. विआहे, Skr. विवाहः; E. H. पियास् thirst, Pr. पिआसा (cf. H. C. 4, 434) or पिवासा (Wb. Bh. 274), Skr. पिपासा; E. H. पुआल् or (rarely) पुवाल् straw, Pr. *पलाली, Skr. पलाली; and regularly in the nominal long forms, as घोऱिया or (rarely) घोऱिआ mare; तोऱआ or (less usually) तोऱवा wife, see §§ 195. 199.

Exception. In the nominal short forms, इआ and उआ are always contracted to ई and ऊ respectively; see § 51.

87. इ with उ or ऊ becomes इयु and इयू; optionally; the hiatus is more usual; as E. H. सिउ or सियु Siva, Ap. सिउ, Pr. सिओ, Skr. शिवः; E. H. पिउ or पियू sweetheart, Ap. पिअउ, Pr. पिअओ, Skr. प्रियकः.

88. उ with इ or ई remains in hiatus; as E. H. सुइया needle, Pr. सूइआ, Skr. सूचिका; E. H. सुई parrot, Pr. सुइआ, Skr. शुकिका.

89. इ or उ with ए or ओ; see § 98.

90. ई or ऊ with अ; see § 97.

91. ई with any other vowel inserts ए; as E. H. घोवा daughter,

Pr. धीष्ठा (Vr. 4, 33), Skr. धीदा or दुहिता; E. H. सोया *Sūdā*, Pr. सोष्ठा, Skr. सीता (semitats.); E. H. पीयु *drink thou*, Ap. पिउ (see § 65), Pr. पिव, Skr. पिब; E. H. पीयै *he drinks*, Pr. पिबइ (H. C. 4, 10), Skr. पिबन्ति; E. H. पीयो or पीयो I *drink*, Ap. पिबउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. पिबमि, Skr. पिबामि.

92. उ *with* ञ, इ *and* ई *remains in hiatus*; as E. H. धूष्ठा *smoke*, Ap. धूषउं (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. धूष्मो, Skr. धूमकः; E. H. चूइहै *they will leak*, Ap. चुइहहिं (cf. § 65), Pr. चुइहन्ति, Skr. श्रोतिष्यन्ति; E. H. भूई *earth*, Ap. भूविष्ठा (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. भूमिष्ठा, Skr. भूमिका; E. H. सूई *needle*, Pr. सूइष्ठा, Skr. सूचिका.

93. उ *with* ए, ऐ, ओ *and* औ *becomes* उवे, उवै, उवो, उवौ; optionally; the hiatus is more usual; as E. H. चूरे or चूवै *it leaks* (W. H. चूर or चूवे), Pr. चुषइ (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. श्रोतति; E. H. चूष्ठा or चूष्ठा or चूवो or चूवो I *leak*, Ap. चुषउं, Pr. चुषमि, Skr. श्रोतामि.

94. ए *or* ओ *with* ञ, इ *and* उ; see § 97. 98.

95. ए *or* ओ *with a long vowel remain in hiatus*; less usually व् is inserted after ओ; as E. H. लेई *he will take*, Pr. लहिहिइ, Skr. लप्स्यते (*लभिष्यति); E. H. होई *he will be*, Pr. होही (H. C. 2, 180) or होहिइ (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. भविष्यति; E. H. बोऐ or बोवै *he sows*, Pr. ववइ, Skr. वपति; E. H. बोष्ठा or बोष्ठा or बोवो or बोवौ I *sow*, Ap. ववउं, Pr. ववमि, Skr. वपामि.

96. ऐ *or* औ *with any vowel insert* य् *and* व्; optionally; the insertion of य् is usual, but not that of व्; as E. H. भैयन् or भइयन् कै (see § 77) of *brothers*, Pr. भाइष्ठाण, Skr. भ्रातृकाणाम्; E. H. भैया or भइया *brother*, Mg. भाइष्ठाह, Skr. भ्रातृकस्य (see § 369, 2); E. H. नौयन् or नउयन् कै (see § 78) of *barbers*, Pr. नाविष्ठाण, Skr. नापितानाम्; E. H. नौष्ठा or नौवा or नउष्ठा or नउवा *barber*, Mg. नाविष्ठाह, Skr. नापितस्य; E. H. नौई *he will bow*, Pr. नविहिइ or नमिहिइ (cf. H. C. 4, 158), Skr. नमिष्यति; E. H. नौष्ठा I *bow*, Ap. नवउं, Pr. नवमि, Skr. नमामि; E. H. नौऐ or नौवै *they bow*, Ap. नवहिं (H. C. 4, 367), Pr. नवन्ति, Skr. नमन्ति.

97. ञ *before or after a long vowel is often elided*; before; E. H. सुष्ठा *cook*, A. Mg. सूष्ठा, Skr. सूपकाः; E. H. फुलेल् *scented oil*, Pr. फुल्लएल्लं, Skr. फुल्लतैलम्; after; E. H. सीर or सीयर् *cold, damp*, Pr. सीयलं (cf. H. C. 4, 343. Spt. 53), Skr. शीतलम्; E. H. पीर or

पीयू yellow, Pr. पीयलं (H. C. 1, 213), Skr. पीतलम्; E. H. सू or सूय hog, A. Mg. सूयले, Skr. गृकरः; E. H. यो or योरा little (W. H. योडा), Pr. योयडे or योयडयं (cf. H. C. 2, 125), Skr. स्तोकम् or स्तोककम्. But never in conjugation; e. g., E. H. पीयत् drinking, Mg. पिबते, Skr. पिबन्; E. H. बोयत् sowing, Mg. ववते, Skr. ववन्.

Note: पीयत्, बोयत्, etc. are not real exceptions; for their ई, ओ, etc. are merely subsequent Gd. lengthenings (cf. § 65); nor हीत् being, देत् giving, लेत् taking, for these are not contractions of हो-यत्, etc., but of Mg. Pr. हुवते, लहते, देते (cf. H. C. 4, 307).

98. इ or ए and उ or ओ after a vowel often become य ya or यू y and व va or वू v respectively; thus E. H. गयल् or गइल् gone (see § 77); E. H. धय् having put for धइ, Ap. धरि, Pr. धरिञ्, Skr. धृत्वा; E. H. खायल् or खाइल् eaten (§ 82. exc.); E. H. पाय् having found for पाइ, Ap. पावि, Pr. पाविञ्, Skr. प्राप्य; E. H. चूय् having leaked for चूइ or चूरे, Pr. चुइञ्, Skr. श्रुतिवा; E. H. होय् he is, Pr. होइ (H. C. 1, 9) or हवइ (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति; E. H. होय् having been for होइ or होरे, Pr. हविञ् (H. C. 4, 271), Skr. भूत्वा; E. H. कोयू or कोइयू cuckoo (W. H. कोइल्), Mg. कोइले, Skr. कोकिलः; E. H. नारियू coconut (W. H. नारियल्), Mg. नालिएले, Skr. नाजिकेलः; O. H. गायसु order (in Tulsidās), Ap. गारसु, Pr. गारसो, Skr. गारदेशः; E. H. चवय् or चउय् fourth (see § 78); E. H. घाव् or घाउ wound (see § 82. exc.); E. H. जाँव् I go, Ap. जाडे, Pr. जामि (H. C. 2, 204), Skr. यामि.

Exception. The suff. इ of 3^d pers. and उ of 2nd pr. sg. pres. and imper. is always dropped after the roots ले, दे; thus ले he takes, Pr. लेइ (H. C. 4, 238, see § 85); E. H. दे he gives, Pr. देइ (H. C. 4, 238), Skr. ददाति; E. H. दे take thou, Ap. देउ, Skr. देहि. Again the nominal term. Mg. इए and उए (or Sr. इओ, उओ) are contracted to ई and उ; see § 49; the expansion of final ए (or ओ) to य or व would naturally tend to lengthen the preceding इ and उ; and the resultant ञ after ई and उ, would drop off, by § 97; e. g., तेलिए, तेलिय or तेलीञ्, तेली oilman.

γ) SINGLE CONSONANTS.

99. Medial single consonants in E. H. are of two kinds, *original* and *resultant*. The former are those which have passed as such into E. H. either from the (A. Mg.) Pr.; as in the tadbh. E. H. सगल् *whole*, A. Mg. सगले, Skr. सकलः; E. H. पर्विा *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Pr. पडिविआ, Skr. प्रतिपत्; or from the Skr.; as in the tats. E. H. राजा *king*, Skr. राजा, or in the semitats. E. H. क्रिपा *mercy*, Skr. कृपा. The latter are those which have arisen either from the *simplification* (§ 143) of a conjunct consonant by eliding one, as in the tadbh. E. H. पातो *letter*, Pr. पत्तिआ, Skr. पत्रिका; E. H. माथा *head*, Mg. मयए, Skr. मस्तकः, or in the semitats. E. H. प्रियो, Skr. प्र्यो; E. H. श्रुधा, Skr. श्रयोधा; or from the *dissolution* (§ 138) of a conjunct by inserting a vowel; as in the tadbh. भगत् *devoted*, Ap. *भक्तु, Skr. भक्तः, or in the semitats. ततन् *effort*, Skr. यत्. Tatsama single consonants, whether original or resultant, may, of course (as in Skr.), be of any kind, whether surd or sonant, aspirate or unaspirate; they never suffer any further change in E. H.; for some doubtful exceptions see §§ 102. 129. Tadbhava *resultant* single consonants, too, as may be seen from the examples in §§ 138, 143, may be of any kind; but the tadbh. *original* can only be sonants, never surds, because already in Pr. every original single surd cons. has been made sonant, if it be not wholly elided (cf. § 101). Both tadbhava classes, the resultant and the original, are liable to further changes in E. H. These may be of five kinds: 1) sonant consonants proper (i. e. cerebrals and dentals) are *softened* to semivowels (इ or र् or ल् and ऋ or ह् or ल्ह्) cf. §§ 102—115; 2) aspirate consonants proper (except palatals and cerebrals) may be *reduced* to the simple aspirate (ह्), cf. §§ 116—120; 3) semivowels (viz. ए and व्) and the nasal (म्) may be vocalized (इ and उ), cf. §§ 121. 122; 4) semivowels (viz. व्, ल्, र्, ह्) and nasals (viz. म् and न्) and occasionally double consonants (viz. क्क, च्च, त्त, न्न, व्व, प्प) may be elided, cf. §§ 123—128 and 151—157; and 5) semi-

vowels (viz. ॡ and ॢ) may be hardened, cf. § 129. Besides, there are isolated instances of changes of a miscellaneous kind. See in detail § 97, etc.

100. *Affinities.* All these five kinds of changes exist in Pr. already; but modified partly in character, partly in frequency. Thus in Pr. they affect as a rule (exceptions see § 116, note. § 145, exc. 2. and § 142) only *original* single consonants; in E. H. also *resultant* ones. Again 1) in Pr. surds are softened to sonants, in E. H. sonants to semivowels; e. g., *orig.*, Skr. कर्पटकः *cloths*, Mg. कपडए, E. H. कपरा; Skr. कथितः *said*, Mg. कथिदे, E. H. कहिल् or कहल्; *result.*, Skr. कपर्दिका, Mg. कवडिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 36), E. H. कौरी, W. H. कौगे. This rule refers only to cerebrals and dentals, which alone are capable of the change. But something analogous takes place in the case of the other classes; thus in Pr., labials (ॡ or ॢ) are softened to ॣ (H. C. 1, 231. 237); in E. H., ॣ is *vocalized*; e. g., Skr. ञपथः *oath*, A. Mg. सवथे or सवहे, E. H. सोह (for सडह); in Mg. Pr. for gutturals (ॠ , ॡ) and palatals (ॢ , ॣ) is substituted the euphonic ॡ (cf. Wb. Bh. 397); in E. H., ॡ is *vocalized*; e. g., Skr. नगजम् *town*, Mg. नयलं, E. H. नैरू; Skr. ज्ञानी *night*, Mg. लयणी, E. H. रैनि. There are, however, traces of these changes in Pr. already, see §§ 35. 105. 109, note, etc. Then 2) in Pr., aspirate consonants are changed to sonant aspirates or reduced to the simple aspirate ह (see H. C. 4, 267. 302. Wb. Bh. 410); E. H. allows only the simple aspirate and occasionally extends the rule to resultant aspirates; e. g., Skr. कुयुय *you make*, Mg. कलेथ or कलेह, E. H. कर्ह; Skr. पत्ते, Ap. पक्वहिं, E. H. पाही (for पाखी). Traces of its extension to resultants, however, occur in Pr. also, see § 116, note and Wb. Bh. 410. Again- 3) in Pr., ॡ and ॢ are sometimes *vocalized* (§ 35); in Ap. Pr. also ॡ (see § 122, note); but in E. H. the process is far more common; see examples above (No. 1). Next 4) in Pr., unaspirate consonants proper and ॡ and ॢ only are elided (Vr. 2, 2. H. C. 1, 177); E. H. extends the practice occasionally to ॣ , । , ॥ , ० , though traces of the latter exist in Pr. also (see §§ 125, note. and 127, note).

Lastly 5) in Mh.-Sr., initial φ is always hardened to φ ; E. Gd. extends this practice to both initial φ and φ (see § 17), even when they become the initial of a syllable by the dissolution of a conjunct; e. g., Skr. कार्यम्, E. H. कार्त्त; Skr. पर्वतः, E. H. पर्वत्. As to the Gds., they all agree generally in regard to the four last kinds of changes. With respect to the first, the E. and S. Gd. agree; but W. and N. Gd. do not change φ to φ , but elide it; and have a tendency to preserve φ or change it to φ , but not to φ .

101. With regard to tadbhava original consonants proper, the following may be stated *generally*. In Mg., as in Pr. generally, κ and η were usually elided; exceptionally κ was changed to η (H. C. 1, 177. cf. 4, 396); χ and η were, as a rule, elided (not mentioned at all in E. H. 4, 396; one exception in H. C. 1, 177); φ and φ were never elided, but φ softened to φ (H. C. 1, 195); in Mg. (but not in Pr. generally, cf. H. C. 1, 177) η and φ were not elided, but η softened to φ (H. C. 4, 260. 302. cf. 4, 396); in the later Mg., however, (as in Pr. generally, cf. H. C. 1, 177) φ must have been, as a rule, elided, except in the past part. pass. and in a few other words; in the Mg. of the Bhagavati, indeed, there appears to be no difference between Mg. and the ordinary Pr. (cf. Wb. Bh. 398. 428. 433); but E. H. (and E. Gd. generally) agree with the Pr. Gramm. statement, as above modified (see § 109). In Mg., as in Pr. generally, φ and φ are softened to φ (H. C. 1, 231. 237). Again in Mg., as in Pr. generally, χ and φ were, as a rule, reduced to φ (only a few exceptions in H. C. 1, 187. 188. cf. 4, 396); χ and φ were always left unchanged (being not mentioned in H. C. 1, 187. 4, 396); and φ was always changed to φ , but φ left unchanged (H. C. 1, 199). In Mg. (but not in Pr. generally H. C. 1, 187) φ was changed to φ , and φ optionally reduced to φ (H. C. 4, 267. 302. cf. 4, 396). In Pr. generally, φ was always changed to φ , and φ optionally reduced to φ (H. C. 1, 236. 187. cf. 4, 396). Thus it follows, that E. H. can possess only the following tadbh. orig. cons. proper,

to which it applies its own laws of phonetic change. Of un-aspirates: exceptionally ण; regularly ङ; in the past part. and exceptionally in other words ढ; regularly ब्. Of aspirates: exceptionally ख; regularly छ, क् and द्; optionally ध and भ. The unaspirates च् and ज् are never present; in words like E. H. पचै *it rots*, बजै *it sounds* (§ 143) they are resultant, owing to a doubling (च्, ज्) in Pr.

aa) Softening.

102. क् becomes ण; rarely; 1) original; thus E. H. काग्न *crow*, Ap. कागु, Skr. काकः (but usually कवा, Mg. कार्, or कौवा (for *कववा), Mg. काश्चर्); E. H. साग्न *vegetable*, Ap. सागं, Skr. प्राकम्; E. H. सग्न *cart* (W. H. सगङ्), A. Mg. सगडं (cf. Wb. Bh. 248), Skr. प्राकटम्; E. H. सग्न *whole*, Ap. सगलं, Skr. सकलम्; E. H. सगुन् *bird*, Ap. सगुणु, Skr. प्राकुनः; E. H. ऐगार्ह *eleven*, Ap. *एगार्ह (cf. H. C. 1, 177), Skr. एकादश; E. H. परगद् *manifest*, Skr. प्रकटम् (semitats.). — 2) resultant; thus E. H. त्रिगत् or त्रेगत् *individual*, Skr. व्यक्तः; E. H. मुगति *salvation*, Skr. मुक्तिः; E. H. भगत् *devotee*, Skr. भक्तः; E. H. भगति *faith*, Skr. भक्तिः; E. H. भगताई *devotedness* (cf. § 220) = Skr. भक्तता; E. H. रगत् *blood*, Skr. रक्तम्. Not always; as E. H. चक्र *wheel*, Ap. Pr. चक्रं (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. चक्रम्; E. H. बक्रो *she-goat*, Ap. वक्रिष्ठा, Skr. वक्रिका.

Note: Probably in most or all of these words, the change took place in Pr. already; for it is expressly mentioned by Pr. Gramm. to occur in exceptional cases; see H. C. 1, 177. cf. 4, 396; as Pr. एगो, Skr. एकः, Pr. आगारो, Skr. आकारः, etc. (cf. Ls. 202); and in Gd., too, it occurs only as an exception. As a rule क् is elided in tadbh., both in Pr. and Gd.; and in tats. it remains unchanged.

103. ट् becomes ड् or ङ्; very rarely; always resultant, as E. H. निवाडै or निवारै *he accomplishes* for *निवाटै, Pr. निव्वट्टै or निव्वट्टेइ, Skr. निर्वर्तयति; E. H. पेड् or पेर् *tree* for *पेट् (see § 148), Pr. पट्टी, Skr. पत्रो (?).

104. ड् becomes ड् or ङ्; as a rule; ङ् is more usual; 1) original; thus E. H. कपरा or कपडा *cloths*, Mg. कप्पडर्, Skr. कर्पटकाः; E. H. केवारा or केवाडा *door* (§ 57), Mg. कवाडर्, Skr. कपाटकाः;

E. H. धरै or धरै *he fashions*, Pr. घड् (H. C. 1, 195), Skr. घटयति;
 E. H. चिरई *bird* (cf. § 55), Pr. चड्झा, Skr. चटकिता, H. H. चिडिया;
 E. H. तोरै or तोरै *he breaks*, Pr. तोड् or तोडेड्, Skr. त्रोटयति; E. H.
 नर or नर *a kind of reed*, Mg. नडे (cf. H. C. 1, 195), Skr. नटः;
 E. H. परै or पडै *he falls*, Pr. पड् (Vr. 8, 51), Skr. पतति; E. H.
 पडिवा *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Pr. पडिवा (Vr. 4, 7), Skr.
 प्रतिपत्; E. H. पडोस् *neighbourhood* (cf. § 122), A. Mg. पडिवासे or
 पडिवासे, Skr. प्रतिवासे or प्रतिवेशः; E. H. पापर or पापड *cake*, Mg.
 पपडे, Skr. पर्यटः; E. H. वारै or वाडै *garden*, Pr. वाडिआ, Skr.
 वाटिका; E. H. भर or भर *large boat*, Mg. भडे (cf. H. C. 1, 195),
 Skr. भटः (?); E. H. लरिका or लडिका *boy*, Mg. *लडिक्क from Skr.
 लट (cf. § 252. 334. 353), H. H. लडका; E. H. लरै or लडै *he*
quarrels (makes uproar), Mg. लड्ड, Skr. जटति (cf. § 110, exc.); E. H.
 सरै or सडै *it rots*, Pr. सड् (Vr. 8, 51), Skr. श्रद्धति; generally in
 the E. H. pleonastic suffixes ड् or र्, डा or रा, आड् or आर्, आडा
 or आरा, Ap. Mg. डे, उए, अडडे, अडडए (cf. H. C. 4, 429. 430); thus
 E. H. गोर or गोड *foot, leg*, Ap. गवडु (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. गमडो,
 Skr. गमः (lit. going); E. H. बोर or बोड *little* (cf. § 97), Ap. Mg.
 बोडडे, Skr. स्तोकाः; E. H. ठोकरा or ठोकडा *small piece*, Ap. Mg.
 *ठोक्कडए (cf. H. C. 2, 125), Skr. स्तोकाः; E. H. चमरा or चमडा *leather*,
 Ap. Mg. चम्मडअं, Skr. चर्म; E. H. बडर or बडड *calf*, Ap. वड्डड,
 Skr. वत्सः; E. H. सैकरा or सैकडा *a hundred*, Ap. Mg. सयक्कडअं, Skr.
 शतकम्; E. H. नेहरा *eldest*, Ap. Mg. नेडडए, Skr. ज्येष्ठः; E. H. पडिवा
 or पडिवाड or ०वारा *hindmost*, Ap. Mg. *पडिवाडडे or ०वडडए or
 पडिमडडे or ०मडडए, Skr. पश्चिमकः; E. H. पडारै or पडारो (sel. रस्सो)
hind-rope (for tying horses' hind-legs), Ap. पडिमडडिआ, Skr. पश्चक०;
 E. H. अगारै or अगारो *fore-rope*, Ap. अगमडडिआ, Skr. अग्रक०, etc. —
 2) resultant; thus E. H. कौरै or कौडै *cowrie*, Pr. कवडिआ (H. C.
 2, 36), Skr. कपर्दिका, etc.

105. ड् becomes ल्; only original; very rarely; thus the
 E. H. pleonastic suffix ल् or ला, Ap. Mg. डे or उए (cf. H. C. 4, 429),
 e. g., E. H. परल् or ०ला *ulterior*, Ap. Mg. पलडे or ०उए, Skr. पजः;
 E. H. मोटल् *fat*, Ap. Mg. *मोटडे or *मुटडे, Skr. मूर्त्तः; E. H. मडली
mother, Ap. Mg. *माडडिआ, Skr. मातृका, etc.; also otherwise, as

E. H. हिलोतरसै or ०सो, Ap. Mg. *इडुन्नरसयं or *इलुन्नरसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Ap. Sr. *इडुन्नरसड, Skr. षडुन्नरगतम्.

Note: This change is not uncommon in Pr., see Vr. 2, 23. H. C. 1, 202; in such cases E. H. optionally, but usually changes ल् to र्; as Skr. षोडश sixteen, A. Mg. सोलस (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. सोरह् or सोलह्; Skr. तडाकः tank, Ap. तलाड (cf. H. C. 1, 202), E. H. तराड or तराव् or तलाव्; Skr. नडम् a kind of reed, Pr. नडं or नलं (H. C. 1, 202), E. H. नर or नल् or नड्; Skr. नाडिका stalk, Pr. नाडिआ or नालिआ (H. C. 1, 202), E. H. नारी or नाली or नाडी.

106. ड becomes न्; only original; very rarely; thus E. H. तवन् or तडन् or तौन् that (lit. of that kind), Ap. तेवडु (H. C. 4, 407) or *तेवडो, Pr. तेदूहो (cf. H. C. 2, 157), Skr. तादृशः (see § 438, 2); E. H. तवन् or तडन् or तौन् which (lit. of which kind), Ap. जेवडु (H. C. 4, 407), Pr. तेदूहो, Skr. यादृशः; E. H. कवन् or कडन् or कौन् who (lit. of what kind), Ap. कवणु (H. C. 4, 395) or केवडु (H. C. 4, 408), Mg. केवन्नियं (Wb. Bh. 422), Pr. केदूहो, Skr. कीदृशः (see § 26, note); cf. also E. H. घुगडा or घुगना mouth (of a horse, etc.) from घोष् mouth.

107. त् becomes ड् or र्; very rarely; always resultant; as E. H. सरसठि or सडसठि or सतसठि sixty seven, Pr. सत्तसट्टी (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. सप्तषष्टिः.

108. दू becomes र्; very rarely; always original; thus गगारी waterpot, Pr. गगारिआ (cf. Vr. 2, 13), Skr. गगदिका; E. H. सत्तर seventy, Pr. सत्तरी (H. C. 1, 210. Wb. Bh. 248) for *सत्तदो, Skr. सप्ततिः; E. H. ०रह् ten, Pr. ०रह (Vr. 2, 14) or ०रस (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. दश; e. g., E. H. बारह twelve, Pr. बारह (H. C. 1, 219) or बारस (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. द्वादश.

Note: This change, also, is old Pr.; I know no strictly modern example.

109. दू becomes ल्; only original; always in the E. H. suffix of past part. इल् or घल्, Mg. इदे (cf. H. C. 4, 260. 302. Vr. 11, 11), Skr. इतः; e. g., E. H. गइल् or गैल् or गयल् gone (see § 77); E. H. भइल् or भैल् or भयल् been (see § 77); E. H. धइल् or धैल् or धयल् put, Mg. धलिदे (cf. H. C. 1, 36. धरिओ Spt. 241), Skr. धृतः; E. H. कइल्

or कैल् or कयल् *done*, Mg. *कलिदे, Skr. कृतः (see § 307); E. H. खाइल् or खायल् *eaten* (see § 82. exc.); E. H. पाइल् or पायल् *found* (cf. §§ 33. 123), Mg. पाविदे (cf. H. C. 4, 387. पाविध), Skr. प्राप्; E. H. आइल् or आयल् *come*, Mg. आविदे, Skr. आप्; E. H. पढल् or पढिल् *read*, Mg. पढिदे, Skr. पठितः; E. H. चर्ल् or चरिल् *walked*, Mg. चलिदे, Skr. चलितः, etc.; rarely otherwise; e. g., E. H. सल् *hundred*, A. Mg. *सद, Skr. शतम्.

Note: This change is especially Mg., e. g., कले, गले or कदे, गदे (in Md. 12, 28. optional with कडे, गडे, Vr. 11, 15), Skr. कृतः, गतः; Mg. केलघं (Sak. 37, 13) for *कलिघं, Skr. कृतकम्; A. Mg. ईलिघे for *ईदिघे, Skr. ईदृघः (cf. Lss. 417. 423); rarely in Pr. generally, as Pr. पलिनं (H. C. 1, 221), Skr. प्रदीपम्, E. H. पलीत् *a light, candle*; Pr. पलिलं (H. C. 1, 212) for *पलिदं, Skr. पलितम्, E. H. पलिल् or पलल् *mud*; Pr. शलसी (H. C. 1, 211) for *शदसी, Skr. शतसी, E. H. शलसी *linseed*.

110. ल् becomes र्; as a rule; see §§ 16. 30; thus E. H. नर् *man*, Mg. नले (H. C. 4, 288), Skr. नजः; E. H. राय् *king*, Mg. लाया (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. राजा, etc.

Exceptions. E. H. लेतुरी *cord*, (Ap.) Mg. *लंतुडिआ, Skr. जञ्; E. H. लरै or लडै *he quarrels* (S. रडे), Mg. लडइ, Skr. जटति (cf. लटति or लडति); but E. H. रारि or राडि *quarrel* (noisy contention), Mg. लाडी, Skr. जटिः; E. H. डालै or डारै *he throws*, Mg. *डालेइ or डालेइ, Skr. दाज्यति (also डालयति); E. H. भूलै or भूरै *he forgets*, Ap. Mg. *भवलैइ or *भमलेइ, Skr. भ्रमज्यति (?); E. H. गलियावै or गरियावै *he abuses* and गाली or गारी *abuse*, cf. § 142; E. H. निकालै or निकारै *he ejects*, cf. § 115, note; E. H. चलोतरसै *one hundred and four*, Mg. चुलुत्तरसयं (§ 397), Skr. चतुहत्तरशतम्; E. H. सम्हालै or सम्हालै *he supports*, cf. § 120; E. H. चालिस् *forty*, Mg. चन्नलीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. चत्वारिंशत्; E. H. डाला *branch*, Mg. डालघं (cf. H. C. 4, 445), Skr. दाजकम्.

111. ल् becomes न्; sometimes; in the E. H. pleonastic suffix न् or ना, Mg. ले or लए; e. g., E. H. जामुन् *roseapple-tree*, A. Mg. *जम्बुले (see § 18) or जम्बुले, Skr. जम्बूलः; E. H. ऐतना *so many*, Mg. एत्तिलए (cf. H. C. 2, 157) or Ap. Mg. एत्तुलए (cf. H. C.

4, 408), Skr. इयत्तिकः; E. H. तेतना *so many*, Mg. तेन्निलए or तेनुलए, Skr. तावत्तिकः; E. H. जेतना *as many*, Mg. जेन्निलए or जेनुलए (H. C. 4, 407), Skr. यावत्तिकः; E. H. केतना *how many*, Mg. केन्निलए or केनुलए, Skr. कियत्तिकः; E. H. आपन् or आपुन् or अपना or अपुना *own*, Mg. अप्पुल्लं or अप्पुल्लञ्चं (cf. H. C. 2, 163), Skr. आत्मोयम् or यकम्; E. H. अइसन् or ऐसन् *of that kind*, Ap. Mg. *अइसिल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 403. 2, 164. Wb. Bh. 437) or *अइसुल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 429), Skr. ईदृशः; E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *of that kind*, Ap. Mg. *तइसिल्ले or *तइसुल्ले, Skr. तादृशः; E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *of whichever kind*, Ap. Mg. *तइसिल्ले or *तइसुल्ले, Skr. यादृशः; E. H. कइसन् or कैसन् *of what kind*, Ap. Mg. *कइसिल्ले or *कइसुल्ले, Skr. कोदृशः, see also § 31.

Note: There are a few optional examples of this change in Pr.; see H. C. 1, 256. 257; as पांगलं or लंगलं, Skr. लङ्गलम् *plough*.

112. पा becomes न्; as a rule; see § 13; thus E. H. पानी (or *theth* पापो) *water*, Mg. पापिञ्चं (H. C. 1, 101), Skr. पानीयम्, etc.

113. ह becomes ऋ; very rarely; only resultant; thus E. H. कोऋ *leprosy* for *कोह्, Pr. कुह् (or कोह् cf. H. C. 1, 116 or कोह्?), Skr. कुहम्; E. H. रन्ऋ *angry*, Mg. लुह् (or लुह्?), Skr. गुहः; E. H. अठत्तिस् *thirty eight*, Mg. अट्ठत्तिसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टत्रिंशत्.

Note: This change is possibly Pr.; as the Skr. conjunct ह्र has a tendency to change to ह्र in Pr.; see § 114.

114. ह becomes ऋ or ई; as a rule; ऋ is more usual; thus 1) original; E. H. कमठा or कोठा *a kind of gourd*, Mg. कमठए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. कमठकः; E. H. मठा or महा *shed*, Mg. मठए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. मठकः; E. H. मठो *small temple*, Pr. मठिआ, Skr. मठिको; E. H. पढै *he reads*, Pr. पढइ, Skr. पठति; E. H. पीठा *stool*, Mg. पीठए, Skr. पीठकः. 2) resultant; E. H. काढै or काहै *he draws*, Pr. कइइ (H. C. 4, 187), Skr. कर्षति (lit. *कृष्टयति); E. H. ब्रेढै *he encloses*, Pr. वेइइ (Vr. 8, 40) or वेइइ (H. C. 4, 51), Skr. वेष्टते or वेष्टयति; E. H. ब्रैढै *he grows*, Pr. वइइ (Vr. 8, 44), Skr. वर्धति; E. H. बरइ or बर्हइ or बरहइ (cf. § 138) *carpenter*, Mg. वइइए, Skr. वर्धकिकः; E. H. बूठा *old man*, Mg. वुइए (cf. H. C. 1, 131), Skr. वृढकः; E. H. बूढो *old women*, Pr. वुइआ (cf. H. C. 1, 131), Skr. वृढिका; E. H. डेइ or देइ *one and a half*, Mg. दिवइ (Wb. Bh. 190), Skr. अर्धद्वितीयः

(see § 416); E. H. *अर्द्धा* two and one half, Pr. *अर्द्धा*, Skr. *अर्द्धतृतीया* (see § 416); E. H. *साढे* one half more, Pr. *सर्द्ध*, Skr. *सार्द्ध*.

115. *ह* becomes *ल्ह*; very rarely; only original; E. H. *कुल्हारा* *axe*, Mg. *कुढाल* (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. *कुढाजकः*; E. H. *कुल्हारी* *small axe*, Mg. *कुढालिआ*, Skr. *कुढाजिका*; E. H. *कोल्हू* *mill (for making sugar or oil)*, Mg. *कुढले*, Skr. *कुढजः* (a post round which the mill stone moves).

Note: E. H. *दुल्हा* *bridegroom*, *दुल्हो* or *दुल्हिन्* *bride* (spelled H. II. *दुल्हा*, *दुल्हिन्* see § 6, note) are Mg. *दुल्लहर*, *दुल्लहिआ* (cf. H. C. 4, 338. Ls. 227. 228), Skr. *दुर्लभकः*, *दुर्लभिका* (lit. *difficult to obtain, dear*), not Skr. *उद्दोढा*, *उद्दोढा* (as Bs. I, 271. 245). And E. H. *निकालै* is Pr. *निक्कालइ* or *निक्कालेइ*, Skr. *निष्कालयति* (of R. *कल्*; perhaps caus. or denom. of *कृ*), not Pr. *निक्कडइ*, Skr. *निष्कर्षति* (as Bs. I, 354). As to *कोल्हू*, the Mg. *कुढले* might be *कुढुले* in Ap. Mg. (cf. vulgar B. *कुढुल्* *axe* for Mg. *कुढाले*, see Bs. I, 270), and thence (eliding *ल्*) *कुढुए*, *कुढ* or *कोल्हू* (cf. §§ 49. 125); there is Skr. *कुढारः*, Mg. *कुढालू* *tree (post?)*, which might also produce *कोल्हू*. An instance of this change in Pr. is *अंकोल्ल*, for **अंकोल्ह* (H. C. 1, 200; cf. *पल्लुइ* and *पल्लुइ* H. C. 4, 200), Skr. *अङ्गोढ*.

bb) Reduction.

116. *ख* and *घ* become *ह*; generally when original; as E. H. *मुह* or *मुंह* *mouth*, Pr. *मुहं* (H. C. 2, 164), Skr. *मुखम्*; E. H. *मेह* or *मेह* *rain*, Mg. *मेहे* (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. *मेघः*, etc.; sometimes when initial in a compound; as E. H. *पोहर* *father's family*, Pr. *पिउहरं* (H. C. 1, 134) for **पिउघरं*, Skr. *पितृगृहम्*; E. H. *नैहर* *wife's mother's family*; E. H. *देहर* *idol temple*, Pr. **देघघरं*, Skr. *देवगृहम्*; 2) rarely when resultant; as E. H. *रहै* *he lasts, stays* for **रखै*, Mg. *लक्खइ*, Skr. *ज्यते* (pass.); E. H. *पाही* *by the side of* for **पाखी*, see § 74. exc.; O. E. H. *कहूँ* or *काहूँ* *by the side of* for **कखूँ* or **काखूँ*, Ap. **कक्खहुं*, Skr. *कले* (cf. § 378, 3).

Exceptions. Sometimes *ख* remains unchanged; probably either to avoid confusion, as in E. H. *लिखल्* *written*, not **लिहल्*, Mg. *लिहिदे* (cf. H. C. 1, 187 *लिहइ*), to distinguish from E. H. *लिहल्* *taken* for **लहल्*, Mg. *लहिदे*; or to suit analogy, as in E. H.

सुख *pleasure* (Pr. सुहं H. C. 1, 187) like दुख *pain*, Pr. दुक्खं (H. C. 2, 72); but generally words with ख् are tats.; as E. H. सखी *friend*, etc.

Note: The change of original ख् and घ् to ह् is Pr. (H. C. 1, 187); there are also examples of ह् for resultant ख् and घ्; as Pr. दाहिणो or दक्खिणो (H. C. 2, 72), Skr. दक्षिणः, E. H. दाहिन् *right*, but दखिन् or दक्षिन् *south*; Pr. दुहं or दुक्खं (H. C. 2, 72), Skr. दुःखम्, E. H. only दुख *pain*; Pr. दीहो or दिग्घो (H. C. 2, 91), Skr. दीर्घः *long*, E. H. *deest*.

117. क् becomes ह्; *very rarely*; only resultant; E. H. माँही° or माही° *amidst* for *माकी°, Ap. Pr. मक्कहिं, Skr. मध्ये.

Note: Probably ह् represents the Mg. semiconsonant घ् = द्, as in Pr. द्वाहा for Skr. द्वाया (Vr. 2, 18), see § 18.

118. ह् becomes ह्; *very rarely*; only original; E. H. पहिल् or पहेल् *first*, Ap. Mg. *पढइल्ले, Mg. पढमिल्ले (Wb. Bh. 437), Skr. प्रथमः; E. H. पहार or पहाइ *mountain-range*, Ap. Mg. *पढिअउत्ते, Skr. प्रथितकः (lit. *spread out*); E. H. पहार or पहाइ *the multiplication table*, Ap. Mg. *पढिअउत्ते, Skr. पथितकः (with pleon. उक्, see § 217); the इ is absorbed just as in B., O., H. H. पढा *read*, Mg. पढिअत्ते, W. H. पढ्थौ, Ap. पढिअत्ते.

Note: The root पृष् or पृथ shows this change in Pr. already; e. g., Pr. पुठवी or पुहवी or पुहुवी (H. C. 1, 216. 88. 131), Skr. पृथिवी or पृथ्वी *earth*, O. H. पुहुमि; Pr. पिहं or पुहं beside पिथं or पुथं (H. C. 1, 188), Skr. पृथक्; Pr. पिहुलं, Skr. पृथुलम् *full* (Spt. 313). But perhaps there was an Ap. form पथ°. The only other instances of the change of ह् to ह् which I know, are the Pr. पिहो or पिहो, Skr. पिठः *pot* (H. C. 1, 201) and the G. and S. कुहारो *axe*, Pr. कुहारो (H. C. 1, 199), see Bs. I, 270 and § 115. Perhaps also in Pr. काहावणो or कहावणो (H. C. 2, 71) for *कड़ावणो, Skr. कार्षापणः or कर्षापणः; cf. Pr. कड़इ = Skr. कर्षति (H. C. 4, 187). All Gds. have पहेल्°, S. पेहेरो°, see § 401.

119. ध् becomes ह्; *always* when original; as E. H. कहै *he speaks*, Mg. कहेदि or कथेदि (H. C. 4, 267. 302), Skr. कथयति; E. H. साह् *a title of merchants*, Pr. साह (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. साधुः; E. H.

बहिर् *deaf*, Mg. बहिले (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. बधिः; E. H. दही *curds*, see § 53; also when initial in a compound; as E. H. गोह् *lizard*, *aligator*, Pr. गोही, Skr. गोधिः; E. H. गोहूँ *wheat*, see § 64; 2) very rarely when resultant; as E. H. कँहार or कँहार *porter*, Mg. कंधमाले (cf. H. C. 2, 4 or *कंधमाले, cf. H. C. 2, 5), Skr. स्कंधकाजः.

120. भू becomes ह्; always when original; as E. H. गुहै *he strings*, Pr. गुहइ or गुभइ (H. C. 1, 236), Skr. गुफति; E. H. सौरी or सहरी *a kind of fish*, A. Mg. सहलिम्ना (cf. H. C. 1, 236), Skr. शफजिका; E. H. सोहै *it looks well*, Pr. सोहइ (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. शोभते; E. H. गहिर *deep*, Mg. गहिले (cf. H. C. 1, 101), Skr. गभीः; E. H. शहीर *herdsman*, Mg. शहीले, Skr. शभीः; also when initial in a compound, as E. H. मुत्राहल *pearl*, Pr. मुत्राहलं (H. C. 1, 236) for *मुत्राभलं, Skr. मुक्ताफलम्; E. H. कटहल *jackfruit*, Mg. *कंठग्रहले, Skr. कपटकफलः; E. H. सुहाग *good fortune*, Pr. सुहगं (cf. H. C. 1, 160), Skr. सौभाग्यम्; 2) rarely when resultant; as E. H. कुँहार or कोँहार *potter*, Mg. कुमाले or कुममाले (cf. H. C. 1, 8), Skr. कुम्भकाजः; E. H. सम्हालै or सम्मालै *he supports*, Mg. सम्मालेइ, Skr. सम्भाजयति; E. H. सगा *full brother* for *सगहा or *सगभा, Mg. सगभाए, Skr. सगर्भकः; also optionally, as E. H. जीह् or जीभ् *tongue*, Pr. जीहा or जिम्भा (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. जिह्वा.

Note: Words with original भू are tats. or semitats., as E. H. सुभाव् or सुभाउ *disposition*, Skr. सुभावः, Pr. सहाचो (H. C. 1, 187).

cc) Vocalisation.

121. य् becomes इ and combines with the adjacent vowels; thus 1) य *ya* to इ, as E. H. बिगत् *individual*, Skr. व्यक्तः (semitats.); 2) अय *aya* to ऐ or ए, as E. H. सै or से *hundred*, A. Mg. सयं, Skr. शतम्; E. H. समै or समे *time*, A. Mg. समये, Skr. समयः; E. H. उदै or उदे *rising*, Skr. उदयः (semitats.); E. H. नैर् or नेर् *town*, Mg. नयलं (cf. H. C. 1, 180), Skr. नाजम्; E. H. नैन् or नेन् *eye*, Mg. नयणं (H. C. 1, 180), Skr. नयनम्; E. H. रैन् or रेन् *night*, Mg. लयणी (cf. H. C. 4, 401), Skr. जज्ञनी; E. H. पैँता *foot of a bed*, Mg. पायंतए (cf. H. C. 3, 134) or पयंतए, Skr. पादान्तकः or पदान्तकः; 3) इय *iya* to ए, as E. H. पङ्क्त् *backyard*, Ap. Mg. *पच्छिद्यंते or पच्छिमते, Skr. पश्चिमान्तः, etc.; cf. § 77.

122. *व्* becomes *उ* and combines with the adjacent vowels; thus 1) *व* *va* to *उ*, as E. H. सिउ or सिव *Siva*, A. Mg. सिवे, Skr. शिवः; E. H. देउ or देव *god*, Mg. देवे (cf. H. C. 1, 177), Skr. देवः; E. H. नेउ or नेव *foundation*, Mg. नेवे, Skr. नेमः; 2) *वि* *vi* to *उ*, as E. H. नौई *he will bow* for *नउई, Pr. नविहिइ or नमिहिइ (cf. H. C. 4, 158), Skr. नमिष्यति; E. H. हौवो or हौवो *I am* for *हउवो, Ap. हविमउ, Pr. हविम म्हि, Skr. भूतोऽस्मि; E. H. नौआ or नउआ *barber*, see § 96; E. H. तनउ or *तनोउ *sacrificial thread*, Pr. *तनोवमिथं (see p. 23 and H. C. 1, 101), Skr. यन्त्रोपवीतम्; 3) *अव* *ava* optionally to *ओ*; as E. H. और् or अउर् *and*, Mg. अवलं, Skr. अपगम्; E. H. कौन् or कउन् or कवन् *who*, see § 106; E. H. कौरी *a kind of shell* (see § 103); E. H. सौती *wife*, Pr. सवत्तिआ (cf. Spt. 78), Skr. सपत्निका; E. H. भौँरा *humble-bee*, Ap. भवँरउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Skr. भ्रमरकः; E. H. पठौतो or पठउतो *if I send*, Ap. *पठुवंतउ, Pr. पठुवंतमिह or पठुवंतमिह (cf. H. C. 4, 37), Skr. प्रस्थापयन्मि; sometimes to *ओ*; as E. H. सोँह *oath*, see § 100; E. H. कोँठा *a kind of gourd*, see § 114; sometimes to *उ*; as E. H. लून् or लोन् or नून् or नोन् (see § 31) *salt*, Pr. लोणं or लवणं, Skr. लवणम्; E. H. भूलै or भूरै *he forgets*, Ap. Mg. *भवँलइ or *भमलेइ, Skr. भ्रमजयति; 4) *इव* *iva* to *ओ*; as E. H. बहिनोई, see § 49; or to *उ*, as E. H. पकूत् *back-yard*, Ap. पक्किवंतु, Skr. पश्चिमान्तः; E. H. अगूआ or अगुआ *leader, guide*, Ap. Mg. *अगिगवँअए, Skr. अग्रिमगकः; 5) *इव* or *इवे* to *ओ*; as E. H. परोस् *neighbourhood*, see § 104; E. H. परोसै *he distributes*, A. Mg. पलिवेसइ, Skr. पजिवेयति; 6) *आव* *áva* optionally to *ओ*; as E. H. महौत् or महाउत् or महावत् *elephant-driver*, Ap. महावंतु, Skr. महामात्रः, etc.; cf. § 34. 78.

Note: It will be seen from some of the above examples, that Skr. *प्* is in Pr. *व्* (H. C. 1, 231), in Gd. *उ*; and Skr. *म्* in Ap. Pr. *म्* or *वँ* (H. C. 4, 397), in Gd. *उँ* or *उ*. Traces of these changes are found in Pr.; as Pr. लोणं or लवणं, Skr. लवणम् (Vr. 1, 7), E. H. लोन् *salt*; Pr. ओडकाओ or उवडकाओ, Skr. उपाध्यायः, E. H. ओका *magician*; Ap. पठउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385) for *पठेवँ, Pr. पठमि or पठामि, Skr. पठामि, E. H. पठौ or पठौ *I read*, see § 497, 2.

dd) Elision.

123. व् before इ (or ई) is elided; as a rule (cf. § 33); only original; thus E. H. ऐकइस् *twenty one* (W. H. एकोस्), A. Mg. एक्खीसा (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 1, 28), Skr. एकविंशतिः; E. H. ब्वाइस् *twenty two*, A. Mg. ब्वावीसं (Wb. Bh. 425) or वावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426. T. V. 1, 4. 79), Skr. द्वाविंशतिः; E. H. तेइस् *twenty three*, A. Mg. तेवीसं (Wb. Bh. 425) or तेवीसा (H. C. 1, 165), Skr. त्रयोविंशतिः; E. H. पचीस् *twenty five* for *पच्चइस्, A. Mg. *पंचवीसं or °सा (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. पञ्चविंशतिः; E. H. सताइस् *twenty seven*, A. Mg. सत्तावीसा (H. C. 1, 4), Skr. सप्तविंशतिः; E. H. अठाइस् *twenty eight*, A. Mg. अट्ठावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टाविंशतिः; E. H. ओनइस् *nineteen* (W. H. उनीस्), A. Mg. उपावीसा or एकूपावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. उन्नाविंशतिः or एकोनविंशतिः; E. H. भइल् *been*, पाइल् *found*, आइल् *come*, see § 109; E. H. पठइवो or पठैवो *I shall send*, Ap. *पट्ठविवुउं or *पट्ठाविवुउं, Pr. पट्ठाविम्वुइहि, Skr. प्रस्थापितव्योऽस्मि; E. H. पठाई *he shall send*, Pr. पट्ठाविहिइ, Skr. प्रस्थापयिष्यति; E. H. पठइतो or पठैतो *I have sent*, Mg. पट्ठाविदइहि, Skr. प्रस्थापितोऽस्मि, etc. The resultant व्, being always hardened (see § 129) is never elided.

Exception. A few exceptions, see § 122.

Note: In the numerals all Gds. elide व्, exc. M., G. and S.; thus 21 M. एकवीस्, G. एकवीण् (S. एकीह); 22 M. बावीस् or बेवीस्, G. बावीण्, S. बावीह; 23. M. तेवीस्, G. त्रेवीण्, S. त्रेवीह; 25 M. पंचवीस्, G. पचीण्, S. पंजवीह or पंजीह, etc.

124. र् (= Mg. ल्) before इ is elided; sometimes; only original; thus E. H. कय् *having done* for *कइ, O. H. करि, Mg. कलिअ (H. C. 4, 302) or Mh. करिअ (H. C. 4, 272), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. धय् *having placed* for *धइ, O. H. धरि, Mg. धलिअ, Skr. धृत्वा; E. H. कै *suffix of genitive* for *कइ, O. H. करि, Mg. *कलिअ or *कलिए, Skr. कृतः; E. H. पै *upon*, Ap. Mg. पलि, Mg. पले, Skr. पजे; E. H. पै *however*, Mg. पलि or पले, Skr. पजम्; E. H. धइल् *placed* and कइल् *done*, see § 109; E. H. अइसन् or ऐसन् *such* (see § 111), Ap. Mg. *अइसिल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 403), A. Mg. एलिस° or Mh. एरिस° (H. C. 1, 142), Skr. ईदृश°; E. H. कइसन् or कैसन् *of what kind*, Ap. Mg. *कइसिल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 403), A. Mg. केलिस° or Mh. केरिस° (H. C. 1, 142), Skr. कीदृश°;

E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् of this kind, Ap. Mg. *तइसिल्ल, A. Mg. तालिस° or तारिस° (H. C. 4, 287), Skr. तादृश°; E. H. जइसन् or जैसन् of which kind, Ap. Mg. जइसिल्ल, A. Mg. जालिस° or जारिस° (Wb. Bh. 422), Skr. यदृशः; E. H. सा like, A. Mg. सलिअए or सरिअए, Skr. सदृशकः (see § 292).

Note: Pr. has an instance of the elision of ल before इ in बइल्लो bull (H. C. 2, 174), Skr. बलिवर्दः.

125. ल after उ is elided; rarely; only original; thus E. H. पुआल straw, Pr. *पुताली, Skr. पताली (cf. Skr. पुलाक); but perhaps for पवाल or पावाल = Pr. पाअवाली, Skr. पादपाली litter, bed of straw; E. H. केचुवा or केचन्वा earth-worm, Mg. किंचुलए, Skr. किञ्चुलकः; E. H. कोल्लू sugar-mill, see § 115.

126. ह before or after इ is elided; sometimes; thus in the E. H. suffix of 3. pers. sg. fut. ई (for *इई), Pr. इहो or इहिइ, Skr. इष्यति; e. g., E. H. होई he will be, Pr. होही (H. C. 2, 180) or होहिइ (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. भविष्यति; E. H. हँसो or हसो (§ 67) he will laugh, Pr. हंसिहिइ (H. C. 3, 157), Skr. हसिष्यति; E. H. ऐँ (for *अई) suffix of 3. pers. pl. pres., Ap. Pr. अहिं, Pr. अंति, Skr. अन्ति; e. g., E. H. करैँ they do, Ap. कर्हिं (H. C. 4, 382), Pr. कर्ंति (H. C. 4, 376), Skr. कुर्वन्ति; E. H. हँसैँ or हसैँ they laugh, Ap. हसहिं, Pr. हसंति (H. C. 3, 142), Skr. हसन्ति; E. H. ऐँ or ऐँ or ईँ suffix of locative (see § 77. exc.), Ap. अहिं (K. I. 12, 27), Skr. ए; e. g., E. H. पाहैँ or पाहैँ behind, Ap. पच्छहिं, Skr. पश्चे; E. H. ए suff. of the obl. form sing. of adj. (see § 386), O. H. अहि, Ap. Pr. अहे, Skr. अयस; e. g., E. H. मोहे sweet, O. H. मोठहि, Ap. मिट्टहे, Skr. मिष्टय; E. H. ईँ suffix of 1. pers. pl. pres., Pr. इम, Skr. अमः (§ 497, 4); e. g., E. H. हसोँ we laugh, Pr. हसिम, Skr. हसामः; E. H. ले he takes, Pr. लेइ (H. C. 4, 238) for *लिहइ or लहइ (H. C. 4, 335), Skr. लभते; E. H. लेँ they take, Pr. लेहिं (H. C. 4, 387) for *लिहंति or लहंति (H. C. 4, 341), Skr. लभन्ते; E. H. बिहैँ or बिहैँ thursday, Pr. बिहप्फई (H. C. 1, 138), Skr. बृहस्पतिः, see also § 32. Sometimes otherwise; as E. H. मो (कर्) of me, Ap. Pr. महु (H. C. 4, 379), see § 430, 1.

Note: In W. H., ओ or ओ suffix of 2. pers. pl. pres., Ap.

श्रु (H. C. 4, 384), Skr. अथः, see § 497, 5; e. g., W. H. माँगो or माँगो *you ask*, Ap. मागहु (H. C. 4, 387), Skr. मार्गयः; also W. Gd. ओँ or ओँ or ओँ or ऐँ suff. of the obl. form pl., Ap. Pr. अहुँ or अहँ or अहिँ, Skr. आनाम्, see § 365, 7; e. g., Br. नरोँ, H. H. नरोँ, S. नरौँ or नरैँ *men*, Ap. पारहुँ or पारहँ or पारहिँ, Skr. नराणाम्; S. ३ suffix of 1. pers. pl. pres., Ap. अहुँ (H. C. 4, 386), Pr. अमु (H. C. 3, 155), Skr. अमः, see § 497, 4; e. g., S. हल्लू *we go* (Tr. 314), Ap. चलहुँ, Pr. चलमु, Skr. चलायः. About the elision of ह् in Ap. Pr. see Ls. 484; also Pr. स्रिआहँ (H. C. 4, 300) for *स्रिहाहँ, Skr. सदृशाणाम्, E. H. सा, see § 124.

127. म् before इ and before or after उ is optionally elided; often; generally with *anunāsika*; thus E. H. गोसाईँ or गोसामी *monk*, Ap. गोसामिउ, Skr. गोस्वामिकः; E. H. साईँ or सामी *master*, Ap. सामिउ (H. C. 4, 409), Skr. स्वामिकः; E. H. कुअरू or कुअरू or कुवरू *prince*, Ap. Pr. कुवँरु or कुमरु (cf. H. C. 4, 397. 1, 67), Skr. कुमारः; E. H. कुअरू or कुवारू or कुमारू *youth, prince*, see p. 29; E. H. कुअरी or कुवारी or कुमारी *virgin, princess*, Ap. कुवँरिआ or कुमारिआ, Skr. कुमारिका; E. H. भूईँ or भूमो, Pr. भूमिआ, Skr. भूमिका; E. H. धूअँ or धूवँ *smoke*, Ap. धूवँउ or धूमउ, Skr. धूमकः; E. H. कोईँ or कोई *waterlily or jackfruit*, Pr. कुमुइआ (cf. H. C. 2, 182), Skr. कुमुदिका; E. H. सोहँ or सोहोँ *in front of*, Ap. Pr. समुहिँ (cf. H. C. 1, 29) or समुहिँ (see § 126), Pr. समुहमि, Skr. सम्मुखे; E. H. रँ hair of the body, Mg. लोमे, Skr. जेम; E. H. रोअँ or रोवँ *hair of the body*, Mg. लोमअं, Skr. जेमकम्. Rarely without *anunāsika*; as E. H. गइल्ल or गैल्ल *gone*, see § 77.

Note: Four instances of the elision of म् before उ are mentioned by H. C. 1, 178 (Vr. 2, 3); Pr. तउँपा, Skr. यमुना *Jamnā*; Pr. चाउँडा, Skr. चासुपडा *Durga*; Pr. काउँओ, Skr. कामुकः *a certain plant*; Pr. अणित्तयँ, Skr. अतिमुक्तकम् *a certain shrub*. None of these occur in E. H.; here they are tats. or semitats.; e. g., E. H. तमुना, not tadbh. *तौन्; perhaps to distinguish from तौन् *foreigner*, Pr. तवपो, Skr. यवनः, as in E. H. तौनपुर *Jaunpur*, Skr. यवनपुरम्. In Pr. म् before इ might become व् by H. C. 4, 397; and such व् too, would be elided in E. H. by § 123.

128. न् before or after इ or before उ; with or without *anusika*; very rarely; thus 1) original, as E. H. ठाउँ or ठाउ or ठाव् or ठाव् place, residence, Ap. ठाउ (H. C. 4, 332) or ठाणु (H. C. 4, 362), Pr. ठाणं (H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थानम्; E. H. चौ from for *चाइ (N. चाजि), Ap. चाणि, Pr. चाणे (cf. H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थाने, W. H. also ते, तई, ताई; E. H. बाँसुरी flute, Pr. वंसपालिन्ना, Skr. वंशनालिका; 2) resultant, as in the E. H. conjunct ग्य for O. H. गिन, cf. §§ 18, p. 24. 139, note. 141.

- Note: E. H. has also ठाम्, besides ठाव्, ठाउँ; and this rather points to a Pr. word ठाम्, ठामं (cf. § 127); H. C. has थामं (H. C. 4, 267), perhaps Skr. स्थामन्.

ee) Hardening.

129. य् and व् become ज् and ब्; only resultant; thus E. H. कार्ज् work, Pr. *कारिज्जं (cf. H. C. 2, 67), Skr. कार्यम् (or semitats.?). E. H. अचार्ज् teacher, A. Mg. *आचारिज्जं, Skr. आचार्यः (or semitats.?). E. H. अचर्ज् wonderful, Pr. अच्करिज्जं (H. C. 2, 67), Skr. आश्चर्यम्; E. H. चउबिस् or चौबिस् or चवबिस् twenty four, Pr. चउव्वीसं (cf. H. C. 3, 137. Wb. Bh. 425. 426), Skr. चतुर्विंशतिः; E. H. इबिस् or इब्बिस् twenty six, A. Mg. इव्वीसं (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. षड्विंशतिः; E. H. परबत् mountain, Skr. पर्वतः (semitats.); E. H. पुरुब् eastern, Pr. पुरुवं (Ls. 183), Skr. पूर्वम्.

ff) Miscellaneous.

130. घ् or ङ् become ग् or ज् or र्; in E. H. घट्टे or गट्टे he fashions, Pr. घउङ् or गढङ् (H. C. 4, 112), Skr. घटते; E. H. बिगारै or बिगट्टे it is spoilt, destroyed, Pr. बिगढङ् or बिघउङ्, Skr. बिघटते; also भ् or फ् becomes ब् or प्; as E. H. परसै he touches, Pr. फरिसङ् (H. C. 4, 182), Skr. स्पर्शयति (denom.); E. H. अब्रक् tale, Skr. अब्रकम् (semitats. cf. § 132).

131. क् or ग्, ट्, प् and ब् become optionally घ्, ङ्, फ् and भ् respectively; in E. H. परघट् or परगट् manifest (see § 102); E. H. पहिलौठा or पहिलौटा firstborn, Mg. *पढमिल्लउट्टर (see § 118), Skr. प्रथमपुत्रकः; E. H. फुन् or पुन् again, Ap. पुणु (H. C. 4, 343), Skr. पुनर्; E. H. सब् or सम् all, Mg. सब्बे, Skr. सर्वः.

Note: In the seventies the aspirate is produced by the

suppression of the neutral vowel; E. H. एवन्नर *seventy one* for एक-हन्नर; E. H. पञ्चन्नर *seventy five* for पच-हन्नर; E. H. सप्तन्नर *seventy seven* for सत-हन्नर; E. H. अष्टन्नर *seventy eight* for अठ-हन्नर.

132. *Aspiration is transferred*; in E. H. अबाख् or अबरक् *talé*, Skr. अभ्रकम् (semitata.); E. H. हमार् or हमर् *our* (H. H. हमार्), Ap. Pr. अम्हार (H. C. 4, 345), see § 73; E. H. कृन्ना *father's sister* for *पिउहा, Pr. पिउच्छा or पिउसिन्ना (H. C. 2, 142), Skr. पितृषुना; also E. H. कुकी; E. H. कुप् *flower*, Pr. पुष्कं (H. C. 2, 53), Skr. पुष्पम्; E. H. उबारै or उबाउँ *he plucks up* for *उकाढे, Pr. उक्कड़्ड (cf. H. C. 4, 187), Skr. उक्कयति; E. H. निभाए or निचाहै *he accomplishes*, Pr. निवाहेद्, Skr. निर्वाहयति; E. H. भैँस् *buffalo*, cf. § 177.

Note: There are instances in Pr.; as बहिणी or भङ्णी *sister* (H. C. 2, 126), Skr. भगिनी, E. H. बहिनि; Pr. गढ् or घउ *he fashions* (H. C. 4, 112), Skr. घटते, E. H. गढे or गाढे or गउँ or गाउँ (§ 130). It is frequent in S.; as पंध्रौ or पंदरहं *fifteen*, also M. पंधरा; S. इको *this* for *इतहो; उको *that* for *उतहो (§ 438, 4); खौ *from* for *कहौ, खे *to* for *कहे (§ 375); चाल्कारो *forty* for *चालीहारो; पांद् or पान्द् तो *own* for *पानह तो (§ 451).

133. *Consonants are transposed*; in E. H. पहिरै *he puts on* (clothes) for *परिहै, Mg. *पलिहद् or *पलिधद् or *पलिधेद् (cf. Cw. 99, 21), Skr. पतिदधाति; E. H. चहुँपे and पहुँचै *he arrives*, Pr. पहुच्चद् (H. C. 4, 390, 419), Skr. पर्यापत्यते (Mg. पयावच्चद्); also कीच् or कीचर् and चौक् or चौक्र् *mud* (Skr. चिक्रिद्); नखलौ and लखनौ *Lucknow*; बिराम and बिमार् *sick* (persian بيمار); also W. H. रहस् and हरस् *merriment*, E. H. हरिस् see § 58; H. H. डूबै, E. H. बूउँ *he sinks*, Pr. बुउद् (H. C. 4, 101), Skr. वृउति (i. e. मज्जति).

Note: Also in Pr.; as बाणारसी (Wb. Bh. 412. H. C. 2, 116), Skr. वार्तापासी, E. H. बनार्स् *Benares*; Pr. अलचपुर (H. C. 2, 118), Skr. अलचपुरम्, E. H. अलवर (for *अलमउर्) *Alwar*; Pr. मरहद् (H. C. 2, 119), Skr. महाराष्ट्रम्, E. H. मरहद् or मरह् *Marāthā*, see § 32; Pr. दहो (H. C. 2, 120), Skr. ददः, E. H. दह् *deep water*; Pr. हलिमारो or हरिआलो (H. C. 2, 121), Skr. हरितालः; E. H. हरियार् *green*; Pr. हलुअं (for हलुकं) or लहुअं (H. C. 2, 122), Skr. लघुकम्, E. H. हलुक, H. H. हलका *light*.

134. *Consonants are interchanged; viz.* 1) व् and न्, in E. H. निनानत्रे *ninety nine*, Pr. *नवाणवृई, Skr. नवनवतिः; 2) व् and म्, in E. H. चिकनावट् *clayey soil*, Pr. चिक्कणामट्टी, Skr. चिक्कणकमृत्तिः; and vice versa in E. H. पुहुमि *earth*, Pr. पुहुवी (H. C. 1, 131), Skr. पृथ्वी; E. H. पिरुयमी *earth*, Skr. पृथिवी (semitats.); 3) स् and ह्, in E. H. केहरी or केसरी *lion*, A. Mg. कैसल्लि (cf. H. C. 4, 335. Wb. Bh. 255), Skr. केशजिकः.

Note: The latter in Pr. optionally, in दह or दस *ten* (H. C. 1, 262), Skr. दश, E. II. दस or दहै; Pr. दिवहो or दिवसो *day* (H. C. 1, 263. Wb. Bh. 378), Skr. दिवसः, E. II. दिवा or दिवस् (see § 32); Pr. °दहं (H. C. 2, 157) or °दिसं (H. C. 1, 142. Wb. Bh. 422) or रिहं (for रिहं cf. H. C. 4, 300 and § 126, note), Skr. दृष्टं *like*, E. H. °इस (in तइसन् § 124); Pr. °हत्तरि (Wb. Bh. 426) *seventy*°, Skr. सप्ततिः, E. H. °हत्तरू. The change of व् to म् is not uncommon in B., O. and G.; e. g., O. करिवि or करिमि *I shall do* (Sn. 28), O. केमन्त् *how* for *केवन्त्; B. केमन् *how* = Ap. Pr. केयडु; G. चुमालीश *forty four* = E. II. चौवाल्लिस्; W. H. समा *one and a quarter* = E. H. सवा (§ 416). For examples in Ap. Pr., see H. C. 4, 401. 396 and § 122, note.

135. *Consonants are interpolated; viz.* दू in E. H. पन्दरह् *fifteen*, Pr. पणरह (H. C. 2, 43) or पनूरस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 3, 123), Skr. पञ्चदश; again रू in E. H. करोरू or करोरू *ten millions*, Ap. क्रोडि (cf. H. C. 4, 399), Mg. क्रोडो (Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. क्रोडिः; E. H. सराप् *curse*, Ap. Pr. *साप् (H. C. 4, 399), Skr. शापः (semitats.); again य् in E. H. ऐयारह्, Pr. *एगारह or एक्कारस (Wb. Bh. 424), Skr. एकादश; E. H. ऐक्कावन् *fifty one*, Pr. *एक्कावणं, Skr. एकपञ्चाशत्; E. H. ऐक्कासी *eighty one*, Pr. *एक्कासीई (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. एकाशीतिः; E. H. ऐक्कानत्रे *ninety one*, Pr. *एक्काणवृई, Skr. एकनवतिः; E. H. निन्यानत्रे or निनानत्रे *ninety nine*, see § 134.

Note: E. H. has a word कोरी or कोडे, but it means *score*, *twenty* (see § 405). — Perhaps E. H. ऐय्° and ऐक्क्° stand for ऐयय° and ऐक्कय, Skr. एकक°. — Occasionally रू is interpolated in Ap. Pr., see H. C. 4, 399; as वासु or वासु, Skr. व्यासः *Vyāsa*.

§) CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

136. Medial conjunct consonants in E. H. are of two kinds, original and resultant. The former are those which have passed as such into E. H. from the Pr., as in the tadbh. पक्का *ripe*, A. Mg. पक्कर, Skr. पक्कः; E. H. पत्थर *stone*, A. Mg. पत्थले, Skr. प्रस्तः; E. H. सत्तर *seventy*, A. Mg. सत्तरि, Skr. सप्तति; E. H. निकम्मा *worthless*, A. Mg. निक्कम्मर, Skr. निकर्म्मकः; E. H. कान्ह *krishna*, Mg. कपहे, Skr. कृष्णः; or from the Skr., as in the semitats. बिसुम्मा *belief*, Skr. विश्वासः, E. H. ग्रिहस्त् *householder*, Skr. गृहस्थः. The latter are those which have resulted either a) from the contraction of contiguous vowels, as in the tadbh. चल्थो *I walked*, Ap. *चलिअउं, Pr. चलिअग्ग्हि, Skr. चलितोऽस्मि, or in the semitats. आग्या *order*, P. आगिअ, O. H. आगिना, Skr. आज्ञा; or b) from the suppression of an intermediate vowel, as in the tadbh. चिन्तो *petition* for चिन्तो, Pr. विणत्तिअ, Skr. विज्ञापिका; E. H. दुल्लहा *bridegroom* for दुल्लहा, Mg. दुल्लहर, Skr. दुर्लभकः; E. H. चिसु *a measure of land* (the 20. part.), Ap. Mg. वीसवंग् or वीसग, Skr. विंशमकः; E. H. गधा *ass* for गदहा, Mg. गदुहर, Skr. गर्दभकः; E. H. बरेला *hog* for वरहेला, Ap. Mg. *वराहिल्लर, Skr. वराहः, etc. These latter are not uncommon in the *khari* E. H., though very rare in the *theth* (e. g., in the numerals ऐखत्तर *seventy one*, सयत्तर *seventy seven*, etc., see § 131, note); in H. II. they are the rule (see § 6, note). Of the resultant conjuncts, those arising from the suppression of a vowel may be of any kind, strong, mixed or weak¹), homogeneous or heterogeneous; but those arising from the contraction of vowels must be heterogenous and either mixed or weak. Neither kind of resultant suffers any further change in E. H. As to the original conjuncts, the tatsamas may be of any kind, but the tadbhavas can only be either homogeneous (as क्क, त्त, त्त्य, म्म, etc.) or such as consist of a consonant proper preceded by a nasal (as क्क, त्त, त्त, etc.) or of ह् following a nasal or semivowel (as

1) These useful terms of classification I have adopted from Beames I, 281.

ह्र, म्ह, र्ह, ह्र, ह्र = ह्र); for these are the only conjuncts tolerated in Pr. (see § 137). Both original classes, the *tadbh.* and *tats.*, are, as a rule, liable to further change in E. H. This may take place in three ways: 1) they may be *dissolved* by the interpolation of a vowel (अ, इ or उ, §§ 138—142); or 2) they may be *simplified* by eliding one consonant (see §§ 143—150); or 3) they may be *clided* altogether (see §§ 151—157). There are, also, isolated changes of a miscellaneous kind (see §§ 158—166).

137. *Affinities.* These three kinds of changes exist in Pr. also; thus the conj. is *dissolved* in Pr. सत्ताहा (H. C. 2, 101), Skr. श्रुता, E. H. सत्ताहा *praise*; Pr. सिरो (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. श्री, E. H. सिरो *prosperity*; Pr. दुवारं (H. C. 2, 112), Skr. द्वारम्; E. H. दुवार *door*. Other examples see § 142. The conjunct is *simplified* in Pr. ईसरो or इस्सरो (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. ईश्वरः, E. H. ईसर *lord*; Pr. वासा (H. C. 2, 105) for *वस्सा, Skr. वर्षा, E. H. वास् *rain* (cf. § 283); see also § 150. The conj. is *clided*, either undissolved, as in Pr. राई or रत्तो (H. C. 2, 88), Skr. रात्रिः, E. H. राति *night*; or after dissolution, as in Pr. रत्तपां (Vr. 3, 60) for रत्तपां, Skr. रत्तम्, E. H. रत्तन् *gem*; see also § 157. The former kind of elision is not uncommon in E. H. (see § 151—156); the latter is exceptional, both in Pr. and E. H. (see §§ 141. 142). — Generally speaking, however, the treatment of conjuncts is this, that while Skr. admits almost any kind of them, homogeneous or heterogeneous, Pr. makes them, as a rule, homogeneous, and E. H. further reduces them to single consonants either by dissolution or by the elision of one. The only heterogeneous conjuncts, tolerated by Pr., are those consisting of a nasal or anusvāra preceding a consonant proper (see H. C. 2, 92. 1, 30; e. g., संका or सक्का, Skr. सन्ध्या, E. H. संक् *evening*), or of ह्र following a nasal (see H. C. 2, 74. 75; e. g., Pr. कपहो, Skr. कृष्णः, E. H. कान् *krishna*; Pr. ब्रह्मणो, Skr. ब्राह्मणः, E. H. ब्रामन् *brāhman*) or ल् (see H. C. 4, 26. 200. 2, 76; e. g., पल्लव्यद् (cf. Wb. Bh. 409), Skr. *पर्वस्त्यति, E. H. पल्लवै *he turns over*). In the Ap. Pr. also the conjunct of a cons. proper with a following र् may occur (see H. C. 4, 398. 399;

e. g., Ap. पिउ or पिउ, Skr. प्रियः *beloved*; Ap. ब्रासु or वासु, Skr. व्यासः *Vyāsa*); in E. H., however, this kind of conj. is as a rule dissolved; see § 138. 185. 186.

aa) Dissolution.

138. अ is interpolated; often; E. H. इमली *tamarind*, Mg. अमलिआ (cf. Wb. Bh. 377) for Pr. *अमिलिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. अमिका; E. H. सुदरसन् *beautiful*, A. Mg. मुदरिसणो (cf. H. C. 2, 105), Skr. सुदर्शनः; E. H. दरसन् *interview, visit at a shrine*, Pr. दरिसणं, Skr. दर्शनम्; E. H. बरही *peacock*, A. Mg. बरिहिए (cf. H. C. 2, 104 but cf. Ls. 142), Skr. बर्हिः; E. H. परामरस् *consideration*, A. Mg. परामरिसे (cf. H. C. 2, 105), Skr. परामर्शः; E. H. चुकर or चुकल् *white*, Pr. सुकिलं (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. शुक्लम् (or शुक्रम्); E. H. अमरा *mango*, Pr. अमिरुअं (cf. H. C. 2, 56), Skr. आम्रम्; E. H. अमल् *sour*, Pr. अमिलं (H. C. 2, 106. Wb. Bh. 415), Skr. अम्रम्; E. H. मुरख *stupid*, A. Mg. मुक्खे (cf. H. C. 2, 112), Skr. मूर्खः; E. H. मुरखा *swoon*, Skr. मूर्छा (semitats.); E. H. अचरत् *wonderful*, कारत् *work*, अचारत् *teacher*, see § 129; E. H. अरहई or बरहई or बरई *carpenter* (see § 114); E. H. ब्रमहन् or ब्रामन् *brāhman*, Mg. बम्हणो (H. C. 2, 74), Skr. ब्राह्मणः; E. H. कन्हैया or कन्हैया *Krishna*, Mg. कणहए (cf. H. C. 2, 75), Skr. कृष्णकः; E. H. सहस्र *thousand*, Ap. Pr. सहसं, Skr. सहस्रम्; E. H. चकर *wheel*, अकरी *she-goat*, see § 102, etc. Very commonly in semitats., as E. H. पर्वत् *mountain* (§ 129), Skr. पर्वतः; E. H. किरपा *mercy*, Skr. कृपा; E. H. किरति *praise*, Skr. कीर्तिः; E. H. जन्म *birth*, Skr. जन्म; E. H. रत्न *gem*, Skr. रत्नम्; E. H. जतन् *effort*, Skr. यत्नः; E. H. बिगत् *individual*, रगत *blood* (cf. H. C. 2, 10 रग°), भगत *devotee*, भगति *faith*, भगताई *devotedness*, मुगति *salvation*, see § 102; E. H. अरकि *but*, Pers. अलिक (ألك).

139. इ is interpolated; sometimes; thus E. H. अग्निनि or अग्नि or अग्नि fire, Pr. अग्निणी (Ls. 244) or अग्निणी (H. C. 1, 102) or अग्नी (Vr. 5, 18), Skr. अग्निः; E. H. मिसिर or मिस्र *a brāhman family-name*, A. Mg. *मिसिरे (but मीसे *mixed* Wb. Bh. 173. H. C. 2, 170), Skr. मिश्रः; E. H. आइल् or आयल् *come*, पाइल् or पावल् *attained*, see § 109; E. H. बिरिछ *tree*, Skr. वृक्षः; E. H. सइन् *sign*, see § 141.

Note: The E. H. conjunct ग्य *gya*, O. H. गिन *gina* is to be explained by this rule; e. g., E. H. राग्यो, O. H. रागिनो, Skr. रागो; see § 18, pp. 23. 24.

140. उ is interpolated; rarely; thus E. H. पुरुष, W. II. पुरुष, Pr. पुरुषं (Is. 183) or पुरुवं (H. C. 4, 323 or पुरुवं?), Skr. पूर्वम्; E. H. सुरुग *top, point*, but सोग *horn* and सोग *spear*, Pr. सिंगं or संगं (H. C. 1, 130), Skr. गृहम्; see also § 187.

141. Dissolved consonants are treated like original single ones; thus क becomes ग (cf. § 102); e. g., in E. H. बिगत्, रगत्, भागत्, etc.; see § 138; न् is elided (cf. § 101); e. g., in E. H. सङ्न् or सेन् *sign*, Pr. *सङ्णा or *सन्निणा, Skr. सञ्ज्ञा, cf. Pr. राङ्णा (H. C. 3, 51) for *रान्निणा, Ps. Pr. राञ्जिआ (H. C. 4, 304), Skr. राञ्जा; द् becomes ल् (cf. § 109) or is elided (cf. § 101); e. g., in E. H. अइलो or आयो *I came*, Mg. अविदस्मि or अविशस्मि, Skr. आपोस्मि, etc.; व् is elided (cf. § 123); e. g., in E. H. पइलो or पायो *I obtained*, Mg. पाविदस्मि or पाविशस्मि, Skr. प्रापोस्मि; न् is elided (cf. § 128); e. g., in the E. H. conjunct °ग्य° for O. H. °गिन°, see § 139, note.

Note: The participial examples, as अइलो, पायो, etc. and Pr. तविशो (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. तपः, are scarcely quite apposite, as their इ is a connecting (suff. इ + त), not a dissolving vowel.

142. Affinities. Examples of dissolutions are not uncommon in Pr. Probably many of the above instances, though not recorded by Pr. Gramm., existed in Pr. already. In some cases the dissolving vowel has been changed in E. H.; as in E. H. दरसन् for Pr. दरसिणं; other examples see in §§ 138—140. Other examples, in which E. H. has preserved the Pr. dissolving vowel, are: Pr. सारंग (H. C. 2, 100), Skr. शार्ङ्गम्, E. H. सारंग *bow*; Pr. वरिसं, हरिसो, फरिसो, see § 58, note. Some more Pr. examples, see in H. C. 2, 101—114. Vr. 3, 60—66; most of them do not seem to have survived in E. H. In one case, apparently, E. H. does not dissolve, but simplify; Pr. गरिहा (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. गर्हा, but E. H. गारी or गाली *abuse* = A. Mg. *गलिहआ or *गर्हिआ, Skr. गर्हिका; but it dissolves in गरियावे or गलियावे *he abuses* for *गरिहावे, A. Mg. *गलिहावइ or Pr. *गरिहावइ, Skr. गर्हयति (or den. गर्हापयति). Pr. examples of

the treatment of dissolved cons. are: 1) *elision* of cons. proper in *रुपां* or *रुषां gem* (Vr. 3, 60. H. C. 2, 101) for **रतपां*, Skr. *रतम्*, E. H. *deest* to distinguish from E. H. *रयन्* or *रैन्* *night*; Pr. *वडरं* *thunderbolt* (H. C. 2, 105) for **वतिरं*, Skr. *वत्तम्*, E. H. *deest* to distinguish from *वैरं* *enmity*, Pr. *वडरं* (H. C. 1, 152), Skr. *वैरम्*; but E. H. *वन्नरं* (*semitats.*); Pr. *सुडलं* *white* (H. C. 2, 166 or *सुक्लितं*), Skr. *शुक्लम्*, E. H. *deest*; Pr. *तवित्रो* *hot* (H. C. 2, 105) for **तविदो*, Skr. *तपः*, E. H. *deest*, but it has *तात्* = Pr. *ततो*; Pr. *पडमं* *lotus* (Vr. 3, 65) for **पदुमं*, Skr. *पद्मम्*; E. H. *deest*; Pr. *राडणा* *by a king* for **रातिपा* (see § 141), etc.; 2) *retention* in *अगणी* *fire* by H. C. 1, 177; 3) *doubling* in *सुक्लितं* *white* (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. *शुक्लम्*, E. H. *सुकलः*; Pr. *पुरव्वं* *forward* (Ls. 183) or *पुरव्वं* (H. C. 4, 323), Skr. *पूर्वम्*, E. H. *पुरुव्व* or *पुरव्व*¹); 4) *reduction* of aspirate in *सुहमं* (H. C. 2, 101) or *सुहुमं* (H. C. 2, 113. 1, 118. Wb. Bh. 406. 410) for **सुलुमं*, Skr. *सूक्ष्मम्*.

bb) Simplification.

143. The first consonant is elided; as a rule; thus क् in E. H. *सकै* *he can*, Pr. *सक्कइ* (H. C. 4, 86), Skr. *शक्नोति*; E. H. *सूखा* or *सूका* *dry*, A. Mg. *सुक्खए* or *सुक्कए* (cf. H. C. 2, 5. Wb. Bh. 289—291); ग् in E. H. *माग* *road* (see § 45); E. H. *चाय्* *tiger*, Mg. *चग्गे* (cf. H. C. 2, 90), Skr. *व्याघ्रः*; च् in E. H. *पचै* *it is digested*, Pr. *पच्चइ*, Skr. *पच्यते*; E. H. *माक्की* *fly*, Pr. *मच्चिक्का* (H. C. 2, 17), Skr. *मत्तिकाः*; ज् in E. H. *आज्* *to-day*, Pr. *अज्ज* (H. C. 1, 33), Skr. *अद्य*; E. H. *बूकै* *he understands*, Pr. *बुक्कइ* (H. C. 4, 217), Skr. *बुध्यते*; ट् in E. H. *तूटै* *it breaks*, Pr. *तुट्टइ* (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. *तुट्यति*; E. H. *पोडि* *back*, Pr. *पिट्ठी* (H. C. 1, 35), Skr. *पृष्ठम्* or Ved. *पृष्ठिः*; ड् in E. H. *कौडो* or *कौरी*, see § 104; E. H. *बडै* *it grows*, see § 114; त् in E. H. *आत्* *event, word*, Pr. *वत्ता* (H. C. 2, 30), Skr. *वार्त्ता*; E. H. *हाय्* *hand*, A. Mg. *हल्ले*, Skr. *हस्तः*; द् in E. H. *गदहा* *ass*, see § 136; E. H. *दूय्* *milk*, Pr. *दुठं* (H. C. 2, 89), Skr. *दुग्धम्*; प् in E. H. *इपय्* or *इपे* *a kind of verse*, Mg. *इप्पये* (cf. H. C. 2, 77), Skr. *वटपदः*; E. H. *आक्* *steam*, Mg. *अप्फे* (cf. H. C. 2, 70), Skr. *आपः*; व् or व् in E. H.

1) *सुक्लितं* and *पुरव्वं* seem to be correct readings; as shown by the E. H., which has व् for वू, not for व् (cf. § 129).

सब् *all*, A. Mg. सव्वे (cf. H. C. 3, 58), Skr. सर्वः; E. H. त्तोम् *tongue*, Pr. त्तिग्ग (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. त्रिङ्गा; इ in E. H. पालकी *a palanquin*, Pr. पल्लङ्किग्ग (cf. H. C. 2, 68), Skr. पर्यङ्किा or पल्यङ्किा; ज् in E. H. पचास् *fifty*, Pr. *पंचासं (see § 397), Skr. पञ्चाशत्; ण् in E. H. सन् *sign*, Pr. सप्पा (H. C. 2, 83), Skr. संत्तः; E. H. कटहल् *jackfruit*, see § 120; न् in E. H. आन् *other*, Mg. अन्ने (H. C. 3, 58. Wb. Bh. 403), Skr. अन्यः; E. H. हसत् *laughing*, A. Mg. हसंते (cf. H. C. 3, 181), Skr. हसन्; म् in E. H. काम् *work*, see § 45; ल् in E. H. पलटै *he turns over*, Pr. पल्लट्टइ (H. C. 4, 200), Skr. पर्यस्तयति (den.); स् in E. H. पूस् *the month December-January*, A. Mg. पुस्से or पूसे (cf. Vr. 3, 58), Skr. पुष्यः. Sometimes in foreign words; as E. H. बाकि *but for बल्कि*, Pers. بلكه; E. H. बाटे *for the sake of* for वास्ते, Ar. واسطی (?).

Exception. Rarely both cons. are retained; as E. H. पक्का or पका *ripe, thorough*, पत्थर or पाथर *stone*, निकम्मा *useless*, see § 136; E. H. चक्का or चका or चाका *wheel*, Pr. चक्कम्भं (H. C. 2, 79), Skr. चक्रकम्; E. H. सच् or सच् or साच् or साँच् *true*, उच् or उँच् *high*, see § 149, 2; E. H. बच्चा or बच्चा (§ 145, exc. 2) or बच्चा or बच्चा *young*, Mg. बच्चइ (cf. Vr. 3, 40), Skr. वत्सकः; E. H. पट्टा or पटा *title-deed*, Mg. पट्टइ, Skr. पट्टकः; E. H. सत्तर *seventy*, see § 108; E. H. गिड् or गोड् *vulture*, see § 63; E. H. कम्मल् *blanket*, see p. 20; As a rule, when the first is a nasal; thus E. H. पक् (i. e. पङ् § 13) or पाक् *mud*, and other examples, see p. 29; cf. also § 149.

144. *The second consonant is elided*; only य्, व् and optionally ह्; thus य् in E. H. पाथा *teacher* (cf. § 173), Skr. उपाध्यायः; E. H. अयध् *Oudh* (cf. § 78), Skr. अयोध्या; E. H. मधि *within*, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. पराग् *Allahabad* for *पर्याग्, Skr. प्रयागः; E. H. परोजन् *necessity* for *पर्याजन्, Skr. प्रयोजनम्; E. H. पराचित् *penance* for *पर्याचित्, Skr. प्रायश्चित्तम् (all semitats.). Again व् in E. H. चूमै *he kisses*, Mg. चुम्बइ (cf. H. C. 4, 239), Skr. चुम्बति; E. H. अमरा *mango*, अमला *sour*, see § 138; H. H. तामुन् *rose-apple*, see § 111; E. H. लाम् *long*, Mg. लम्बे, Skr. लम्बः; E. H. समुक्कै *he understands*, Mg. सम्मुक्कइ, Skr. सम्मुध्यते, and others, see § 18, p. 20; E. H. पिर्यो *earth* (also पिर्यमो see § 132), Skr. पृथ्वी (semitats.). Again इ in बामन् or

ब्रह्मन् or ब्रमहन् *Brāhman*, कान् or कान्ह् *krishna* (e. g., in कानपुर *Cawnpore*), see § 136; E. H. सूनू *daughter-in-law* for *सुन्हू, Pr. *सुपहुआ or *सोपहुआ (cf. Vr. 2, 47. H. C. 1, 261), Skr. सुषा (or *सुषुका; cf. Pr. माउआ for माता, § 52); E. H. समालै or संहालै or समालै *he supports*, see § 120; E. H. पल्लै *he turns over*, see § 137; E. H. कोलू or कोल्हू *sugar-mill*, see § 115; E. H. गाली *abuse* for *गाल्ही, see § 142.

Exception. Rarely न् is elided before ह्; as E. H. तोहै *he regards, looks*, Pr. तोपहड़ (cf. H. C. 2, 75), Skr. *तोत्सृणति (denom. R.).

145. *The remaining consonant is treated like an original single one*; thus ड् as a rule becomes ड् or ढ्; e. g., in E. H. कोरी or कोगे *cowrie*, see § 104; ल् as a rule becomes र् (§ 110) as in E. H. गारी or गाली *abuse*, see § 142; ल् sometimes becomes न्, as in E. H. आपन् *own*, see § 111; प् always becomes न् (§ 112), as in E. H. कान् *ear*, Mg. कषे, Skr. कर्णः; E. H. सान्, ग्रान् see § 143; कान्, सूनू see § 144; ह् as a rule becomes ह् or ह्र्, as in E. H. बरै *he grows*, see § 114; व् always becomes व् (§ 129), as in E. H. सच्च् *all*, see § 143; for a few rare cases, see §§ 103. 107. 113. 116. 117. 119. 120. Otherwise it remains unchanged; as E. H. चको or चक्की *wheel*, Pr. चक्किआ, Skr. चक्रिका; E. H. लान् *shame*, Pr. लज्जा, Skr. लज्जा; E. H. साठि *seventy*, Pr. सट्टी, Skr. षष्टिः; E. H. रान् *night*, see p. 14; E. H. हाथी *elephant*, A. Mg. हत्थिए, Skr. हस्तिकः; E. H. आधा *half*, Mg. अठर् (cf. H. C. 2, 41), Skr. अर्धकः; E. H. बाप् *father*, Pr. वप्पा (Mchh. 119, 5), Skr. वप्पा; E. H. घाम् *heat*, Mg. घम्मे, Skr. घर्मः (cf. H. C. 4, 327); and other examples in §§ 143. 144. 146. 147. 148.

Exception 1. Sometimes ड् and ह् preceded by a nasalized vowel remain unchanged; as E. H. मूँडै *he shaves*, मोँढा *stool*, see § 149.

Exception 2. Sometimes aspirates are disaspirated; thus ख् in E. H. परकै or परलै *he tests*, see § 58; घ् in E. H. महंग् *high-priced*, M. महंग्हे (Spt. 169), Skr. महार्घः; ध् in E. H. खँदा or काँधा *shoulder*, A. Mg. खंधर् (cf. H. C. 2, 4), Skr. स्कन्धकः; ह् in E. H. अचर्न् *wonderful* for *अचर्न्, see § 129; E. H. बचा or बछा *young*, see § 143. exc.;

E. H. पचतावै or पङ्कतावै *he repents*, Pr. पच्छन्नावह, Skr. पञ्चात्तापयति (denom.); E. H. मूच्च or मूङ् beard, see § 56; E. H. चाहै or इहै *he desires*, Pr. उच्छाहइ (cf. H. C. 2, 21), Skr. उत्साहयति (denom.); ह in E. H. अरतिस् or अउतिस् or अरुतिस् *thirty eight*, see § 113; E. H. अरतालिस् or अउतालिस् or अरुतालिस् *forty eight*, Pr. अरुअन्नालीसं (or अउयाले Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अरुचत्वाजिंशत्; E. H. अउसठि or अरसठि *sixty eight*, Pr. अरुसठ्ठी, Skr. अरुषष्टिः; ह in E. H. बउ great for *बउ, Mg. वउए (or वठ^o Vr. 1, 27), Skr. वृठकः; E. H. बेइ enclosure for *बेइ, Mg. वेइ (cf. Vr. 8, 40), Skr. वेष्टः; E. H. गरै or गउै or गठै *he fashions*, बिगरै or बिगउै *it is spoilt*, see § 130.

Note: There are traces of this disaspiration in Pr., as सुक्कं or सुक्कं *dry* (H. C. 2, 5), see § 143; Pr. पल्लुइ (H. C. 4, 200 for *पल्लुइ) or पल्लुइ *he turns over*, see §§ 137. 143; Pr. विंचुओ (H. C. 2, 16) or विंचुओ (Vr. 3, 41), E. H. बिचू or बीचू, M. विंचू (Man. 36); Pr. उट्टो (cf. H. C. 2, 34), see § 149, 2; it is quite the general rule in M., and less so in B. and O.; thus M. हान् *hand*, B., O., E. H. हाष् (§ 143); M. हतो *elephant*, B., O., E. H. हायो (§ 145); M. सौन् *evening*, B., O., E. H. सौक् (§ 149, 1); M. सौद् *hole in a wall*, E. H. सैद्, see § 57; M., B., O. सीजे *ladder*, E. H. सीजे, Pr. *सिजे, Skr. श्रेषी (?); M., B. साजे 2½; M. दोउ, B. देइ 1½; B. आउविण्, M. अउतीस् or अतोतीस् 38; B. आउचलिण् 48; M. वउ great, वेउ enclosure, etc. (see Bs. I, 273). It is worth noting also, that the old Mg. has स्, स्त, अ for इ, इस् and च् (see H. C. 4, 290. 291. 295); e. g., Mg. कोइतागलं, Skr. कोइतागारम्; Mg. उवस्तिदे, Skr. उपस्थितः; Mg. पुअदि, Skr. पृच्छति, etc.

146. The preceding vowel remains short; sometimes; thus always in E. H. अत् suffix of part. pres., Mg. अते (cf. H. C. 3, 181), Skr. अन् (अन्त^o); e. g., E. H. होन् *being*, Mg. होन्ते (cf. H. C. 3, 180), Skr. भवन्; E. H. कर्त् *doing*, Mg. कलते (cf. H. C. 4, 431) or कलेते, Skr. कुर्वन्, etc.; always E. H. पच् *five*, Pr. पंच, Skr. पञ्च in composition; e. g., E. H. पचोस् *twenty five*, see § 123; E. H. पचपन् *fifty five*, Pr. *पंचपन्, Skr. पञ्चपञ्चाशत्; sometimes otherwise; as E. H. दुष् *pain*, see § 116, note; E. H. गभिन् *pregnant*, Pr. गभिण्णा (cf. H. C. 1, 208), Skr. गर्भिता; E. H. सकै, पचै, इपय्, सय्, पालकी,

पलटै, सच्, see § 143; E. H. समुकै, पलथै, see § 144; E. H. बडै, see § 114; always in the *antepenultimate* (cf. § 25); thus E. H. अम्र, but अमरा *mango*, see § 138; E. H. दूबर, but दुबरा *weak, thin*, see § 22; E. H. उतरै *he descends*, Mg. उन्नलड़, Skr. उन्नति; E. H. गदहा, पलटै, see § 143; E. H. अमला, पलथै, see § 144; and others.

Note: Similarly M. has अत् suff. of 3. pers. pl., Pr. अंति, Skr. अन्ति (§ 497, 2 f.); as M. चलत् *they were in the habit of going*, Pr. चलंति, Skr. चलन्ति; both M. and B. have the part. suff. अत् or इत्, but पंच् in comp.; e. g., M. पंचवीस्, B. पंचिष्, E. H. पचीस्.

147. *The preceding vowel becomes long; as a rule; thus अ* in E. H. आठ *eight*, Pr. अट्, Skr. अष्ट; E. H. रानी *queen*, see p. 23; E. H. साथ् *with*, Pr. सत्थं, Skr. संस्थम्, etc.; इ in E. H. भीख् or भीइ *alms*, Pr. भिक्षा (cf. Wb. Bh. 197. Spt. 312) or भिच्छा (Spt. 163. cf. H. C. 2, 17. 19), Skr. भिक्षा; E. H. रीह् or रील् *bear*, Pr. रिच्छो or रिक्खो (H. C. 2, 19), Skr. ऋत्तः; E. H. दोठि *sight*, see § 43; E. H. सोय् *boiled rice, indigo*, Pr. सित्यं (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. शिक्क्यम्; E. H. तीनि or तीन् *three*, Pr. तिस्सि (H. C. 3, 121), Skr. त्रीणि, etc.; उ in E. H. सूत् *thread*, Pr. सुत्तं (H. C. 4, 287), Skr. सूत्रम्; E. H. उन् *wool*, Pr. उप्पा, Skr. उर्णा; E. H. मूठ् *fist*, Pr. मुट्ठो (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. मुष्टिः; E. H. पूत् *son*, Mg. पुत्ते, Skr. पुत्रः, etc.; ऐ in E. H. सेन्न *bedding*, Pr. सेन्ना (see § 6), Skr. ग्रन्था; E. H. पेड् *lump*, Pr. पेण्डं (Vr. 1, 12), Skr. पिण्डम्; E. H. ऐँचा *crooked*, Pr. *ऐँचअं, Skr. अञ्चितकम्; E. H. एक् *one*, Pr. ऐक्कं (cf. H. C. 2, 99), Skr. एकम्, etc.; ओ in E. H. पोठ् *hip*, Mg. *पोट्ठ, Skr. प्रोथः; E. H. बोलै *he says*, Pr. बोल्लइ (H. C. 4, 2), Skr. वदति; E. H. पोथो *book*, Pr. पोत्थिन्ना (cf. Vr. 1, 20), Skr. पुस्तिका, etc. See other examples in §§ 143—146.

148. *The preceding vowel becomes ए or ओ; rarely; thus अ* in E. H. लेनुर् or लेनुरो *cord*, see § 110. exc.; सेँध् *hole in a wall*, see § 57; E. H. पेड् *tree*, see § 103; E. H. बैँगम् *egg-plant*, Mg. वंगपो, Skr. वङ्गनः; E. H. एरी or एगे *heel*, Pr.?, Skr. अङ्घ्रिः; E. H. ऐँचा *crooked*, see § 147; E. H. केकरा or केकडा *crab*, Mg. कक्कडए, Skr. कर्कटकः; E. H. केँचुरो or केँचुलो *skin of a snake*, Pr. कंचुलिन्ना (cf. H. C. 2, 25), Skr. कञ्चुलिका; again E. H. मोँह् or मूँह् *moustache*,

चोच्च *bill*, see § 57. Again इ in E. H. मकेला *middle*, A. Mg. मक्किल्लए (Wb. Bh. 437), Skr. मध्यः; E. H. केचुवा *earth-worm*, see § 125; E. H. हेदू *hole*, Pr. हिदू (Wb. Bh. 174. Spt. 146), Skr. हिदुस्; E. H. सेम् *bean*, Pr. सिम्बा, Skr. शिम्बा. Again उ in E. H. कोपै *he is angry*, Pr. कुप्पइ (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. कुप्यति; E. H. कोरु *leprosy*, see § 113; E. H. कोब् *belly*, Pr. कुक्कली, Skr. कुक्षिः; E. H. सोठ *ginger*, Pr. सुंठी, Skr. शृण्ठीः.

Note: The change of अ to ए or ओ is probably to be explained by a transfer of the succeeding vowel इ or उ into the preceding syllable. Similarly the ए in the E. H. मेहर *woman* (see § 57) and in the Bs. अहेस् *thou art*, O. H. अहसि is formed.

149. *The preceding vowel is nasalized*; 1) as a rule after the elision of a nasal; thus आ in E. H. ताय् *leg*, Pr. तंथा, Skr. तङ्गा; E. H. अक् *barren woman*, Pr. अंका, Skr. अन्धा; E. H. साक् *evening*, Pr. संका (H. C. 2, 92), Skr. सन्धा; E. H. चादू *moon*, see p. 29; E. H. डांती *footpath*, Pr. उंतिन्ना (cf. H. C. 1, 217), Skr. दण्डिका; E. H. भांग *pot*, Mg. भंउए (cf. H. C. 4, 422. 12), Skr. भाण्डकः; E. H. कापै *he trembles*, see p. 29; etc. Again ई in E. H. मोत्रै *he rubs*, Pr. मित्रइ, Skr. मृञ्जति; E. H. सीचै *he irrigates*, Pr. सिंचइ (H. C. 4, 239), Skr. सिञ्जति, etc. Again उ in E. H. सूँउ *elephant's trunk*, Pr. सुंउ, Skr. शृणुता; E. H. मूँउ *he shaves*, Pr. मुंउइ (H. C. 4, 115), Skr. मुण्डति. Again ए and ओ in E. H. सेय्, ऐचा, बेगन्, etc., and चोच्च, मोद्ध, see § 148. 2) Sometimes otherwise; thus आ in E. H. आँखि *eye*, see § 43; E. H. माँगै *he requests*, Pr. मागइ (H. C. 4, 230. Spt. 71), Skr. मार्गयति; E. H. आच् *flame* (fem.), Pr. *अच्चो, Skr. अर्चिः; E. H. साच् *true*, Pr. सच्चं (cf. H. C. 2, 13), Skr. सत्यम्; E. H. साँप् *serpent*, A. Mg. सप्पे, Skr. सर्पः, etc. Again ई in E. H. ईख् or ईख् *sugarcane*, Pr. इक्खू (H. C. 2, 17), Skr. इक्षुः; E. H. ईरु or ईरु *brick*, Pr. इट्टा (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. इष्टा; E. H. भीत् or भीत् *wall*, Pr. भित्ती, Skr. भित्तिः; E. H. नीदू or नीदू *sleep*, see § 42. Again उ in E. H. उँख् or उँख् *sugarcane*, Pr. *उक्खू or उक्खू (H. C. 2, 17. Vr. 1, 15), Skr. इक्षुः; E. H. मूँग् *a kind of pulse* (fem.), Mg. मुगे (cf. Vr. 3, 1), Skr. मुद्गः (masc.); E. H. उँच् *high*, Pr. उच्चं (cf. H. C. 1, 154), Skr. उच्चम्; E. H. उँट *camel*, Pr. उट्टो (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. उट्टः. Again ए

in E. H. कैकरा or केकरा *crab*, see § 148. Again ओ in E. H. होहू or होहू *lip*, A. Mg. ओहू (cf. Spt. 22), Skr. ओहः.

150. *Affinities.* 1) The general law of the treatment of conjuncts may be stated thus: Pr. elides the first of the (Skr.) conj. and doubles the second; Gd. (exc. S. and P.) elides the first of the (Pr.) conj. and doubles (i. e. lengthens) the preceding vowel; e. g., Skr. भक्तम् *boiled rice*, Pr. भत्त (H. C. 4, 60. Wb. Bh. 214), E. H., W. H., B., O., M., G. भात्, S. भत्; Skr. सप्त *seven*, Pr. सत्त (cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H., etc. सात्, S. सत्, P. सत्त; Skr. अष्ट *eight*, Pr. अट् (cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H., etc. आट्, S. अठ, P. अट्; Skr. रात्रिः *night*, Pr. रत्ती (H. C. 2, 79), E. H., etc. रान्ति or रान्त्, P. रत्त, S. रन्ति. S. usually preserves the short vowel, and P. the conjunct.

2) Sometimes Pr. exhibits the Gd. process; especially when one of the conj. is स् (or ण् or ष्); e. g., Pr. लासं (H. C. 2, 92) for *लसं (cf. H. C. 1, 84), Skr. लास्यम्, E. H. लास् *dance*; Pr. ईसरो (H. C. 2, 92) or इस्सरो (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. ईश्वरः, E. H. ईसर *lord*; Pr. वीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or वीसई (Ls. 320), Skr. विंशत् or विंशतिः, E. H. वीस् *twenty*; Pr. सीसं (H. C. 2, 92), Skr. शीर्षम्, E. H. सीस् *head*; Pr. वासा (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. वर्षा, E. H. *वास् *rain* (in कपास् *violent burst of rain*, see § 283), etc.; also otherwise, as Pr. आणा *command* for *अणा, see p. 23; Pr. दीहो or दिग्घो *long*, see § 116, note, etc.; see Ls. 274. 3) Sometimes in Pr. the preceding vowel optionally becomes ए or ओ; see H. C. 1, 85. 116. Vr. 1, 12. 20; e. g., Pr. वेल्लं or विल्लं, Skr. विल्वम्, E. H. वेल्ल *wood-apple*; Pr. पोक्खरो, Skr. पुक्करः, E. H. पोखर *pond*; Pr. पोत्थन्नो, Skr. पुत्तकः, E. H. पोथा; Pr. मोग्गरो, Skr. मुद्गरः, E. H. मोगर *mallet*, etc. 4) Sometimes in Pr. the first of the conj. becomes a nasal, analogous to the nasalization of the preceding vowel in Gd.; see § 158, note. 5) Sometimes in Pr. the second of the conj. is disaspirated, see § 145. exc.

cc) Elision.

151. क्क is elided; very rarely; in E. H. चौधरो *headman, chief* for *चक्क (S 69), *चक्क, A. Mg. चक्कधरि, Skr. चक्रधरिकः (lit. *discus-holder*; from चक्रिन् + क).

152. *च* is elided; rarely; in E. H. चौवालिस् or चउवालिस् *forty four* (B. चोवालिष्ठा), A. Mg. चोवालीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), for Pr. *चउचत्तालीसा (cf. Ls. 259 on च = श्च), Skr. चतुश्चत्वाविंशत्; E. H. छियालिस् *forty six* (cf. § 55), Pr. *छचत्तालीसा, Skr. षट्चत्वाविंशत्; E. H. तेतालिस् (O. तेयालिष्ठा), A. Mg. तेवालीसा (H. C. 2, 174 or तिवाले Wb. Bh. 425) for *तेचत्तालीसा, Skr. त्रयश्चत्वाविंशत्.

Note: In composition the र् of चतुर and ष (or ट्) of षष् (or षट्) are, as a rule, assimilated, but sometimes elided; thus ass. in चउरूह (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर + दश) or चउवारो (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर + वार); again इष्यो (H. C. 2, 77 for षट् + पद) or इष्युहो or इष्यु (Vr. 2, 40. H. C. 1, 25. 30 for षट् + मुख), इष्युणो (Ls. 240 for षट् + गुण). But el. in चउगुणो (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर + गुण) or चउवीसं (H. C. 3, 137 for चतुर + विंशति), चउमुहु (H. C. 4, 331 for चतुर + मुख); again इहत्तरि (इ + हत्तरि for षट् + सप्तति) or इहदिसिं (Wb. Bh. 426. 234 for षट् + दिशो). Hence the above mentioned num. may be derived from the Pr. forms: चउचत्त° or (eliding च, see § 101) चउचत्त°; इचत्त° or इचत्त°; and similarly तिचत्त° or तिचत्त° (Skr. त्रिचत्वाविंशत्).

153. *त्* is elided; sometimes; in E. H. छाउ and छान् suff. of abstract nouns for Ap. Pr. छञउ or छञणु, Pr. छञञं or छञणं or छञत्तं or छञणं, Skr. त्वम् or त्वनम्, see § 227; E. H. चारि *four* for *चञारि, A. Mg. चत्तारि (Wb. Bh. 425. H. C. 3, 122), Skr. चत्वारि; E. H. चालिस् *forty*, see § 110. exc.; E. H. च्यालिस् *forty two*, A. Mg. वायालीसं (Wb. Bh. 426) for *वाञ्चत्तालीसं, Skr. द्वाचत्वाविंशत्; E. H. चवालिस् or चौवालिस् or चउवालिस् *forty four* (cf. § 26) and E. H. छियालिस् *forty six*, see § 152; E. H. सेतिसि *thirty seven* (O. सैत्तिष्ठा) for सयै° or सञ्चै°, A. Mg. सत्ततोसं (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. सप्तत्रिंशत्; E. H. सैतालिस् *forty seven* for सयै° or सञ्चै°, A. Mg. *सत्तञ्चत्तालीसं, Skr. सप्तचत्वाविंशत्; E. H. रोञ्च or रोइञ् to weep, Pr. रोत्तञ् (H. C. 4, 212. Vr. 8, 55 or रोइञ्च Spt. 258 or Ap. Pr. रोइञ्च), Skr. रोदितव्यम्; E. H. मियौ *friend* (a respectful address), Mg. मिञ्ण or मिन्नए (cf. Wb. Bh. 398. Vr. 3, 58), Skr. मित्रकः; or after simplification, in E. H. धार्द *wet-nurse*, Pr. धाइञ् or *धातिञ्चा or धत्तिञ्चा (cf. H. C. 2, 81), Skr. धात्रिका; E. H. दार्द *foster-mother, wet-nurse*, Pr. *धातिञ्चा or दत्तिञ्चा, Skr. दात्रिका (lit. giver, scl. of nourishment); E. H. दाउ

appellation of a father or elder brother (lit. giver of sustenance), Mg. *दातुर् or *दत्तुर् (cf. H. C. 3, 44), Skr. दातृकः; E. H. भाई *brother*, Mg. *भातिर् or *भतिर्, and E. H. माई *mother*, Pr. *मातिग्र or *मन्निग्र, see § 63; E. H. बाय् *he is* for *बाइ, Pr. वन्नइ, Skr. वर्तते.

154. प् is elided; *very rarely*; in E. H. चउआ or चउपा *fourfooted*, Mg. चउपाए or चउप्पाए (see § 152, note), Skr. चतुष्पादः; E. H. चौमन् or चउमन् *fifty four* (M. चौपन्), Mg. *चउपन् or *चउप्पन् (see § 152, note), Skr. चतुःपञ्चाशत्.

155. वृ is elided; *rarely*; optionally in E. H. ऐ *suffix of the oblique infinitive*, for *अए or *इए for *अवे or *इवे, Ap. *इव्वहे (see §§ 308. 365, 6), Pr. इअव्वस्स, Skr. इतव्यस्य; e. g., E. H. चलै or चलत्रे (cf. § 129) *to go*, Ap. चलिव्वहे, Pr. चलिअव्वस्स, Skr. चलितव्यस्य; E. H. खाये (for *खाइए) or खाइये or खाये *to eat*, Ap. खाइव्वहे, Pr. खाइअव्वस्स, Skr. खादितव्यस्य.

156. न् is elided; *rarely*; in E. H. पैत्तिस् *thirty five* (O. पइत्तिग्र, B. पयँत्रिग्र for पयँ), A. Mg. पन्तीसं or पणातीसं (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. पञ्चत्रिंशत्; E. H. पैत्तालिम् *forty five* for पन्थत्, A. Mg. पन्नचत्तालीसा (Wb. Bh. 425 or पणयालीसं), Skr. पञ्चचत्वारिंशत्; E. H. पैसहि *sixty five*, A. Mg. *पन्नसट्ठी, Skr. पञ्चषष्टिः.

157. *Affinitics*. In Pr. also, there are a few examples of the elision of a conj.; thus some instances of च् see in § 152, and of त् in § 153; others of त् are, Pr. राई or रत्ती *night*, Skr. रात्रिः (H. C. 2, 88. Vr. 3, 58), but E. H. राति; Pr. काउण *having done* (Vr. 4, 23) for *कानूण or *कतूण (cf. Vr. 10, 13), Skr. कृत्वा (or *कृत्वानं), E. H. *deest*; Pr. काअव्वं (Spt. 229) *what is to be done*, Mg. कायव्वं (Wb. Bh. 398) or कादव्वं (Vk. 67) *to be done* for *कातव्वं or *कतव्वं, Skr. कर्तव्यम्, E. H. *deest* (it forms कर्त्तव्य); Pr. वअस्सअअ (Spt. A 53) *companionship*, Skr. वयस्यकत्व°. An instance of क् is Pr. तेलोअं or तेल्लोक्कं *the three worlds* (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. त्रैलोक्यम्, E. H. *deest*; and of ग्, Mg. नियये *devotee* (Wb. Bh. 397) or निगाये, Skr. निग्रयः, E. H. *deest*. See also Wb. Bh. 398. Ls. 273. 274.

dd) Miscellaneous.

158. क्, ग्, घ्, ङ्, च् become क्, ज्, झ्, ञ्, ञ् respectively; thus क् in E. H. ककर *limestone*, Pr. *कक्करो, Skr. कर्करम्; E. H. ककरोल्

a kind of gourd, Ap. Pr. कक्कुडुल्लु (cf. H. C. 4, 429), Skr. कर्कटः¹⁾; again ग् in E. H. नंग् naked, A. Mg. नगो (cf. Wb. Bh. 185. H. C. 2, 78), Skr. नगः, and in its derivatives as नंगा, नंगी naked, नंगाई nakedness, etc.; again क्ख् in E. H. पंख् wing, A. Mg. पक्खे (cf. Wb. Bh. 427. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. पक्षः, and in its derivatives पंखा, पंखी fan, पंखरी or पंखड़ी flower-leaf (Ap. पक्खडिआ), पंखी bird (from Skr. पक्षिन्)²⁾; again ग् in E. H. महंग् high-priced, see § 145. exc. 2; again च् in E. H. पंखी bird, Pr. पच्छिओ, Skr. पक्षिकः (from पक्षिन् + क), and in its cognates पंखाला tail of a paper-kite (Ap. *पच्छिउउ) from Skr. पक्ष tail³⁾.

Note: There are instances of this change in Pr.; as Pr. वंक्, Skr. वक्रम्, E. H. बाक् crooked; Pr. ग्रंसू, Skr. श्रश्रु, E. H. ग्रँसू tear; Pr. मंसू, see § 56; Pr. पुंङ्, Skr. पुच्छम्, E. H. पूँङ् tail; Pr. पंगू, see § 44; Pr. मंतरारो, Skr. मार्तारः, E. H. मंतरार cat, etc., see H. C. 1, 26. Vr. 4, 15; but E. H. बिच्छू or बीछू scorpion (M. बिंचू) for Pr. बिंछिओ or बिंचुओ (H. C. 2, 16), Skr. वृश्चिकः.

159. 'स् and 'ह् become न्स् and ङ्; always; thus 'स् in E. H. हन्स् or हाँस goose, see p. 29; E. H. मन्स् or माँस् or मास् flesh, see p. 30; E. H. हिन्सा slaughter, see § 39, etc.; again 'ह् in E. H. सिंघ् or सोँघ् lion, see p. 29; E. H. संघार collection, Pr. संघारो or संघारो (H. C. 1, 264), Skr. संहारः, etc.

Note: The change of 'ह् to ङ् is optional in Pr. already, see H. C. 1, 264. As to the spelling of 'ह् and 'स्, see §§ 38. 39; and of 'घ् see § 13.

160. ङ् and झ् become ङ् and झ्; rarely; thus ङ् in E. H. कंगाल् (i. e., कङ्काल्, see § 13) destitute, Mg. *कंकाले (i. e., कङ्काले, see H. C. 1, 30), Skr. कङ्कालः (lit. skeleton, see Bs. I, 98); E. H. कंगन् bracelet, Pr. कंकणं (Spt. 68), Skr. कङ्कणम्; E. H. पलंग् bed, Mg. पल्लंके (cf. H. C. 2, 68), Skr. पर्यङ्कः; E. H. पलंगरो or पलंगड़ी small bedstead, Ap. पल्लंकडिआ, Skr. पर्यङ्किका; E. H. पाँग् or पाँक् mud, see p. 29; E. H.

1) But E. H. ककरी or ककड़ी cucumber, Pr. कक्कुडिआ, Skr. कर्कटिका.

2) Also regularly पाँख्, पाँखा, पाँखी, cf. § 149.

3) पंखी and पंखाला might be corruptions for पुंखी, पुंखाला, from Pr. पुंङ्, see note.

पाँगा salt (obtained from sea-mud), Mg. पंकए, Skr. पङ्कतः; E. H. पंगति row (cf. §§ 102, 2. 138, usually पाँति p. 30), Skr. पङ्क्तिः; E. H. चाँगूर high ground, Ap. वंकउं, Skr. वक्रम् (lit. curved); again झ in E. H. कुंती key, Pr. *कुचिआ, Skr. कुक्षिका.

161. ल् and न् become ल्ह and न्ह; optionally; thus ल् in E. H. काल् or काल्ह yesterday or to-morrow, Pr. कल्ल (H. C. 2, 186. Spt. 46), Skr. कल्यम्; E. H. चील् or चील्ह kite, Mg. चिल्ले, Skr. चिल्लः; E. H. चीलर or चील्हर louse, Ap. चिल्लुउ, Skr. चिल्लुः; E. H. पेलर or पेल्लर testicle, Ap. पेल्लउं (cf. H. C. 4, 143 पेल्लइ), Skr. पेल्लम्; etc. Again न् in Bs. दीना or दीन्ह given, A. Mg. दिने (cf. Wb. Bh. 402) or दिणे (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. दत्तः; Bs. कीन् or कीन्ह done (Ap. Pr. किन्नु II. C. 4, 329 ?), Skr. कृतः; Bs. लीन् or लीन्ह taken for *लिन्, Skr. लब्धः; E. H. इन् or ऐन् or O. H. ऐन्ह suffix of 3. pers. pl. for *एन्नि or *इञ्चिन्नि, Pr. इञ्चति, Skr. इतन्ति (see §§ 497, 6. 503); e. g., E. H. पछिन् or पछेन् or O. H. पछेन्ह they read for *पछिञ्चिन्नि, Pr. पछिञ्चति, Skr. *पछितन्ति (denom.); E. H. चरेन् or O. H. चलेन्ह they walked for *चलिञ्चिन्नि, Pr. चलिञ्चति (Skr. चलिता भवन्ति), etc.

Note: In Pr. पल्लय्य (H. C. 2, 68) and पल्लय्य (H. C. 4, 258), Skr. पर्यस्तम्; Pr. एण्हं (Vr. 4, 33) for एण्हिं (Ls. 129), Skr. इदानीम्.

162. स् becomes स्न्; rarely; as E. H. ग्रिहस्त् husbandman, housholder, Mg. °हस्ते (cf. H. C. 4, 291), Skr. गृहस्थः (semitats.), and its derivative ग्रिहस्ती husbandry.

163. प् becomes न्द् or न्न्; rarely; E. H. गन्ना or गन्दा or गँडा sugarcane (lit. having joints), Mg. गंउए, Skr. गण्डकः; E. H. गंदेरी or गंडेरी joint of sugarcane, Ap. गंडइल्लिआ, Skr. गण्डक°.

164. क् becomes त्; very rarely; E. H. कुत्ता dog (G. कुतर), Ap. कुक्कुरे, Skr. कुक्कुरः (usually E. H. कूकर or कुक्कर); and its derivative E. H. कुतर puppy.

165. त् and ध् become त् or त् and द् or ध् respectively; very rarely; thus E. H. निन् or नित्, A. Mg. निन्ने (cf. Wb. Bh. 414), Skr. नित्यः; E. H. मधि, O. H. मडि, Skr. मध्ये; but see § 144.

166. च् and च् become छ् and ग्; always in semitats.; see §§ 36. 37.



c) CHANGES OF INITIAL SOUNDS.

a) VOWELS.

167. *अ* becomes इ; rarely; E. H. इमली or अमली *tamdrind* (cf. § 138), Mg. अमलिआ (cf. Wb. Bh. 377), Skr. अम्लिका.

168. *आ* becomes अ; sometimes; thus E. H. अचारत् teacher, Skr. आचार्यः (§ 129); E. H. अचार or आचार conduct, Skr. आचारः; E. H. अया or आया command, Skr. आज्ञा (all semitats.).

169. *ए* becomes अ; rarely; E. H. अकेला *solitary*, A. Mg. एकल्लए (cf. H. C. 2, 165) or *एक्किल्लए, Skr. एकलकः.

170. *ए* becomes इ; sometimes; as E. H. इग्यारह् or ऐग्यारह् *eleven*; इक्वावन् or ऐक्वावन् *fifty one*, see § 135; and other compounds of एक.

171. *ए* and ओ become ए and व respectively; sometimes; thus *ए* in E. H. एक or ऐक् or एक् *one*, Mg. एक्के (Wb. Bh. 424), Skr. एकः; E. H. यह् or ऐह् (or ई) *he, this*, Ap. एह् or एहु (H. C. 4, 362), Skr. ईदृशः; again ओ in E. H. वह् or ओह् (or ऊ) *he, that*, Ap. *एवेह् or *एवेहु (see § 438, 1. 5), Skr. *एवादृशः (= एवंविधः); E. H. वनइस् or ओनइस् *nineteen*, see § 123; and other compounds of उन; cf. § 98.

172. *अ* is elided; sometimes; thus E. H. भोतर within, A. Mg. अन्निमंतरं (Wb. Bh. 206), Skr. अयन्तरम्; E. H. भीतै *he is afflicted with grief*; Pr. *अन्निमन्तइ, Skr. अययति (pass. of अद्); E. H. भीतै *he is wet*, Pr. *अन्निमन्तइ, Skr. अभ्यादूयति (denom. of आद् *wet*); E. H. काँटे *he sweeps*, Pr. *अन्तकट्टइ, Skr. अध्यादूयति (caus. of अद्) or Skr. अध्यादयति (caus. of अद् *room*, cf. Pr. काँटइ H. C. 4, 161); E. H. कंगा *upper garment*, A. Mg. अन्तंगए, Skr. अधङ्गकः; E. H. कंगिया *child's vest*, Pr. अन्तंगिआ, Skr. अधङ्गिका; E. H. रह् or अह् *water-wheel*; E. H. तीसो *flax*, see §§ 55. 109, note.

Note: Such elisions occur especially in A. Mg.; see Wb. Bh. 405, as एयणी, Skr. अरतिः, etc.

173. *उ* is elided; sometimes; thus E. H. चाहै *he desires*, see § 145, exc. 2; E. H. बैठै or बइठै *he sits*, Pr. उवविट्टइ, Skr. *उपविष्टति

(denom. of उपविष्ट, cf. Ap. Pr. बड़दुड H. C. 4, 444, see § 352); E. H. पै upon, see § 124; E. H. पाथा teacher, see § 144.

Note: For such elisions in Ap. Mg. see Wb. Bh. 406; e. g., दोसह, Skr. उपवसथ, etc.

β) SINGLE CONSONANTS.

174. त् and द् become ट् and ड्; rarely; thus त् in E. H. टूटै or तूटै it breaks, Pr. तुटुड (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. तुटयति; E. H. टू or तू pony, Mg. *तुट् (cf. H. C. 3, 44. 1, 131), Skr. तर्तकः (of R. तृ; cf. तुग्ग horse); E. H. टीक् or टीका (fem.) sectarian mark on the forehead, Skr. तिलकः (masc.), cf. § 125; E. H. होट् or होर् beak for *टोर्, Pr. तोउं (Vr. 1, 20), Skr. तुणउम्. Again द् in E. H. डीर् or दीर् or दीठि sight, see § 43; E. H. डाळी or दाळी beard, Pr. दाठिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 139), Skr. दंष्ट्रिका (also दाठिका); E. H. डाळ or दाळ tooth, tusk, Pr. दाठा (H. C. 2, 139), Skr. दंष्ट्रा; E. H. डार् or डाल् branch (fem.), A. Mg. दाली, Skr. दाजी; E. H. डार् or डाल् branch, A. Mg. *दालर् or *डालर् (cf. H. C. 4, 445. Ap. डालर्), Skr. दाजकः; E. H. डाणी or डाली branch, A. Mg. दमलिआ, Skr. दाजिका; E. H. डेरु or देरु or डेवरु or देवरु one and a half, see § 114.

Note: Instances in Pr. are; Pr. डोला or दोला, Skr. दोला, E. H. डोर or दोर् cord, whence E. H. डोला or दोला, डोली or दोली a swing, a dooly, Pr. डोलघो or डोलिआ or द°, Skr. दोलकः or दोलिका; Pr. डडो or दडो, Skr. दग्धः, E. H. डाढा burnt, fire (Skr. दग्धकः?); Pr. डरो or दरो, Skr. दर्, E. H. डर or दर fear; Pr. डाहो or दाहो, Skr. दाहः, E. H. डाह् malice, jealousy and दाह् burning; Pr. डब्भो or दब्भो (Wb. Bh. 293), Skr. दर्भः, E. H. डाम् kusa-grass; Pr. डसड्, Skr. दघति he bites, E. H. डसै; Pr. डडो or दडो, Skr. दष्टः bitten, oppressed, whence perhaps E. H. डाह् threat, डाटै or डाटै he threatens; see H. C. 1, 217. 218; but E. H. दहै it burns, Mg. दहड् (cf. Wb. Bh. 155), Pr. डहड् (H. C. 1, 218), Skr. दहति; E. H. दंम् arrogance, Pr. डंभो or दंभो, Skr. दम्भः.

175. क्, ट्, ड् become ख्, छ्, ङ्, respectively; very rarely; thus क् in E. H. खाँसी cough, Pr. कासिआ (or खासिआ? cf. H. C. 1, 181),

Skr. कासिका; E. H. ठोर *beak* for *ठोर, see § 174; E. H. ठेकुना *bug*, Pr. उंकुणओ (S. C. 1, 3. 130), Skr. मकुपाकः.

Note: Pr. examples are: खप्पर (H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कर्परम्, E. H. खपर *skull, tile*; Pr. खोलओ (H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कीलकः, but E. H. कीला *nail*; again Pr. कुच्छं or चुच्छं or तुच्छं (H. C. 1. 204), Skr. तुच्छम्, E. H. कूछ mean; again Pr. कडिलो or तडिलो (H. C. 1, 194), Skr. तडिलः, E. H. *deest*.

176. भ् becomes ह्; rarely; E. H. हौड़ or भौड़ *pot*, A. Mg. भडे (Wb. Bh. 274), Skr. भापडः.

Note: In Pr. होड़ (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति, E. H. होय *he is*.

177. *Aspiration is transferred*; E. H. म्हैस् or भैस् or महिस् or बहिस् *buffalo*, A. Mg. महिसे, Skr. महियः, see § 178; E. H. भूखा *hungry* for *बुहुखा, Mg. बुभुक्खिण्ण (or बुक्खे Wb. Bh. 290?), Skr. बुभुक्षितः; E. H. भब्रति or भभूति *ashes of cowdung*, Skr. विभृतिः (semitats); E. H. भाप् or भाफ् or बाफ् *steam*, see § 143; E. H. कृप् or फूफ् *flower*, see § 132.

178. म् becomes व्; very rarely; in E. H. बहिस् or महिस् *buffalo*, see § 177. 134.

Note: In Pr. वम्महो (Vr. 2, 39), Skr. गन्मथः, E. H. *deest*.

179. ल् becomes न्; very rarely; E. H. नोन् or लोन् *salt*, Pr. लोणं (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. लवणम्, see also §§ 31. 111.

Note: In Pr. पाहलो, Skr. लाहलः, E. H. नाहर *tiger*; Pr. पांगलं *plough*, पांगलं *tail*, Skr. लाङ्गलम्, लाङ्गूलम्, but E. H. लाँगल् and लाँगूल्, see H. C. 1, 256.

180. न् becomes ल्; very rarely; E. H. लील् or नील् *dark-blue* (§ 31), A. Mg. नीले (Wb. Bh. 160. H. C. 3, 32), Skr. नीलः; E. H. लूरी or नूरी *a kind of parrot*; E. H. लीम् or नीम् *lime-tree* (S. लिमु or निमु), see p. 20.

Note: In Pr. लिम्बो or निम्बो (H. C. 1, 239), Skr. निम्बः; but E. H. नीम् *Nimb-tree*.

181. य् and व् become ज् and झ् respectively; always; thus य् in E. H. जतन् *effort*, Skr. यत्तः (semitats); E. H. जोम् *worthy*, Mg. योगो (cf. Vr. 3, 2), Skr. योग्यः; E. H. जानै *he knows*, Mg. यापाइ (cf. Wb. Bh. 394, note) or यापादि (H. C. 4, 292), Skr. ज्ञानाति (see

pg. 22); etc.; again E. H. ब्रात्, see § 143; E. H. ब्रातै or ब्रतै *it is sounded*, Pr. व्रतइ (H. C. 4, 406), Skr. व्रणते, etc.; also as initial of the second of a compound; as E. H. पुरवासी *citizen*, Skr. पुरवासी (*semitats*); see § 17.

182. स् becomes ह्; *very rarely*; E. H. होचै or सीचै *he sprinkles*, see § 149.

Note: In Pr. इत्तवणो (Vr. 2, 41), Skr. सपुपर्णः; E. H. *deest*.

183. ह् is prefixed; *very rarely*; E. H. होठ् *lip*, see § 149.

* *Note:* Frequently in S.; as एडो or हेडो *so large*, ओडो or होडो *so large*, एतिरो or हेतिरो *so many* (Tr. 224), एकु or हेकु *one* (Tr. 157), इति or हिति *here* (§ 468, a). Sometimes in B. and M., as B. एया or हेया *here*, ओया or होया *there* (§ 468, a); M. इकडे or हिकडे *hither* (§ 468, b).

184. *Consonants are elided*; only in alliterative phrases; thus रू in रोटी ओटी *meal* (lit. bread, etc.); or खू in खाना *dinner*; very commonly प्, as पानी *water*; चास् पास *close by*; उलट् पुलट् *topsy-turvy*; अइतावै पइतावै *he repents deeply*; etc.

γ) CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

185. य is interpolated; often; thus E. H. नहान् *bathing*, Ap. Pr. पहाणु (H. C. 4, 399), Skr. स्नानम्; E. H. नहाम् *he bathes*, Pr. पहाइ (H. C. 4, 14), Skr. स्नाति; E. H. नहाइ *he flees*, Pr. *पहरइ, Skr. *स्रस्तयति (denom. of part. स्रस्त); E. H. परोहन् *carriage*, Ap. प्रवहणं (cf. H. C. 4, 398) or Pr. पवहणं (Mchh. 109, 18), Skr. प्रवहणम्; E. H. परघट or परगट् *manifest*, see § 102; E. H. परगास् *clearness*, Ap. Pr. प्रगासु (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. प्रकाशः; E. H. परगासै *he displays*, Ap. Pr. प्रगासइ or प्रगासेइ, Skr. प्रकाशयति; E. H. परसन् *pleased*, Ap. Pr. प्रसखु, Skr. प्रसन्नः; E. H. परोहा *leathern waterbucket*, Ap. Pr. प्रवहउ or प्रवाहउ (cf. H. C. 1, 68), Skr. प्रवहकः or प्रवाहकः; E. H. सराहै *he praises*, Pr. सलाहइ (cf. H. C. 2, 101), Skr. ग्राधते; E. H. सराहन् *praise*, Pr. सलाहणं, Skr. ग्राधनम्; E. H. सरैस् *glue* (lit. *adhesion*), A. Mg. सिलेसे (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. श्लेषः (or Pers. سیریش *sirish*?); E. H. मलान् *faded*, Pr. मिलाणं (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. म्लानम्; and in *semitats*; as E. H. सलोक *verse*, Skr. श्लोकः (Pr. सिलोओ H. C. 2, 106).

LS. 183); E. H. परोक्षन् *necessity*, पराग् *Allahabad*, पराचिन् *penance*, see § 144.

Note: In Pr. सलाहा (H. C. 2, 101), Skr. ग्राहा, E. H. सराह् *praise*.

186. इ is interpolated; sometimes; thus E. H. तिरपन् *fifty three*, Ap. Pr. *त्रिपणं (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. त्रिपञ्चाशत्; E. H. तिरसठि *sixty three*, Ap. Pr. *त्रिसट्ठी, Skr. त्रिषष्टिः; E. H. तिरिका or त्रिका *triad*, see § 408; E. H. गिरहन् *eclipse*, Ap. Pr. ग्रहणं, Skr. ग्रहणम्; E. H. पिलही *spleen*, Pr. *पिलहिन्ना, Skr. प्लीहिका; E. H. गिलानि *fatigue*, Pr. *गिलाणो (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. ग्लानिः; E. H. तिरिया *woman*, Ap. Pr. *त्रिन्ना, Skr. त्रिका.

Note: In Pr. सिणेहो (Wb. Bh. 405. Ls. 182) or सणेहो or नेहो (H. C. 2, 102), Skr. स्नेहः, E. H. सिनेह् or सनेह् or नेह् *love*; Pr. सिरि (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. श्री, E. H. सिरि *prosperity*; Pr. किरिन्ना (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. क्रिया, E. H. किरिया *oath*; Pr. किलेसो (H. C. 2, 106) *trouble*, see § 58, note.

187. उ is interpolated; rarely; thus E. H. सुमिरन् or सुमरन् *recollection*, Ap. Pr. सुमरण् (H. C. 4, 426. cf. 4, 74), Skr. स्मरणम्.

188. The first consonant is elided; always; thus E. H. भीतरू *within* for भीतर्, A. Mg. भ्रिभितर् (§ 172), Skr. भ्रयन्तरम्; E. H. भीत्रे, काढे, कंगा, कंगिया, for भीत्रै, कात्रै, कङ्गा, कङ्गिया, see § 172; E. H. इमा *forgiveness* for *च्छमा, Skr. क्षमा, see §§ 36. 191; E. H. इाहै *he desires* for *च्छाहै, see § 173.

Exception. ग्न् remains, as E. H. ग्गान् *knowledge*, Skr. ज्ञानम्, see § 191; in the *kharī bhāshā* optionally also र्न् following a cons., as प्रगद् or परगद् *manifest*, § 185.

Note: In Pr. also; as a rule, see H. C. 2, 89. Vr. 3, 50; thus Pr. काणं (H. C. 2, 26), Skr. ध्यानम्; Pr. काश्रो or धाश्रो for *काश्रो or डाश्रो (H. C. 2, 27), Skr. ध्वजः; Pr. इमा or खमा for *च्छमा or *क्खमा (H. C. 2, 18 gives इमा in the sense of *earth* and खमा as *patience* or *forgiveness*; but in E. H., the latter does not exist, and the former means *forgiveness* or *patience*), Skr. क्षमा; Pr. ढाणं or याणं for *ढ्राणं or *त्याणं (H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थानम्; etc.; but A. Mg. apparently has occasionally ङ्क्; as ङ्काणं^o (Wb. Bh. 315. 319),

Skr. ध्यान^०; or इक्षुसिन्ना (Wb. Bh. 295), Skr. अर्धृषित्वा, etc.; see Wb. Bh. 389. 390.

189. *The second consonant is elided; only ह्; thus E. H. नाड barber; A. Mg. पहाविर् or नाविर् (cf. H. C. 1, 230), Skr. नापितः (or *नापिकः).*

Note: In Pr. नेहो (H. C. 2, 102) for *पहेहो (not for *सेहो as in H. C. 2, 77), Skr. सेहः, E. H. नेह् love, oil; Pr. निद्धं (H. C. 2, 109) for *पिहद्धं, Skr. सिद्धम्, E. H. deest.

190. अ or इ is prefixed to स् preceding any consonant; only in semitats; thus E. H. अस्तुति or इस्तुति praise, Skr. स्तुतिः; E. H. अस्नान् bathing, Skr. स्नानम्; E. H. अस्नह् love, Skr. सेहः; E. H. इस्त्री woman, Skr. स्त्री; or in foreign words, as E. H. अस्कूल् or इस्कूल् school; E. H. इस्पन् sponge; etc.

Note: A curiosity is the E. H. अचपल् restless for Skr. चपलः

191. क्ष and च become क् and ग्; only in semitats; see §§ 36. 37. In tadbh. च becomes च्; e. g., E. H. तानी or तान् sage, Pr. तानी (H. C. 2, 83. Vr. 3, 5), Skr. तानी; but as a semitats. it is E. H. ग्यानी.

SECOND SECTION. ON SUFFIXES AND ROOTS.

FIRST CHAPTER. SUFFIXES.

192. The E. H. suffixes may be divided into two great classes, which I shall call the *pleonastic* and the *derivative*. The former are those, by the addition of which the meaning of a noun is not changed, thus पट् and पटा board, अग्नि and अग्निय fire, चाम् and चमरा leather, मीठ् and मिठका sweet, etc. The latter are those which change the meaning of a noun. These may be subdivided into two classes; the *primary* and *secondary*. The former are those which are added to (verbal) roots and form primary bases; e. g., R. खा eat, खाड or खानिहारू eater, glutton; हँस् laugh, हँसी laughter; बरू grow, बरूनी growth, etc. The latter are added to the bases

of nouns and form secondary bases; as बूढा *old*, बुढापन् *old age*; हलुक *light*, हलुकई *lightness*; बंगाल् *Bengal*, बंगाली *a man of Bengal*; भेड़ *ram*, भेड़ी *ewe*; etc.

Note: The pleon. suff. are called by Pr. gramm. स्वार्थे or स्वार्थिक (cf. H. C. 2, 164. 429); and the deriv. suff., भवे (cf. H. C. 2, 163). — In Skr., the primary suffixes are called *krt* and the secondary *taddhita*. The pleon. suff., as being added to nouns only, would belong to the *taddhita* class.

193: *Affinities.* In Pr. it had already become customary, and is now almost the rule in E. H. (and Gd. generally) to augment verbal roots (called *dhātus* in Skr.) by the denominative suffix अवि (Pr. अवि or आव, E. H. आव् or अ) and nominal bases (called *prātipādikas* in Skr.) by the pleonastic suffix क (Pr. and E. II. अ). It is the coalescence of the original (Skr.) *krit* or *taddhita* suffixes with this radical or basic increment, that — besides the usual effect of phonetic decay — accounts for the difference, which, in many cases, appears between them and their modern representatives; thus Skr. वृद्धि *growth* from R. वृध् and suff. ति, but E. H. बढति of R. बर्धाप् and suff. ति (cf. § 325); or Skr. उच्चता *height* from base उच्च and suff. ता, E. H. उच्चाई from base उच्च and suff. इया (= उच्चक-तिका cf. § 223). — Many of the Skr. suffixes, however, have been long since disused both in Pr. and E. II. as *suffixes*; though, of course, they may be met with in E. II. words (especially in *tatsamas*) as *nominal terminations* and variously modified by the effect of phonetic laws; thus the Skr. suff. नि, in E. H. मुनि *sage*, Skr. मुनि; suff. मन् in E. H. कर्म (tats) or काम् (tadbh) for Skr. कर्मन्; suff. त्रि, in E. H. धरती *earth* for Skr. धरित्री; or in E. H. रात् *night*, Skr. रात्रि; etc. These will not be noticed in the following lists. Most of the other Skr. suff., which are still used as such in E. H., are expressly mentioned also by Pr. grammarians.

1) PLEONASTIC SUFFIXES.

194. The E. H. pleonastic suff. may be divided into two groups, the elementary forms of which are: 1) क or अ and 2) उ

or र् or ल or न. Their other forms are reduplications or combinations of these.

First Group.

195. Set.

Masculine.

1. आ, ई, ऊ; or इउं.
2. अक्, इक्, उक्; or अक्क, इक्क, उक्क.
3. अका, इका, उका; or अक्का, इक्का, उक्का.
4. अवा, इवा, उवा; or अवॉ, इवॉ, उवॉ.
5. अकवा, इकवा, उकवा; or अक्कवा, इक्कवा, उक्कवा.
6. औवा, इयवा¹⁾, उअवा¹⁾; or औवॉ, इयवॉ¹⁾, उअवॉ¹⁾.

Feminine.

1. ई, ई, ऊ; or इउं.
2. अक्, इक्, उक्; or अक्क, इक्क, उक्क.
3. अकी, इकी, उकी; or अक्की, इक्की, उक्की.
4. इया, इया, उवा; or इयॉ, इयॉ, उवॉ.
5. अकिया, इकिया, उकिया; or अक्किया, इक्किया, उक्किया.
6. इयवा¹⁾, इयवा¹⁾, उअवा¹⁾; or इयवॉ¹⁾, इयवॉ¹⁾, उअवॉ¹⁾.

Note: Observe in adding these suffixes, that their initial vowel always supersedes the final vowel of the word. A long antepenultimate is shortened (see § 25). The semivowels य् and व् may or may not be inserted after इ, उ and औ (cf. § 28); e. g., उवा or उआ, इया or इआ.

196. The first set may be added to either subst. or adj. The forms thus made I shall call their *strong forms*; those without the suff. their *weak forms*. The suff. आ (m.), ई (f.) are added to nouns in अ (*quiescent*). As to adj., all may take them; thus m. सॉच् or सॉचा *true*; f. सॉच् or सॉची; or m. मोह् or मोठा *sweet*, f. मोह् or मोठी; but the strong form is generally used with fem., while with masc. the weak form is rather the more common. In the case of subst., the usage is more or less fixed; some occurring only in the

1) Sometimes pronounced ईवा, उवा or ईवॉ, उवॉ; contracted like औवा for *अववा § 203; and see §§ 83. 84. exc.

weak form, others only in the strong, while many again may be used in both; on the whole those in the weak form preponderate in E. H., as compared with W. H. Thus m. घर *house* (not घरा), f. बात *event* (not बाती); m. घोड़ा (or घोडा) *horse*, f. घोरी *mare* (not घोर); but m. पट्ट or पटा *board*, f. भेड़ or भेड़ी *sheep*, etc. The suff. ई and ऊ (both *gen. com.*) are added to nouns in इ and उ respectively; but in most cases, at present, only one of the two forms exists. Thus adj. occur only in the strong form, as भारी *heavy*, गर *heavy*, हल *light, slow* (not भारि, गर, हलु). Subst. as a rule, have either the one or the other; e. g., माली *gardener*, हाथी *elephant*, बालू *sand* (not मालि, हाथि, बालु); on the other hand अग्नि *fire*, मुनि *sage*, गुरु *teacher* (not अग्नि, मुनी, गुरु). There are, however, a few examples of the existence of both forms; as ज्ञानि or ज्ञानी *sage*, बहिनि or बहिनी *sister*, पतोडू or पतोडू *son's wife*, etc. See also §§ 42—53.

197. The suffix इडँ (*com. gen.*) can be added to adj. in ई only; as m. f. भारी or भरिडँ *heavy*. The form in इडँ I shall call the *uncontracted*, that in ई the *contracted*.

198. The second, third and fifth sets can be added to adj. of the weak form only. The forms made by the two former I shall call their long forms. Those in का, की or क्का, क्की contain the suff. आ, ई of the first set and are therefore strong, while those in क् or क्क are weak. As a rule, the strong long forms only are used in E. H. Thus m. मिठ-का or मिठक्का, f. मिठ-की or मिठक्की, of मोट *sweet*; छोट-का, छोट-की or छोटक्का, छोटक्की, of छोट *small*; भरिका, भरिकी or भरिक्का, भरिक्की *heavy*, of *भारि (only used in the strong form भारी, § 196); हलुक or हलुक्क (*gen. com.*) or हलुका, हलुकी or हलुक्का, हलुक्की *light*, of *हलु (only in the strong form हलू § 196). In a few cases the long form alone exists; as तनिक or तनिका *small*, of *तनु (see § 61); रचिक *small*. As to the forms in चक्का, etc. of the fifth set, see § 199.

Exception. There are a few subst. with the suff. क्, का, as भिडुक *beggar* beside भिडू; बालक (or बालका) *child* beside बाल and बाला; डोकरा *boy*, डोकरो *girl* beside डोरा, डोरी, from *डोक् or

*ङो° (= Skr. णव°, Pr. णव° Vr. 2, 41) with the pleon. suff. रा, री superadded. — Such nouns as लरिका *boy* (H. H. लरका), बैठिका or बैठिक् *seat* (H. H. बैठक्), etc. contain not the pleonastic, but the derivative suff. का (see §§ 252. 334).

Note: The forms in क्का, क्की have the accent on the syllable immediately preceding it; as मिठक्का *mithakkā*, भरिक्का *bharikkā*, हलुक्की *halukkī*; but the others on the first syllable; as हलुक्क *halukk*, हलुका *halukā*, छोटक्की *chhōṭkī*, etc.

199. The fourth set may be added 1) to any subst. of the weak form, 2) to any adj. of the weak long form; in the latter case resulting in the fifth set. The forms thus made will be called, in the case of subst., their *long*, in the case of adj., their *redundant* forms. The suff. अवा (m.), इया (f.) are added to nouns in अ, and the suff. इया and उवा (both gen. com.) to nouns in इ and उ respectively. Thus, *subst.*, m. घर or घर-वा *house*; f. बात् or बतिया *event*; m. घोरा (wk. f. घोर्) or घोर्-वा *horse*; f. घोरी (wk. f. घोर्) or घोरीया *mare*; m. माली (wk. f. मालि) or मलिया *gardener*; f. बालू (wk. f. *बालु) or बलुवा *sand*; f. आगि or अगिया *fire*; m. गुरु or गुरुवा *teacher*, etc. Again *adj.*, m. हलुक् or हलुक्का *light*; f. हलुक् or हलुकिया; m. छोटक्का (wk. f. छोटक्) or छोटक्का *small*; f. छोटक्की (wk. f. छोटक्) or छोटक्किया.

Note: Bs. II, 40 and Bates H. Dict. 67 give the form उआ for अवा; and Bates 58. इअ for इया. If these be not merely inaccurate spellings, they must be considered as local peculiarities.

200. The sixth set can only be added to subst. of the weak form. The forms thus made, I shall call their *redundant* forms. The suff. m. औवा, f. इया (or ईवा) are added to subst. in अ, and c. g. इया and उअवा (or उवा) to subst. in इ and उ respectively. Thus m. घर or घरौवा *house*; f. बात् or बतिया (or बतोवा) *event*; m. घोरा (wk. f. घोर्) or घोर्ौवा *horse*; f. घोरी (wk. f. *घोर्) or घोरीया *mare*; m. माली (wk. f. *मालि) or मलिया (or मलीवा) *gardener*; f. बालू (wk. f. *बालु) or बलुअवा (or बलूवा) *sand*; f. आगि or अगिया *fire*; m. गुरु or गुरुअवा *teacher*. The suff. औवा and उअवा may be con-

tracted to औ; e. g., घोरोवा or घोरो; बलुअवा or, बलौ. The suff. औवा may be also contracted into अउ; as घोरोवा or घोअउ.

Note: The contracted suff. औ always takes the accent; as घोरो *ghōraú*, not *ghōrau*.

201. All these suff. are, generally speaking, very commonly employed. The sixth set, however, is very vulgar. As a rule, they change in no way the meaning of the word. Occasionally, those of the fourth and sixth sets may imply contempt or affection or smallness, and those of the second and third sets the comparative degree (see § 388).

202. *Affinities.* The existence of these sets of pleonast. suff. in the various Gd. languages has been hitherto but little observed by grammarians; if, at least, we exclude the first, which is very common in them all. It consists, in E. and S. Gd., of आ, ई and उ; in N. and W. Gd. of ओ (or औ), ई and उ; see §§ 49—54. As to the others, I have not been able to learn whether or not they exist in N. and W. Gd.; excepting the W. H. In this latter and in E. and S. Gd., some of them certainly do occur; whether or not all do, it is impossible to say at present. The fourth set is in B. (m.) आ, ए, ओ contracted for E. H. अवा, इया, उया; as B. रामा, E. H. रमन्वा *Rám*; B. हरे, E. H. हरिया *Harí*; B. ग्रामो, E. H. संभुआ *Sambhú*; (f.) B. ई contracted for E. H. इया; as B. राधो, E. H. रधिया *Rádhá*, etc. There are, however, many anomalies¹). See S. Ch. 71. 72. In M. the fourth set has (m.) अवा for E. H. अवा and (f.) ई for E. H. इया; as M. राम्या (for रमन्वा cf. § 6, note), E. H. रमन्वा *Rám*; Mg. दुर्गो, E. H. दुर्गिया *Durgá*. See my Vth Essay on Gd. Gramm. in J. B. A. S. XLIII, 36. The W. H. has अया, ऐया, अई, ऐ for E. H. अवा, ओवा, अउ, औ of the fourth and sixth sets respectively; e. g., W. H. कन्हया, कन्हैया, कन्हई, कन्है *krishna*²);

1) E. g., sometimes इ migrates into the preceding syllable, as in B. काओ or केओ for E. H. कसिया *kási* (abbreviated for *kásínáth*).

2) By way of illustration compare तलैया *pond* = Mg. तलायये = Skr. तडाककः of तडाक, with कन्हैया = Mg. कपहयये = Skr. *कृपाककः of कृपा.

गड्या, गड्या, गडई, गडै *pit*; etc. In H. H. these pleonastic forms, being more or less vulgar, are not usually employed; but there are a few exceptions, such as बडवा *calf*, कडवा or कडुवा *bitter*; etc.

203. *Derivation.* The original of all these suff. is the suff. क which is sometimes employed in Skr. to form diminutives, as पुत्रक: *little son*, but is more often merely pleonastic. In Pr. it is still more extensively used in the latter way; see Vr. 4, 25 in Cw. 140. H. C. 2, 164. Ls. 258. Wb. Spt. 69. 70; especially in the Ap. Pr.; see H. C. 4, 429. 430. Ls. 341. 475. E. H. employs it, in some cases (cf. § 204), even more frequently than Pr. In the latter the suff. क generally becomes ञ, but sometimes remains unaltered. The latter is especially the case in Ps. Pr. (cf. H. C. 2, 164), in Sr. and Mg. Pr. (K. I. 12, 1 in Ls. Ap. 50. cf. Ls. 378. 396), and in Ap. Pr. (K. I. 13, 3 in Ls. 449. 457). The Mg. Pr., moreover, — particularly in its lower types — has not only a tendency to retain क, but even to prolong the preceding vowel¹⁾, thus making the suff. चाक, ईक, ऊक Md. 12, 16; cf. Wb. Bh. 348. Ls. 431)²⁾. In one case, Mg. shortens the preceding ञ and compensates it by doubling क; viz. in हडके *heart* (Md. 12, 13. Vr. 11, 6. K. I. 11, 3 in Ls. 393), for *हडाके, Skr. हृदयकम्, Ps. हितञकं (Vr. 10, 14) or हितपकं (H. C. 4, 310), but Mh. हित्यञं (cf. H. C. 2, 164). Further the suff. क is sometimes *reduplicated* in Pr., thus making it ञञ (for कक, H. C. 2, 164. 4, 430)³⁾ or in Mg. कञ or ञकञ,

1) Thus in the Mchh. the Mg. form कैलक is much more common than its alternative कैलञ. It may be remarked, that since the natural tendency in Pr. is to elide hard consonants, the effort to retain them would tend either to their being doubled or to the lengthening of the preceding vowel.

2) Md. 12, 16 क दीर्घो वा । कप्रत्यये परे पूर्वो दीर्घो वा स्यात् ॥ i. e. „the vowel preceding the suff. क may optionally be long“. The MS. reads पूर्वादीर्घो (?); the example is: लाउसाके । लाउपाके (?).

3) The example in H. C. 2, 164 is बहुञञं, E. H. बहुञञवा.

ईकञ्, उकञ्. Thus in Mg. the suff. क may have the following forms (in the nom. sing. incl. final of base): 1) अए, इए, उए by elision of क्; 2) अके, इके, उके or आके, ईके, उके by retaining क्; 3) अकए, इकए, उकए or आकए, ईकए, उकए by reduplicating the suff. and retaining क्; 4) अअए, इअए, उअए by reduplicating the suff. and eliding क्. In E. H., the first Pr. set is either *contracted* to आ, ई, उ (cf. §§ 47. 49. 98, exc.), or *separated* (by inserting ए or व् § 69) into अवा, इवा, उवा¹); the result being the 1st and 4th E. H. sets. Exceptionally the Pr. hiatus is retained in E. H. ईङ्, which is apparently the same as the Ap. Pr. termination इङ्. The second Pr. set becomes in E. H. either अक्, इक्, उक् (cf. § 45) or अक्क्, इक्क्, उक्क् by doubling क् and shortening the preceding vowel; thus forming the E. H. 2nd set. The third Pr. set again is in E. H. either *contracted* to अका, इका, उका and अक्का, इक्का, उक्का, or *separated* into अकवा, इकवा, उकवा and अक्कवा, इक्कवा, उक्कवा; thus producing the E. H. 3^d and 5th sets. Finally the fourth Pr. set becomes in E. H. औवा (contracted for *अव-वा, cf. § 34), इयवा (or इअवा or contr. ईवा § 83, exc.), उअवा (or उअवा or contr. उवा § 84, exc.) by inserting ए or व्; thus constituting the E. H. 6th set. E. g., Skr. घोटकः *horse*, Mg. घोउए or (gen.) घोउअह (§ 369, 2), E. H. घोरा or घोर्-वा; Skr. *घोटकः, Mg. (gen.) घोउअह, E. H. घोरीवा (for *घोरववा); or Skr. मिष्टकः *sweet*, Mg. मिट्टए or मिट्टके or मिट्टाके, E. H. मौढा or मिठक् or मिठक्क्; Skr. *मिष्टकः, Mg. मिट्टकए or मिट्टाकए, E. H. मिठका or मिठक्का or मिठकवा or मिठक्कवा; etc. Similarly in the feminine: 1) Pr. इअ and उअ, = H. H. ई and उ (§ 51) or इया and उवा; 2) Pr. *अकी, *इकी, *उकी²) or आकी, ईकी, उकी = E. H. अक्, इक्, उक् or अक्क्, इक्क्, उक्क् (§ 43); 3) Pr. अकिअ, इकिअ, उकिअ or आकिअ, ईकिअ, उकिअ = E. H. अकी, इकी, उकी or अक्की, इक्की, उक्की or अकिया, इकिया, उकिया or अक्किया, इक्किया, उक्किया; 4) Pr. *इअअ, *उअअ²), (= *इकका, *उकका) = E. H. इयवा, उअवा (or उअवा). Thus Skr.

1) For an explanation of the final आ of these forms see §§ 365, 1. 369, 2.

2) When क् is retained or the suff. reduplicated, the fem. appears to have been formed irregularly.

मृत्तिका *earth*, Mg. मट्टिन्ना (cf. H. C. 2, 29), E. H. माटो or मटिया; Skr. *मृत्तिकका, Mg. मट्टिन्ना, E. H. मटियवा; or Skr. मिट्टा or मिट्टिका *sweet*, Mg. मिट्टा or मिट्टिन्ना, E. H. मीट् or मीठी or मिठिया; Skr. *मिट्टकी, Mg. मिट्टकी or मिट्टाकी, E. H. मिठक् or मिठक्की; Skr. *मिट्टिका, Mg. मिट्टिन्ना or मिट्टाकिन्ना, E. H. मिठकी or मिठक्की or मिठकिया or मिठक्किया; etc.

204. *Origin.* The original of the suff. क I am inclined to believe to be the past part. pass. कृत *done* for the following reason. There are two main elements क and उ or ल. Each of them exists in a twofold use, as a pleonastic or a derivative suffix. It will be shown, that the latter (उ or ल) in its two uses is essentially the same element and has the same origin (Skr. दृष्ट), see §§ 218. 244. 248. 251. The same, probably, is true of the former (क) also. It will be shown in §§ 280. 338 that the suff. क — as a derivative one, at least — has originated from the part. कृत; and in § 377, that the genitive affix क has the same origin.

205. *Origin of the pleonastic forms.* Skr. possesses bases in ऋ, इ and उ. The declension of the bases in इ and उ is intricate; at least, as they form a very small minority, it was much less familiar, than that of the ऋ-bases. Hence the custom sprang up in Pr., of adding the suff. क to the इ- and उ-bases, in order to turn them into ऋ-bases; and from habit, it was extended to the ऋ-bases themselves; thus tending to produce a uniform kind of declension. We shall observe (§ 347) a similar levelling tendency of Pr. in regard to the treatment of the verbal roots whereby the diversity of the Skr. conjugation was reduced to a uniform pattern. In E. H., this uniformity of declension has become an established fact. In the meanwhile, however, the result of the Pr. habit of adding the suff. क was, to produce a double set of forms of the same meaning; the *weak* forms in ए, ई, उ, and the *strong* in (Mg.) ऋ, इ, उ. This must have been felt to be inconvenient. In Gd., therefore, the custom grew up of using only one set; and in the struggle for existence, thus ensuing between the two

sets, the hardier one (i. e., that of the *strong* forms), will naturally survive. The tendency to extinction of the weak forms is, indeed, unmistakeable in Gd. In E. and W. H., the weak forms in इ and उ (probably from having suffered longest the addition of the suff. क) are altogether extinct in adj., and, to a considerable extent, in subst. also. The case of the weak form in अ, in W. H., is not very different from this. But the E. H. has more nearly preserved the older, i. e. Pr., stage, particularly in regard to adj.; though it also shows signs of the same general tendency, in preferring strong fem. in ई and strong long forms in का, की (see §§ 196. 198). — Another reason for the frequent addition of the suff. क in Pr. was its preference (common to all popular languages) for the use of diminutives. This habit continued in Gd., in whose more uncultivated forms, like the E. H., it is very marked. But as the Pr. strong (or diminutive) forms in अह्, इह्, उह्, in their contracted Gd. forms अ, ई, उ, had been generally substituted in Gd. in the place of the (more or less) extinct Pr. weak (or non-diminutive) forms, Gd. was obliged to distinguish its diminutive (but, in vulgar speech, pleonastic) forms by some new device. Accordingly वृ and वृ were inserted in the Pr. strong terminations, and thus were produced the long termin. अवा, इवा, उवा of the E. H. The excess of this popular tendency is exhibited in the reduplication of those forms in the redundant terminations औवा, इयवा, उयवा.

Second Group.

206.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1.	अह्	अहा	अही
	2.	अह्	—	—

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others containing the suff. अ, ई of the 1st set 1st group are strong. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

207. These suff. are sometimes added to adj. or subst. of the weak form: Thus: अह् in गडह् or गड fort, from गड enclosure; अहा in गडहा (or गडा), from गाड or गडा cavity; m. बडरहा, f. °हो, from बडर or m. बडरा, f. °ही mad (W. H. बाबल or बाबला); m.

मिर्कटहा, f. °ही feeble (also मिर्कुटहा), from मर्कट monkey (?); again मद् in m. f. बड्राद् mad.

208. *Derivation.* These suff. are closely allied to those of first group. Their original is the Skr. pleon. suff. क, the क् of which is elided in Pr. and replaced in Gd. by ह् (see § 69). Thus we have in Mg. Pr. (in the nom. sg., and incl. of the final अ of the base) मए (i. e. मकः), in E. H. मद् (for महे); or adding pleon. अ (= क, i. e., doubling क) we have Mg. m. मअए, E. H. मद्वा, Mg. f. मद्वा, E. H. मद्ही. In Mg. the vowel, preceding क, may be lengthened, m. मक्के, f. मक्की, or (eliding क्) मए, मई; whence, inserting ह्, arises E. H. m. f. मद् (= मद्ह, मद्ही). E. g., Skr. गर्तकः, Mg. गर्तुके or गर्तए, E. H. गडद् or गड्; Skr. वातुलकः, Mg. वाउलाके or वाउलाए, E. H. वड्राद्; or Mg. m. वाउलकके or वाउलमए, E. H. वड्रद्वा, f. Mg. वाउलद्वा, E. H. वड्रद्ही. By way of illustration compare E. H. घटिद्वा inferior, low-priced, Mg. घट्टिमए, Skr. घट्टितकः.

Third Group.

209. Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1) a.	मर् or मर्	मरा or मग	मरी or मडी
b.	— —	मर् or मर्	मर् or मर्
2)	एर् or एर्	एरा or एग	एरी or एडी
3)	ओर् or ओर्	ओरा or ओग	ओरी or ओडी
4)	अल् or अर्	अला or अरा	अली or अरी
5) a.	एल् or एर्	एला or एरा	एली or एरी
b.	ईल् or ईर्	ईला or ईरा	ईली or ईरी
c.	इल् or इर्	इला or इरा	इली or इरी
6) a.	ओल् or ओर्	ओला or ओरा	ओली or ओरी
b.	उल् or उर्	उला or उरा	उली or उरी
c.	उल् or उर्	उला or उरा	उली or उरी
7) a.	अन्	अना	अनी
b.	उन्	उना	उनी

The forms with ङ् are properly W. H., and are rarely used in E. H. (see § 29). Most of the forms with ल् may be, and commonly are pronounced with र् (see § 30); some, however, have always ल्, others always र्. All forms of com. gen. are weak, the others con-

taining the pleon. suff. of the 1st set 1st group are strong. The forms *अरू* or *अडू*, contracted from Ap. Pr. *अउउ* = **अउक्*, are properly W. H., and occur only exceptionally in E. H. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

210. The first set occurs in subst. and adj.; often; thus, m. *गठरू* or *गठरा*, f. *री*, of *गाठ्* (or *गठा*) *bundle*; *चमरा*, of *चाम्* *leather*; *चीकरू* (or *कीचरू*), of *चीक्* (or *कीच्*) *mud* (cf. § 133); *खब्बोरू*, of *खब्बू* *glutton*; *टुकरा*, f. *री*, of *टूक्* (Skr. *स्तोक*) *piece*; *पटारा*, f. *री*, of *पट* (or *पटा*) *board*; *पलंगरा*, f. *री*, of *पलंग्* *bedstead*; *बछरा*, f. *री* or m. f. *बछरू* *calf, colt*, of *बछ्* (or *बछा*) *young*; *भूखरू*, of *भूख्* (or *भूखा*) *hungry*; *भुलकरू*, of *भूलक्* *forgetful*; *मोटरा*, of *मोट्* *bundle*; *मेहरारू*, of *मेहरू* *woman*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as *सैकरा* *a hundred*, of **सैक्* (A. Mg. *सयक्क*, Skr. *शतक्*); *टोकरा* *basket*, of **टोक्*; *योर्* or *योरा*, f. *री* *little*, of **यो* (Pr. *योन्न*, Skr. *स्तोक*, cf. § 97); *झोकरा* or *झोरा* *boy* and *झोकरी* or *झोरी* *girl*, of **झोक्* or **झौ* (see § 198 exc.); *झेरा*, f. *झेरी* *goat*, of **झे* (Mg. *झाय*, Skr. *झाग*); *अगारि* *front*, of **अगा* (Skr. *अग्र*); *पछारि* *back*, of **पाछा* (Skr. *पश्च*); *पहारू* *mountain* and *पहारा*, *multiplication-table*, of **पहा* (Skr. *प्रथित* *extended*, see § 118); etc. See also § 104.

211. The second and third sets occur in subst. and adj.; very rarely; thus *बछेरा* *colt*, *बछेरी* *filly*, of *बछ्* (or *बछा*) *young*; *घनेर्* or *घनेरा*, f. *री*, of *घन्* *much*; *गडोरा*, of *गाड्* (or *गडा*) *pit*.

212. The fourth set occurs in subst. and adj.; often; thus *मोटल्* or *मोटला*, f. *ली*, of *मोट्* (or *मोटा*) *fat*; *जेठरा*, f. *री*, of *जेठ्* (or *जेठा*) *eldest*; *रसर*, f. *री*, of **रस्स्* or *रस्ता* *cord*; *मुहरा* *vanguard*, *मुहरी* *cuff, bore of a gun*, of *मुह्* *mouth*; *हयल्* or *हयरी*, of *हाय्* or *हया* *handle*; *सुतला* or *सुतरा*, f. *री* *string*, of *सूत्* *thread*; *परला*, f. *ली*, of *पारू* *beyond*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as *अगला*, f. *ली* *former*, of **अग* (Skr. *अग्र*; Ap. Pr. *अगलउ* H. C. 4, 341); *मउली* *mother*, of M. *माउ*, E. H. *माई* (Skr. *मातृ*, cf. § 63).

213. The fifth and sixth sets occur in subst. and adj.; rarely; thus the 5th set in *पतील्* or *पतीला* or *पतिला*, of *पात्* *pot, pan*; *खपरेल्*, of *खपरू* (or *खपरा*) *tile* (see § 175, note); *मुरेला*, of *मोरू* *peacock*; *सपेला*, of *साप्* *snake*; *अधेला*, of *आध्* *one half*; *पडला*, of *पाय्* *a quarter*;

अकेला or इकेला, of एक *one, solitary*. The 6th set in सपोला, of साप् *snake*; कंकरोला, of ककर (or ककरी) *gourd*; बतोला, of बात् *talk*; बाँसुली or बाँसुरी *flute*, of बाँस् *bamboo* (see § 128); बाँकुरा *swaggerer*, of बाँक् *fop*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as in अगिला *foremost*, of आग (Skr. अग्र); मकेला or मकिला or मकोला *middle*, of *माक् (Skr. मध्य); पछिल् or °ला *last*, of *पाङ् (Skr. पश्च); पहिल् or °ला *first* (cf. § 118).

214. The seventh set occurs in pronouns and sometimes in nouns; thus pron. अइसन् *of this kind*, तइसन् *of that kind*; कइसन् *of which kind*, जइसन् *of which kind*, of *अइस्, *तइस्, etc.; see §§ 111. 456—458; ऐतना, f. °नी *this much*, ओतना, f. °नी *that much*; तेतना, f. °नी *so much*; केनना, f. °नी *how much*; जेतना, f. °नी *as much*, of एत्, तेत्, etc.; see §§ 111. 452—454; आपुन् or आपन् or अपुना or अपना, f. °नी *own*, of *आप् (Skr. आत्मीय), see § 111; तवन्, f. तउनी *he, that*; कवन्, f. कउनी *who*; जवन्, f. जउनी *which*, of *तेव्, *केव्, *जेव्, see §§ 106. 438, 2. Again nouns: झोना, f. झौनी *young of an animal*, from *झो, see § 210; घुयना, f. °नी, of घोम् *mouth of an animal*; जामुन्, of जाम् *rose-apple*, see § 111.

215. None of these suff. alter the meaning of the word; though sometimes they restrict it to some particular application; as बह् or बह्ना is *any young animal*, but बह्ना is a *calf* or *colt* and बह्नेरा a *colt*; मकेली or मकोली a *kind of carriage of middling size*; मिठरी a *particular kind of sweetmeat*; etc. Sometimes, they imply smallness, as मुरेला a *peachick*; सपोला a *young snake*; झँखरी a *wink*, lit. a small झँख् or *eye*. Sometimes, again, they express likeness, in which case they are more properly to be considered derivative suff., see §§ 241. 245; thus तमरा a *certain jewel of copper color* (lit. like ताम् or *copper*); ललरी a *false stone resembling a लाल् or ruby*; पातुर or पतुरा *thin, weak*, lit. like a पात् or *leaf*. Sometimes both; thus पुतरा or पुतला, f. °री or °ली *idol, doll*, lit. a *little or like a पूत् son*; चीलर or चील्हर *louse*, lit. a *small or like a चील् hawk*. — It should be remarked, however, that in the nouns in री or ली which imply smallness, as गठरी, पलंगरी, पटरी, टुकरी, टोकरी, मोटरी, पतीली, सुतली, रखरी, etc. (cf. §§ 210. 213), that quality is denoted by the gender

(cf. §§ 256. 257), not by the suffix; for their corresponding masculines always imply largeness; e. g., गठरा *large bundle*, गठरी *small bundle*, etc.

216. *Affinities.* All Gd. languages possess this group of pleon. suff., see Bs. II, 115—122. As to S., especially, see Tr. 71. 77—79; as to M. see Man. 34. 113. 114. Their forms do not materially differ in any of them from those in use in E. H. But S. has always एरो for एलो; M. has sometimes ह् for इ (§ 217), and S. sometimes इ for ल्, as in लिखंदु *writer* from लिखंदो, but generally ल्, as डिठलु *seen* from डिठो (Tr. 71). Here S. uses the pleon. लु or उ to turn part. into adj.; in the same way G. uses लो (Ed. 113) and M. एला (e. g., मेला *part.* or मेलेला *adj. dead*, Man. 63, 2. 64, 2). For the same purpose Mw. uses डो and N. को, though more in the manner of an affix; e. g., Mw. लिख्यो *part.* and लिख्योडो *adj.*, N. लिख्यो or लिखियो *part.* and लिख्याको *adj. written*.

217. *Derivation.* All these pleon. suff. occur in Pr. (H. C. 2, 164. 165. 166. 173); more especially in Mg. Pr. (Wb. Bh. 437) and Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 429. 430). Here (in the Ap. Mg.) they have, in the nom. sg. and incl. of the final of the base, the following forms: 1) m. ञडे, f. ञडी (H. C. 4, 431) or, with the pleon. suff. ञ added, m. ञडए, f. ञडिआ. These change into the first E. H. set, m. f. ञड् or ञर and m. ञडा or ञरा, f. ञडी or ञरी; e. g., Ap. Mg. गंठडे (Skr. ग्रन्थ H. C. 4, 120), E. H. गंठर्; Mg. गंठडए, E. H. गंठरा; Mg. गंठडिआ, E. H. गंठरी. 2) The same, with the pleon. ञ added to the base of the word, m. ञछडे, f. ञछडी and m. ञछडए, f. ञछडिआ. These, by inserting ण् (§ 69) and contracting ञय to ए (§ 121), result in the E. H. second set, m. f. एड् or एर् and m. एडा or एरा, f. एडी or एरी; or by inserting व् (§ 69) and contracting ञव to ओ (§ 122) result in the E. H. third set, m. f. ओड् or ओर् and m. ओडा or ओरा, f. ओडी or ओरी; e. g., Ap. Mg. घपाछडे or घपायडे, E. H. घनेर्; Ap. Mg. वच्छछडए or वच्छयडए, E. H. बछेरा; Ap. Mg. वच्छछडिआ or वच्छयडिआ, E. H. बछेरी; again Ap. Mg. गडुछडए or गडुवडए (Skr. गर्त H. C. 2, 35), E. H. गडोरा. 3) Mg. m. छल्ले or छले, f. छल्ली or छली or, with pleon. ञ added, m. छल्लए or छलए, f. छल्लिआ

or अलिङ्गा. These produce the E. H. fourth set, m. f. अल् or अर् and m. अला or अरा, f. अली or अरी; thus Mg. नवले *new* (H. C. 2, 165. Skr. नव), E. H. नवल्; Mg. एकल्लए (H. C. 2, 165. Skr. एक) *solitary*, E. H. इकला or इकरा; Mg. एकल्लिङ्गा, E. H. इकली or इकरी; again Mg. पीथलए *yellow* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. पीत), E. H. पीला or पीरा (§ 97); Mg. अंधलए *blind* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. अन्ध), E. H. अंधला or अंधरा; Mg. पत्रलं *dish* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. पात्र), E. H. पत्रल् or पत्रर्; Mg. विज्जुलिङ्गा *lightning* (Ls. 2, 194. H. C. 2, 173. Skr. विज्जुत्), E. H. बिज्जुली or बिज्जुरी; Ap. Mg. अगलए *anterior* (cf. H. C. 4, 141. 444. Skr. अग्र), E. H. अगला. 4) Mg. m. इल्ले or इले, f. इल्ली or इली or, with pleon. अ added, m. इल्लए or इलए, f. इल्लिङ्गा or इलिङ्गा. These constitute the E. H. fifth set, m. f. एल् or ईल् or इल् and m. एला or ईला or इला, f. एली or ईली or इली; thus Mg. m. मत्तिकल्लए or मत्तिकलए *middle* (Wb. Bh. 437. Skr. मध्य), E. H. मकेला or मकिला; Mg. f. मत्तिकलिङ्गा or मत्तिकलिङ्गा, E. H. मकेली or मकिली; Mg. पढमिल्ले (Wb. Bh. 437. Skr. प्रथम), E. H. पहेल् or पहिल् (§ 118); again Mg. तेत्तिलए (cf. H. C. 2, 157 see §§ 58. 111), E. H. तेतना, G. तेटलो, S. तेतिरी; Mg. f. तेत्तिलिङ्गा, E. H. तेतनी, G. तेटली, S. तेतिरी; again Mg. पत्तिल्लं or पतिल्लं *dish, vessel* (Skr. पात्र), E. H. पतीला or पतिला, etc. 5) Mg. m. उल्ले or उले, f. उल्ली or उली or, with pleon. अ added, m. उल्लए or उलए, f. उल्लिङ्गा or उलिङ्गा. These give rise to the E. H. sixth set, m. f. ओल् or उल् or उल्, and m. ओला or उला or उला, f. ओली or उली or उली; thus Ap. Mg. m. मङ्कुल्लए *middle* (Skr. मध्य), E. H. मकोला; Ap. Mg. f. मङ्कुलिङ्गा, E. H. मकोली; Mg. मुहुल्लं (cf. H. C. 2, 164. Skr. मुख), E. H. मुहुरा *vanguard*; Mg. हत्थलिङ्गा (cf. H. C. 2, 164. Skr. हस्त) *handle*, E. H. ह्युरी or ह्यरी; Mg. अप्पुल्ले (see §§ 60. 111), E. H. आपुन् or आपन्; Ap. Mg. तेत्तुलए (cf. H. C. 4, 435., see §§ 58. 111), E. H. तेतना; etc. 6) with pleon. अ added, m. पाए, f. पिङ्गा, n. पाअं. These become the E. H. seventh set, m. ना, f. नी; thus Mg. अप्पाए (§ 60, note), E. H. अपना; Mg. अप्पिङ्गा, E. H. अपनी. I believe this is the only example of the pleon. suff. ना in Pr. A comparison with E. H. shows: 1) that the Pr. अप्पाअं (H. C. 2, 153) stands for *अप्पाअं = अप्पुल्लं (H. C. 2, 163); and 2) that the न् of this set is a substitute for an original ल्

(or ल्), as in E. H. नाम्न् (see § 111). Further a comparison of the various sets tends to show, that the Pr. suff. इल्, इल् and उल्, उल् are modifications of original forms एल् and ओल्, and that the latter are contractions of घयल् and षयल्, formed, by the insertion of य् and ष्, from अयल् and, by the prefixion of the pleon. अ, from the simple suff. यल्. The latter (यल्) itself is, probably, a mere modification of यत्, through the common interchange of इ and ल् (H. C. 1, 202); as shown by the S. विजुती *lightning* for Pr. विजुली¹). As to the origin of यत्, see § 218. Of the change of यत् to यत्, now almost universal in W. Gd., there are apparently a few examples in Pr.; viz., Pr. दीहर् or दीहं *long* (H. C. 2, 171. Skr. दीर्घ), E. H. दीर् *a long while ago*; Pr. बाहर् or बाहिं *external* (H. C. 2, 140. of Skr. बहिस्), E. H. m. f. बाहिर, m. बाहिरा, f. °री. For it should be remembered that the old Pr. र् is a cerebral (= र्, see § 15), not (like the E. H.) a dental. The Skr. suff. ल and र् (i. e. ळ), sometimes (espec. in later Skr.) used pleonastically, are, no doubt, identical with the corresponding Pr. ones. — The Skr. pleon. suff. ट (as in कर्कः or कर्कटः or कर्कटकः *crab*, Pr. कक्को or कक्कोओ, E. H. कँकर or केँकरा) is probably a hardening of the Pr. suff. उ, and adopted into Skr. in the ancient period of the Pā Pr. With this would seem to agree the fact, that Psh. and, occasionally, S. possess a diminutive suff. ओटै or उटै (Tr. 77. Bs. II, 122). There are a few nouns of apparently similar formation in H.; but they may well be compounds; e. g., चमोटो *a strip of leather* = Skr चर्म + पत्रिका; बाम्हेनेटा *young brāhman* = Pr. बम्हण + विरुओ (*brāhman's son*); हिरणोटा *fawn* = हिरण + पुत्र. B. has ओटे (S. Ch. 100) and M. ट (Man. 114).

218. *Origin.* The original of these pleon. suff. I believe to be the Skr. suff. (properly a noun) दृष् *like*, which is added both to nouns and pronouns. In Pr. it appears as दह्; e. g., in एदृहं (H. C. 2, 157) = Skr. ईदृशम् (lit. *इयादृश = इयत् + दृश); and in

1) Thus: Skr. मध्यक° (or मध्यम°), Mg. *मन्कयडे = *मन्कयले = *मन्कयले = *मन्कले = मन्किल्ले or मन्किले, E. H. मकेल् or मकिल्.

Ap. Pr. it occurs as ओ or उ; e. g., in एवओ or एवउ (H. C. 4, 407) = Skr. *एवाद्भः (from Ved. ईवत् or Skr. एवम्). These Ap. forms ओ and उ are, evidently, contractions for *उहो and उहु resp., where इ would easily arise from the Skr. दृ (just as Pr. इ from Skr. दृ H. C. 2, 36. 37) and °अह्° would be suppressed, as e. g. in S. इते or इत्ये here = Ap. इवहे (H. C. 4, 436., see §§ 468, a. 469). And the Ap. suff. ओ and उ, being once established, would be treated in their further evolutions precisely as any other suff., and thus produce all the alternative sets, enumerated in § 209. Their initial इ would be (as usual) liable to change to ॠ or ॡ, ॢ or ॣ, and ।. In the Gd. pronouns it actually has undergone all these changes; see §§ 104. 105. 106. 438, 2.4. 454. — In confirmation of this theory, it is to be remarked: 1) that as shown in § 215, the original meaning *like* of the suff. उ or ल may still be traced in some words; 2) that a suff., meaning *like*, would easily come to be used diminutively and thence pleonastically, as may be seen in such English words as *such* and *such-like*, *kind* and *kindly*, or in the German *froh* and *fröhlich*, *krank* and *kränklich*; the intermediate *diminutive* sense is more often preserved in S. and M. (see Bs. II, 117. 118); 3) that such a suff. may easily become a *derivative* one; as in the English *kingly*, i. e., *like a king* or *belonging to a king*, or in the German *tödlich*, i. e., *full of death*, *mortal*, *peinlich*, i. e., *full of pain*. Accordingly, as will be shown in §§ 241. 245. 249., all these pleon. suff. occur also as derivative ones in Pr. and Gd.; 4) that in M. the suff. sometimes have the forms ढा, ढी (for ओ, उ), which have preserved the original इ of the Ap. Pr. *हो, *उही, as in M. तेवढा (Man. 125) for Ap. Pr. तेवउ.

2. SECONDARY DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

219. The secondary derivative suff. may be divided into eighteen groups. Of these the eleven first consist of suff. which already existed as such in Pr., the remaining seven contain those which have become such in Gd., but were full nouns in Pr.

First Group.

220. Set. 1. Fem. *अई*. Set. 2. Fem. *आई*.

Both, containing the suff. ई of § 196., are strong forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

221. These suffixes are used to derive abstract nouns from adjectives. Weak and long forms take the first, strong forms the second set. Thus *अई*, in *हलुअई* *lightness*, of *हलुअ* *light*; *ठंई* *coldness*, of *ठं* *cold*; *सधुअई* *simplicity*, of *सधुअ* *simple*; *भरियई* *heaviness*, of *भरिया* *heavy*; etc. Again *आई*, in *भलाई* *goodness*, of *भला* *good*; *बड़ाई* *greatness*, of *बड़ा* *great*; *मिठाई* *sweetness*, of *मीठा* *sweet*; *गोलाई* *roundness*, of *गोला* *round*; etc.

222. *Affinities*. These suff. exist in all Gds., though in M. they appear to be considered as non-indigenous and introduced from Hindi (see Man. 112). As to S. see Tr. 58. In P. the suff. is occasionally added also to the long form of adj. in *आ*, not only (as in E. H.) to that of adj. in *उ*. That long form ends (as in W. H. see § 202) in *आया*, and *आया* is vocalized to *इआ* (cf. § 121); thus *बड़ा* *great*, lg. f. *बड़ाया*, whence *बड़ाई* *greatness* (see Ld. 13. Ba. II, 79). The *आ* in such forms is anomalous for *अ*, as will be seen by a reference to § 221; unless we suppose the base to have been the redundant, not the long form of the word. W. H. and H. H., too, have the anomalous *आ*; but E. H. has regularly *अ*; e. g., W. H. *गहूआइ*, but E. H. *गहूअई* *heaviness*. The H. H. often superfluously adds *आई* to tats. or semitats., which contain already the identical suff. *ता*; as H. H. *कोमलताई* *comeliness*; *योग्यताई* or *तोमताई* *worthiness*, etc.

223. *Derivation*. The original of these suff. is the Skr. *taddhita ता* (fem.), in Pr. *दा* or *आ* (Vr. 4, 22. H. C. 2, 154). With the pleon. *क* superadded, it is Skr. *तिका*, Pr. *दिआ* or *इआ* or, incl. of the final *अ* of the base, *अइआ*, and Gd. *अई* (§ 51). And with pleon. *अ* (= *क*) added to the base we have Pr. *अअइआ*, contracted in Gd. *आई*. Thus Skr. *मिष्टता* or **मिष्टतिका*, Pr. *मिट्टइआ*, E. H. *मिठई*; and Skr. **मिष्टकतिका*, Pr. *मिट्टअइआ*, E. H. *मिठाई*; again Skr. **साधुकतिका*, Pr. *साधुअइआ*, E. H. *सधुअई*; etc. This derivation is

illustrated by E. H. *अर्ध* *two and a half*, which is contr. from Mg. *अर्ध* (cf. Wb. Bh. 425. H. C. 1, 101 and § 416), Skr. *अर्धतृतीया*.

Second Group.

224. Set. 1. Masc. *आउ* or *आव्*. Set 2. Masc. *आन्*.

Both sets are weak forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

225. These suff. are used to derive abstract nouns from a very small number of adj., expressive of dimension; viz., *ऊँचाउ* or *ऊँचाव्* or *ऊँचान्* *height*, of *ऊँचा* *high*; *गहिराउ* or *गहिराव्* or *गहिरान्* *depth*, of *गहिरा* *deep*; *ओँडाउ* or *ओँडाव्* or *ओँडान्* *depth*, of *ओँडा* *deep*; *चोराउ* or *चोराव्* or *चोरान्* *breadth, width*, of *चोरा* (H. H. *चौग*) *broad, wide*; *लम्बाउ* or *लम्बाव्* or *लम्बान्* *length*, of *लम्बा* *long*. The forms in *आन्* are properly and generally masc.; but are sometimes used as fem.

Note: There are also the ordinary forms in *आई* (§ 229); as *ऊँचाई*, *गहिराई*, *लम्बाई*, etc.

226. *Affinities.* These suff. are not strictly E. II., but introduced from the W. II.; and occur in all W. Gds. See Bs. II, 80. 81. Tr. 59. In S. they are fem., in G. neuter, and in P. masc. The fem. gender in S. is a Gd. formation, like that of the suff. *पी*, *पणी* §§ 228. 230. The tendency of abstract nouns is to become fem.; also in Mg. Pr. there is fem. *ना* or neut. *नं* for Skr. neut. *त्वम्*, see Wb. Bh. 437. S. appears to have occasionally *आइणि* for *आणि*, the former of which, probably, stands for *अयानि* and is to be explained like the P. *इआई* for *आई*, see § 222. In S. the suff. *आनि* may be used with any adj. expressing an inherent quality; as *अइणि* *whiteness*, *कइणि* *blackness*, *बइणि* *greatness*; etc.

227. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. (neut.) taddh. *त्व* or (vedic) *त्वन* (cf. Wb. Spt. 68. 69). They become in Pr. (nom. sg.) *नं* or *नणं* (Vr. 4, 22. H. C. 2, 154) or, incl. of the final *अ* of the base, *अनं* or *अनणं* or (eliding *न*, see § 153) *अनं* or *अनणं* (see Spt. A. 52. *अनस्तनृणा* = Skr. *अनस्तनृणेन*) or in Ap. Pr. *अउ* or *अअणु* (cf. H. C. 4, 331). Now the Ap. form *अउ* or, with pleon. *अ* added to the base, *अअउ* contracts in H. to *आउ* or *आव्*;

and the Ap. form *अन्नण* contracts to H. *आन्*. E. g., Skr. *उच्चकत्वम्* *height*, Pr. *उच्चन्नं* or *उच्चन्नं*, Ap. *उच्चन्न*, E. H. *उँचाउ* or *उँचाव्*; again Skr. **उच्चन्नम्*, Pr. *उच्चन्नं* or *उच्चन्नं*, Ap. *उच्चन्नण*, E. H. *उँचान्*. S. has, apparently, preserved the *न्* in *मुखितण*¹⁾ *duty of a मुखी headman* (Tr. 61), but not in *चोकिराट्* *boyhood*, which is probably a comp. of *चोकर* and *वरु* (Ap. for Skr. *वृत्तम्*).

Third Group.

228.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.
	1) a. <i>प्पा</i>	b. <i>प्</i> or <i>पा</i>	—
	2) a. <i>प्पन्</i>	b. <i>पन्</i> or <i>पना</i>	<i>पनी</i>

The suff. in *आ* and *ई* are strong, the others are weak forms. Those with *प्* are added to weak, those with *प्* to strong bases; but *पना*, *पनी* to either.

229. These suff. are used to derive abstract nouns from subst. or adj. The forms *प्पन्* or *पन्*, however, are those commonly employed. Thus *प्* in *बृद्धप्* *old age*, of *बृद्ध* *old*; *प्पा* or *पा* in *बृद्धपा* *old age*, *होटप्पा* or *होटपा* *smallness*, of *होट्* or *होटा* *small*; *मोटप्पा* or *मोटपा* *fatness*, of *मोट्* or *मोटा* *fat*; *रुँडप्पा* *widowhood*, of *रुँड्* *widow*; etc.; *प्पन्* or *पन्* in *बृहत्पन्* or *बृहत्पन्* *greatness* (cf. H. C. 4, 437), of *बृहत्* or *बृहत्* *great*; *सुधापन्* *simplicity*, of *सूधा* *simple*; *गर्हपन्* or *गर्हपन्* *heaviness*, of **गर्ह* or *गर्ह* *heavy*; *बालकपन्* *childhood*, of *बालक* *child*, etc.; *पना* or *पनी* in *होटन्पना* *smallness*; *लुचन्पना* or *लुचन्पनी* *profligacy*, of *लुच* *profligate*; *ज्ञानन्पनी* *knowingness*, *knowledge*, of *ज्ञान्* (Skr. *ज्ञानी* § 191) *knowing*; *पात्रीपना* *profligacy*, of *पात्री* *profligate*, etc.

Note: Exceptionally the suff. appears to be added to a verbal root, as in *खुन्नलापन्* *itching*, from *खुन्नलाव्* *to itch*; but in reality it is added to the noun **खुन्नला* (cf. M. *खत्तरा* Man. 115) *itch*, which, however, is now used only as a fem. *खुन्नलो*.

230. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gds.; though they seem to be less common in B. and O., than in the others

1) It is more probably the Ap. Pr. suff. *तणु* (see H. C. 4, 422, 20); viz., Ap. *मुखितणु* scl. *वरु*.

(see Bs. II, 73). M. has पण् n., पणा m. (Man. 112); S. प fem., पो m.; पार्द् f., पो f., पणु m., पणो m. (Tr. 59—61); G. पो m., पण m., पणु n. (Ed. 14); P. पा m., पुण् or पुणा m. (Ld. 13., e. g., उचक्रुणा *business of a उचक्रा pickpocket*); B. has पन् m., पना or (Bs. II, 71) anomalously पाना; O. has पण् m., पणिन्ना f. (e. g., भौउपणिन्ना *roguery*). B. and O. have more commonly मि (or ममि); as लुचामि *profligacy*, भौउमि *roguery*, हिलामि *laziness* of हीला, see Bs. II, 77.

231. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. (neut.) taddh. त्व or (vedic) त्वन (see § 227). They become in Ap. Pr. (nom. sg.) प्त् or प्त्वां (H. C. 4, 437. Ls. 460) or, with pleon. अ added, प्त्त्रं or प्त्वात्रं. The Ap. प्त् and प्त्त्रं become in E. H. प् and प्वा or पा respectively; and the Ap. प्त्वां and प्त्वात्रं become E. H. प्त्न् or पन् and प्त्वा, whence E. H. makes fem. प्त्नी. Thus Skr. वृद्धत्वम्, Ap. वुद्ध्वं (cf. H. C. 1, 131), E. H. बुद्धाप्; Skr. *वृद्धत्वकं, Ap. वुद्ध्वत्रं, E. H. बुद्ध्वा or बुद्ध्वा; Skr. *वृद्धत्वनम्, Ap. वुद्ध्वत्वां, E. H. बुद्ध्वन् or बुद्ध्वापन्; Skr. *वृद्धत्वनकम्, Ap. वुद्ध्वत्वात्रं, E. H. बुद्ध्वापना or बुद्ध्वापनी; etc. The आ in the E. H. forms आपा, आपन् might be the usual result of the simplification of the conjunct प्त्, but is more likely to be the strong termination of the base, as shown by the M., which changes that आ to ए, as भलेपणा *goodness* (Man. 112) for E. H. भलापन्; i. e., M. adds पन् to the strong form भले = भलय = Pr. भल्लञ्ज = Skr. भद्रक. In the B. and O. मि the प् has been apparently softened to म्.

Fourth Group.

232.	Set.	Com. gen.	Fem.
	1)	वंत् or वत्	वंती or वती
	2)	मंत् or मत्	मंती or मती

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. Strong masc. forms (ac वंता, etc.) do not exist.

233. The weak suff. are used to derive *possessional* adj. from subst. of the weak form. Thus वंत् or वत् in धनवंत् or धनवत् (m. f.) *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth*; भगतवंत् or वत् *faithful*, of भगत् *faith*; सोमवंत् or वत् *sorrowful*, of सोग् *sorrow*; पुन्रवंत् or वत् *virtuous*, of

पुन् *virtue*; जयवन्त् or वत् *victorious*, of जय् *victory*; मानवन्त् or वत् *proud*, of मान् *pride*; भगवन्त् or वत् *fortunate, excellent*, of भग् *fortune, excellence*, etc. Again मन्त् or मत् in सिरिमन्त् or सिरिमत् (m. f.) *excellent*, of सिरि *excellence*; हनुमन्त् or मत् *monkey*, of हनु *jaw*; भक्तिमन्त् or मत् *devoted*, of भक्ति *devotion*; पुनमन्त् or मत् *virtuous*, of पुन् *virtue*; etc.

234. The strong fem. suff. are commonly used to derive abstract nouns from their respective possessional adj., as धनवन्तो *wealthiness*, of धनवन्त् *wealthy*; सोचवन्तो *thoughtfulness*, of सोचवन्त् *thoughtful*, of सोच् *thought*, etc.; see §§ 256. 257.

235. *Affinities*. These suff. exist in all Gds., exc. S. See Bs. II, 106. As to M. see Man. 114. H. H. and the H. Gds. generally are fond of using the tats. forms, m. वान्, f. वती; as रूपवान् *beautiful*, f. रूपवती; धनवान् *wealthy*, f. धनवती; दयावान् *merciful*, f. दयावती, etc. In E. H., however, as distinguished from H. H., the tats. forms do not occur, except in a few proper names, as भगवान् *God*, भगवती *the goddess Gaudī*, etc.; हनुमान् *the monkey-god*, etc. S. has the suff. वानु m., वानी f. (Tr. 76. 99), as m. सोलवान्, f. सोलवानी, E. H. m. f. सोलवन्त् or वत्; H. H. m. सोलवान्, f. सोलवती *amiable*. This S. form has in exceptional cases crept into the other Gds.; as H., M., G. गाडीवान् or गाडीवान् *couchman* (see Man. 113. Ed. 14).

236. *Derivation*. The originals of these suff. are the Skr. taddh. वत् and मत्, which become in Pr. वन्त and मन्त (Vr. 4, 35. H. C. 2, 159). Whence in the Mg. nom. sg. m. वन्ते and मन्ते, f. वन्ती and मन्ती; in E. H. m. f. वन्त् and मन्त् (§§ 43. 45) or वत् and मत् (§§ 143. 146). Or with pleon. अ added, in Mg. f. वन्तिश्चा and मन्तिश्चा, E. H. वन्ती and मन्ती or वती and मती (§ 51). Thus Skr. m. धनवान्, Mg. धपावन्ते, E. H. धनवन्त् or वत्; Skr. f. धनवती, Mg. धपावन्ती, E. H. धनवन्त् or वत्; again Skr. f. *धनवतिका, Mg. धपावन्तिश्चा, E. H. धनवन्ती or वती (scl. वृत्ति *condition*). The S. वानु, f. वानी, though, probably, ultimately connected with the Skr. suff., are independent of the Pr. m. वन्तो, -f. वन्ती; for they exist also in Pers., and there are no forms मानु, मानी in S., corresponding to Pr. मन्तो, मन्ती.

Fifth Group.

237. Set. 1) Com. gen. *आइत्* (§ 82). Masc. *अइता* or *ऐता*.

Fem. *अइती* or *ऐती* (§§ 25. 77)

The suff. of com. gen. is a weak, the others are strong forms.

238. These suff. occur only with a very few subst. from which they are used to derive possessional adj.; and from the latter abstract nouns are derived by means of the fem. strong form (see § 257). Thus *ढलाइत्* *shield-bearer*, *ढलइती* or *ढलैती* *office of sh.*, from *ढाल्* *shield*; *बरहाइत्* *spearsman*, of *बरहा* *spear*; *कडलाइत्* *warrior-bard*, of *खडला* *war-song*; *लिंगाइत्* *a ling-worshipper*, of *लिंगे* *phallus*; *चर्चाइत्* *talker*, of *चर्चा* *talk*; *नताइत्* *kinsman*, of *नाता* *kin*; *कराइत्* or *करइता* or *कौता* *the name of a very poisonous snake*, of *करा* or *काला* *black*; *उकाइत्* *robber* and *उकइती* or *उकैती* *profession of robbery*, of *उका* *robbery*; *बहुताइत्* (fem.) *abundance*, of *बहुत्* *much*.

239. *Affinities.* These suff. are properly W. Gd., more especially S., whence they have exceptionally passed (mostly in technical terms) into the other Gds. In S. they are: 1) m. *एतो*, f. *एती* (for **अइतो*, **अइती*) added to weak bases, as *पुट्रेतो* *having a son*, of *पुट्र* son (base *पुट्र*, Skr. *पुत्र*); and 2) m. *आइतो*, f. *आइती* added to strong bases, as *वाराइतो* *opportune*, of *वारो* *time* (base *वारा* = *वारश्*, Skr. *वार्ष*). P. has occasionally the form *ऐत्* or *ऐद्* (see Bs. II, 102).

240. *Derivation.* These suff. may have been originally connected with those of the fourth group. For in Vr. 4, 25. II. C. 2, 159 the Pr. originals *इंत* or *इत्त* are mentioned in close connection with *वंत* and *मंत*. The latter, incl. of the final *अ* of the base, would be *अवंत* and *अमंत* or (eliding *व्* and *म्*) *अमंत*, or (inserting *य्*, § 69) *अयंत*, or (vocalizing *य्*, § 121) *अइंत*, or (again detaching the *अ* of the base) *इंत*. Thus Pr. *मापाइतो* or *मापाइतो* *proud* (H. C. 2, 159) would be = *मापायंतो* = *मापाअंतो*, *मापावंतो* = Skr. *मानवान्*. With pleon. *अ* added to the suff., they are Pr. m. *अइत्तअो*, f. *अइत्तिअा*; S. m. *एतो*, f. *एती*. Or with pleon. *अ* added to the base, Pr. m. *अअइतो*, f. *अअइती*, E. H. m. or f. *आइत्*; and with pleon. *अ* added to both the base and suff., Pr. m. *अअइत्तअो*, f. *अअइत्तिअा*; S. m. *आइतो*, f. *आइती*; E. H. m. *अइता* or *ऐता*, f. *अइती* or *ऐती*. — There are, however, a few

words of a similar form, such as चडाइत् or चडाइता or चडैता rider, trooper, दंगाइत् or f. दंगइती or दंगैती quarrelsome, झकडाइत् swaggerer, etc., which seem to require a different explanation. They are clearly *primary* derivatives of the Rs. चढ् mount, दाँग quarrel, झकड़ strut; viz., probably, part. pres. of the denom. verbs चढाव्, दाँगाव्, झकडाव् (see §§ 349. 352). The suff. of such part. would be in Skr. आपयन्, in Pr. आवेन्तो or आवंतो. The latter would change to आचन्तो, आचन्तो, आइन्तो or आइन्तो, and in Gd. आउत्. Possibly the first mentioned derivatives, also, are to be explained in this way, as denominative participles, instead of possessional adj. This is the explanation suggested by Ls. 289. 290. It is favored by the fact that both examples in Vr. 4, 25., viz., रोसाइन्तो *angry* and पापाइन्तो *alive*, end in आइन्तो with long *á*. Those in H. C. 2, 159., viz., कव्वाइन्तो *poetical* and मापाइन्तो *proud*, indeed, end in अइन्तो with *ă*; but this need be no objection; as Pr. may, optionally, shorten the denom. suff. आव् to अव्, see H. C. 4, 37. Wb. Spt. 65.

Sixth Group.

241. Set. Com. gen. Masc. Fem.

1) आल् or आर् आला or आरा आली or आरी

2) आलु or आरु आलू or आरू आलू or आरू

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them, and the use of the alternative forms with ल् and र्, see § 195, note.

242. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst. In some cases, the word has been restricted to some particular secondary meaning. Thus the first set in तोद्दाल् or तोद्दार or m. °र्रा, f. री *pot-bellied*, of तोद्दु belly; रसाल् *sugar-cane* or *mango-tree* (lit. *juicy*), of रस् juice; पखाल् f. or पखारा or °ला m. *a large double water-bag of leather carried across a bullock's back, with one half suspended on each side of it* (lit. *two-sided*), of पख side; रेताला *sandy*, of रेत् sand; दुधार or दधाल् *milk-cow*, of दूध milk (M. दुधाल्), etc. Again the 2nd set in दयाल् or दयालू m. or f. *merciful*, of दय् (Skr. दया) *mercy*; लज्जालु or लज्जालू *bashful*, of लाज् shame; perhaps also कगाराल् *quarrelsome* of कगरा *quarrel*; but see §§ 308. 312.

Note: In some words the suff. is probably pleonastic (cf. § 209), as in मेहर or मेहरारू *woman*; घड़ी or घड़िया f. or घड़ियाल् or घड़ियार m. *clock, gong*. In others, where the suff. exists only with र्, it is probably of a different kind, as in चिन्हारू *acquaintance*, etc.; see §§ 272. 273.

243. *Affinities.* These suff. occur only as an exception in th. Gd. and P., but are very common in S. and W. Gd.; especially the second set. M. has, as a rule, ह्, sometimes इ; thus केसाह् or केसाह् *hairy*, खेछाह् *frolicsome*, see Man. 114. G. also has ह्; as रेतोह् or रेतोह् *sandy*, S. has ल् or र्, like E. H., and sometimes इ (Tr. 66. 69); as धपारह् *herdsman*, त्रवाल्लू (*wheat*) *mixed with barley*; गान्ताह् *right-handed*. P. has ह् or ल्; as उन्नाह् *woollen*, कसाला *distressed*; see Bs. II, 90—94.

244. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Pr. suff. अल and अलु (Vr. 4, 25. H. C. 2, 159). They occur, however, especially the latter, in Skr. also. The suff. अल becomes in Mg. (nom. sg.) m. अले, f. अली and, with pleon. अ added, m. अलए, f. अलिआ, whence arise the E. H. first set m. or f. आर् or आल् and m. आरा or आला, f. आरी or आली. E. g., Skr. रसालः, A. Mg. रसाले (cf. H. C. 2, 159), E. H. रसाल् or रसार; Skr. दुग्धाला, Mg. दुग्धाला or °ली, E. H. दुग्धाल or °र्; Skr. *तुन्दालकः (cf. तुन्दिल M. W. 378, 2), Mg. तोद्दालए (cf. H. C. 1, 116), E. H. तोद्दार्; f. Skr. *तुन्दालिका, Mg. तोगलिआ, E. H. तोद्दारी. The suff. अलु becomes in Mg., nom. sg., m. or f. आलू and, with pleon. अ added, m. आलुए, f. आलुआ, whence the E. H. second set, m. or f. आलु and m. or f. आलू. E. g., Skr. दयालुः, Mg. दयालू (cf. H. C. 2, 159), E. H. दयालु or °र्; Skr. लज्जालुका, Mg. लज्जालुआ (H. C. 2, 159), E. H. लज्जालू or °र्. As to the origin of the suff. अल and अलु, they are probably derivatives of the Skr. suff. दृष् like; see § 251.

Seventh Group.

245.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	अइल् or अइर्	ऐला or ऐरा	ऐलो or ऐरी	
2)	इल् or इर्	इला or इरा	इलो or इरी	
3)	अउल् or अउर्	औला or औरा	औली or औरी	
4)	उल् or उर्	उला or उरा	उली or उरी	

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. In the two first sets ल् is commonly used, in the two others र्; for the rest see § 195, note.

246. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst. Sometimes the word is restricted to some particular meaning. The first and third sets are those commonly used. Thus the 1st set in दंगडल् m. or f. *quarrelsome*, of दंगा *quarrel*; गंठैला, f. °ली *knotty*, of गंठ् *knot*; पनैला, f. °ली *swampy*, of पानी *water*; पयडल् m. or f., or पयडैला, f. °ली *full of stones*, of पयर् *stone*; उँकैला *having a sting*, of उँक् *sting*; खपरडल् *a tiled house*, of खपरा *tile*; बोकडल् *beast of burden*, of बोक् *load*; दुधडल् *milch-cow*, of दूध् *milk*; etc. Again the 2nd set in रेतिला, f. ली *sandy*, of रेत् *sand*; बोकिल् *loaded*, of बोक् *load*; etc. Again the 3^d set in पयडर् m. or f., or पयोर, f. °री *full of stones*, of पयर् *stone*; उँकडर् m. or f., or उँकोर, f. °री *having a sting, a wasp*, of उँक् *sting*; रसडर् m. or f., or रसौर, f. °री *juicy*, of रस् *juice*; घमोरी or घमौली *prickly heat*, of घाम् *warmth*; बकौला *hood* and बकौलो *green caterpillar*, of बाँक् *a bend*; etc. Again the 4th set in पातुर् *moth*, of पात् (Skr. पत्र) *wing*; पातुर् or पतुरी *prostitute*, of पात् (Skr. पात्र) *vessel*; पातुर् *weak* (H. H. पतला; lit. *leaf-like*), from पात् *leaf*; बाडुर् or बडुर्, f. °री *mad* (H. H. बावला), of बाष् *wind* (lit. *inflated*). Occasionally, the suff. expresses relation generally, as in बनैला, f. °ली *wild, savage*, of बन् *a wood*; घरैला, f. °ली *tame*, of घर *house*; कखोरी or कखौलो *tumour in the armpit*, of काख् *armpit*.

247. *Affinities*. These suff. exist in all Gds., but in the W. and S. Gd. they have an initial ए or ई for ऐ, and ओ or उ for औ, and in H. H. also अ for इ or उ. The M., G. and O. have ऋ, and S. often र् for ल्. Thus W. H. एलौ or ईलौ, H. H. एला or ईला or अला, M. एळा or ईळा, G. एळो or ईळो, S. एलो or एरो, ईलो or ईरो, इर् (Tr. 67). The interchange of र् and ल्, however, occasionally occurs in all Gds., and, indeed, already in Pr. (see § 248). Thus H. H. गँठैला, W. H. गँठौलो *knotty*; W. H. घमौली, M. घमोळी *prickly heat*; H. H. पतला *thin*, रेतला *sandy*; etc.; further examples see in Bs. II, 95—101.

248. *Derivation*. The originals of these suff. are the Pr.

suff. इल्ल and उल्ल (Vr. 4, 5. H. C. 2, 159) or, with the pleon. अ added to the base, अइल्ल and अउल्ल or, with pleon. अ added to the suff., इल्लअ, अइल्लअ, उल्लअ, अउल्लअ, whence the E. H. suffixal forms regularly arise. Thus E. H. पयर्इल्ल = A. Mg. पयलइल्ले; E. H. पयर्इला = A. Mg. पयलइल्लए; E. H. पयर्उरू = A. Mg. पयलउल्ले; E. H. पयर्इरा = A. Mg. पयलउल्लए; E. H. पतुरी = A. Mg. पतुलिआ, etc. From the Pr. these suff. were probably adopted into the Skr. as taddh. with one ल्; thus इल्ल in Skr. ग्रन्थिल *knotty*; उल्ल or उल in ब्रातुल or ब्रातूल *gouty*; ओल in गण्डोला *raw sugar*, etc. The Pr. taddh. इर (H. C. 2, 145. Vr. 4, 25), which occurs also in Skr., may, perhaps, be identified with the Pr. इल्ल (or इल्ल), by the interchange of ल् and रू (see § 110); in S. it occurs as इरु (see § 247); but E. H. has no suff. इर, except as an alternative of इल्ल. — As to the origin of the suff. इल्ल and उल्ल (probably from Skr. दृण), see § 251.

Eighth Group.

249.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	a.	एर or एइ	एरा or एग	एरी or एगे
	b.		एर or एइ	एर or एइ
2)	a.	ओर or ओइ	ओरा or ओग	ओरी or ओगे
	b.	ओर or ओइ	ओरा or ओग	ओरी or ओगे

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. Those with इ are properly W. H. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

250. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst.; but the derivatives are few in number and always restricted to some particular meaning. Thus the first set, in सपेरा or सपेग *snake-catcher*, of साप् *snake*; कटेरा *palings*, of काँटा *thorn*; पखेर *bird*, of पाख *wing*. The second set in लरकोरा or लरकोग *parents*, of लरिका *child*; पखोरा *shoulder-blade*, of पाख *side*; हयोरा or हयोरा *hammer*, of हाय *handle*; करोरा *tax-gatherer*, of करू *tax*, etc.

251. *Affinities and Derivation.* I believe these suff. and their derivatives are, strictly, W. Gd., and only introduced into the E. H. from the W. H. To this group belong the suff., S. इइयो (Tr. 70) and M. आड्या (Man. 113); e. g., S. पेइइयो *walker*, of पेइ or पैइ *foot*, वाटाड्या *guide*, of वाट *way*. — On comparing

this group with the sixth and seventh, it will be seen, that there are, in each, identical suff. containing ल् or क् or ङ्; thus, sixth group, E. H. बालु or बालू, M. बाळ or बाळू, S. बाडु or M. बाड; seventh and eighth groups, E. H. ऐला or ऐला or ऐडा, M. एळा; E. H. ओला, ओडा, W. H. ओला or ओडा, M. ओळा. Further, on comparing these with the third pleonastic group (§ 209), it will be seen that the suffixes in the two classes are identical. Hence it appears probable, that they have the same origin and are derived from the Skr. suff. दृग, as explained in § 218. Skr. दृगकः would, in Ap. Pr., become डिहउं, whence, eliding ह् and contracting the hiatus-vowels, the forms ड्यो and ड्या would arise, as contained in S. इड्यो and M. आड्या. The initial vowels of the latter must be accounted for by the addition of the pleon. अ to the base, just as in pleon. एडा, ऐला, इला, etc. (see § 218). — That the Skr. suff. दृग like would easily lend itself to derive possess. adj., may be seen from the German *peinlich*, i. e., painful, or from the English *lively*, *prickly*, *sprightly* = full of life, pricks, spirit.

Ninth Group.

252.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	ई	—	इकी
	2)	इक्	इका	इनि or इनी

The suff. इक् and इनि are weak, the others strong forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

253. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing, in a general way, possession or relation from subst. The first set is the one commonly used; sometimes in its long form इया (see § 199). Thus, 1st set in संगी or सङ्घती *friend, companion*, of संग् or सङ्घत् *companionship*; खारी or कुनही *enemy*, of खार् or कुनह् *enmity*; बकवादी or बतोलिया or बतुनिया *a talkative person*, of बकवाद or बतोला *talk*; सुखी *happy*, of सुख् *happiness*; दुखी *miserable*, of दुख् *pain*; धनी *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth*; तेली *oilman*, of तेल् *oil*; माली *gardener*, of माल् or माला *garland*; धोबी *washerman*, of धोब् (§ 311) *washing*; हथोटी or हथोटिया *craftsman*, of हथोटी *handicraft*; बहेलिया *hunter*, of बाह् *shooting*; गडेरिया *shepherd*, of गड् *fold*, etc. And हिन्दुई *belonging to*

a *Hindú* of हिन्दू *Hindú*; मराठी *bel. to a Maráthá* of मराठा *Maráthá* (man or country); अंग्रेजी *English* of अंग्रेज़ *Englishman* or *England*, etc. Again the 2nd set in धनिक् or धनिका, f. °की *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth*, etc.

254. Derivatives in ई are gen. com., when used adjectively; but when used as subst., they form a fem. in इनि or इनी, on which see the next group (§ 256). Thus बंगाली भाषा *Bangálí language*; बहिरी तिरिया *foreign woman*; but बंगालिनि or बंगालिनी *a woman of Bangál*, बहिरिनि or बहिरिनी *a woman of a foreign country*.

255. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. exist in all Gds.; see Bs. II, 83—89., where examples will be found. — The original is the Skr. taddh. suff. इक्; in Mg. (in the nom. sg.) इए or इके (or इक्के § 203, footnote 1) or, with pleon. अ added, इकए; whence E. H. ई or इक् or इका. Thus Skr. धनिकः, Mg. धणिए or धणिके or धनिकए, E. H. धनी or धनिक् or धनिका. Skr. महाराष्ट्रिकः, Mg. मरहट्टिए (cf. H. C. 1, 69. 2, 119), E. H. मराठी (cf. § 32). In the latter and in similar words, the original suff. may also have been the taddh. ईय; practically it makes no difference, as Skr. ईय would be Mg. ईए, E. H. ई. As to the origin of the fem. suff., see §§ 256—262.

Tenth Group.

256. Set. 1) Fem. — ई Set. 2) Fem. इनि or इनी

3) " आइन् or आइनो " 4) " — आनी

The suff. इनि and आइन् are weak, the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note; but observe that the final ऊ of a base is not elided, but changed to उ; हिन्दुइनि or हिन्दुइनी *a Hindú woman* of हिन्दू *Hindú*.

257. These suff. are used to derive feminine from masc. nouns; and it may be remarked, that, with inanimate objects, the fem. generally expresses diminutiveness, while in many other cases it forms abstract nouns. Thus उंगरी *hillock*, of उँगरू *hill*; बनी *copse*, of बन् *wood*; बाँसी *flute* (lit. *small piece of bamboo*), of बाँस् *bamboo*; गोली *bullet, globule*, of गोला *ball*; डोरी *string* of डोरा *rope*; चोली

bodice, of चोला *waistcoat*, etc. Again सोचवंती *thoughtfulness*, of सोचवंत *thoughtful*; रखवारी *guarding or guardianship*, of रखवार *guardian*; ढलैती *shieldbearership*, of ढलाईत *shieldbearer*; चिन्हारी *acquaintance*, of चिन्हार *an acquaintance*; पढ़निहारी *reading or readership*, of पढ़निहार or ०र *reader*; etc.

258. The first set may be used with any adj. or subst. in अ. Thus adj.; सँची *true*, of म. सँचा; बँकी *crooked*, of म. बँका; मोठी *sweet*, of म. मोठा; भूखी *hungry*, of म. भूखा; बड़ी *great*, of म. बड़ा, etc. Or subst., झोरी or झोकरी or लरिकी *girl*, of झोरा or झोकरा or लरिका *boy*; बेटी *daughter*, of बेटो *son*; काकी *paternal aunt*, of काका *paternal uncle*; नानी *maternal grandmother*, of नाना *mat. grandfather*; बकरी or झेरी *she-goat*, of बकरा or झेरा *he-goat*; घोरी *mare*, of घोरा *horse*; भेड़ी *cwe*, of भेड़ा *ram*; कुकरी *hen*, of कुकरा *cock*; etc. Occasionally the corresponding masc. in अ is not in use (cf. § 196); as सोनारी *fem. goldsmith*, of *सोनार or सोनारू *m.*; चमारी *f. leather-worker*, of *चमार or चमारू *m.*; कोहारी, *f. potter*, of *कोहारा or कोहारू *m.*; कहारी, *f. porter*, of *कहारा or कहारू *m.*; सुतारी, *f. carpenter*, of *सुतार or सुतारू *m.*

Note: In a few cases the long form in इया (see § 199) is exclusively used; as in कुत्रिया *fem.*, of कुत्रा *dog*; डिबिया *small box*, of डिवा *box*, बुझिया *old woman*, of बूझा *old man*; but the short forms कुत्री, डिबी, बूझी also occur.

- 259. The second set can be added only to subst. in अ or ई or ऊ, expressing animate objects; never to adj., except when used substantively. Thus in अ; persons; सोनारिनि or ०रिनी *f. goldsmith*, of सोनारू *m.*; चमारिनि or ०रिनी *f. leather-worker*, of चमारू *m.*; गोवाल्लिनि or गुव् or गु० *f. cowherd*, of गोवालू *m.*; घटवाल्लिनि *ferry-woman*, of घटवालू *m.*, etc. Or animals; पतुरिनी *f. moth*, of पातारू *m.*; बाघिनि or बघिनी *tigress*, of बाघू *tiger*; सोँघिनि or सिँघिनी *lioness*, of सोँघू *lion*. Again in ई; persons; परोसिनि or ०सिनी *f. neighbour*, of परोसी *m.*; बैरागिनि or ०गिनी *f. ascetic*, of बैरागी; माल्लिनि or ०नी *f. gardener*, of माली *m.*; धोबिनि or ०नी *washerwoman*, of धोबी *m.*; कोढ़िनि or ०नी *f. leper*, of कोढ़ी, etc. Or animals; हायिनि or हयिनी *f. elephant*, of हाथी *m.* Again in ऊ; नउइनि or नउइनी *f. barber*, of

नाड m.; पहरइनि or °नी *watchman's wife*, of पहर, etc.; see § 256. Occasionally the masc. is not in use, as बहिनि or बहिन or बहिनी *sister* (masc. भाई *brother*).

260. The third and fourth sets are confined to some particular words, as पंडाइन or °नी *wife of a पंडा a kind of brāhman*; चोब्राइन *woman of the चौबे caste*; दुब्राइन *woman of the दूबे (m.) caste*; ठकुराइन *lady of ठाकुर lord, chief*; चौधराइन *wife of a चौधरी headman*; पंडियाइन *wife of a पंडा priest*; गुरुआइन *wife of a गुरु teacher*; पंडिताइन *wife of a पंडित scholar*; बनिवाइन *woman of the बनिवा trader-caste*; पुरोहितानी *wife of a पुरोहित family priest*.

Note: These suff. are used even with foreign words, as मेहतरानी or मेहतराइन *wife of a मेहतर (pers. مهتر) sweeper*; सईसिन् *wife of a सईस (arab. سائيس) groom*. — With names of castes or professions the fem. signifies either the wife of a man of the caste, or any woman of that caste, or any woman following that profession.

261. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gds. But P. and W. H. have अन् and अनी after nouns in अ; thus E. H. सेठिनि *wife of a सेठ merchant*, W. H. सेठन्, P. सेठन् or सेठनी, S. सेठिण् or सेठिणि or सेठिणी; but E. H. कोरिनि *wife of a कोरी weaver*, W. H. कोलिन्, P. कोलिन्, S. कोरिणि or °रिणी (Tr. 99—102. Ld. 13, 41. 42). M. has ईण् as सेठीण्, कोम्मीण्, बाघीण् (*tigress*), see Man. 24. G. has एण् or अण्, as कोम्पण् or कोम्पेण्, बाघण् or बाघेण्, धोत्रण् or धोत्रेण् (*washerwoman*), see Ed. 26, 9. B. has इनी or अनी or अनी, as बाघिनी, धोत्रानी, कामारनी (*a fem. blacksmith*), see S. Ch. 36. 40. 41. For further examples, see Bs. II, 163—170.

262. *Derivation.* The original of the E. H. suff. ई is the Skr. taddh. इका, which becomes in Pr. इआ, and is contracted in E. H. to ई, as explained in § 203. It is, in fact, identical with the pleon. fem. ई of the 1st set, 1st group. — The original of the E. H. second set is the Skr. taddh. इनी or, with pleon. क added, इनिका, in Pr. इणी or इणिआ, E. H. इनि or इनी; thus Skr. base मालिन्, m. माली, Mg. माली, E. H. *deest* (*मालि); fem. Skr. मालिनी, Mg. मालिणी, E. H. मालिनि; or with pleon. अ added, Skr. मालिकः

(i. e., मालिन् + क), Mg. मालिर्, E. H. माली; fem. Skr. मालिनिका (i. e., मालिनी + का), Mg. मालिणिन्ना, E. H. मालिनी. It should be observed that, while in the case of the fem. E. H. preserves both the weak form मालिनि and the strong form मालिनी, on the other hand in the masc. it has only the strong form माली, but not a weak form *माल् or *मालि (see § 196). Again E. H. सोनार् has two fem., सोनारी and सोनारिनि or ०रिनी; the former is = A. Mg. सोसन्नलिन्ना, Skr. सुवर्णकाजिका fem. of सुवर्णकाजकः pleon. for ०काजः; but the latter is = A. Mg. सोसन्नलिणी or ०लिणिन्ना = Skr. सुवर्णकाजिणी or (pleon.) ०जिणिका, fem. of सुवर्णकाजी (base ०काजिन्). The latter masc. form exists in E. H. only in the weak form सोनार्, not in the strong सोनारी; though E. H. सोनार् might and probably does also stand for the A. Mg. सोसन्नले, Skr. सुवर्णकाजः. It is not necessary to assume an anomaly in this and similar words as to the use of the fem. suff. इनि in E. H.; but it appears to be anomalously employed in such words as ब्राघिनि *tigress* from m. ब्राघ्, for which fem. form there is no foundation in Skr., which has m. व्याघ्रः, f. व्याघ्री. — The E. H. suff. आइन् arises in various ways. Thus in चोबाइन् it arises from Pr. चउव्वेइणी, Skr. चतुर्वेदिनी; in पँडाइन् and पँडियाइन् it is added anomalously to पँडा, पँडिया, Mg. पँडिअर्, Skr. पण्डितकः, etc. — The E. H. suff. आनी is a tats. for Skr. आनी, as in Skr. इन्द्रानी *wife-of Indra*. — The E. H. रस्सी *string* is a regular fem. of the E. H. m. रस्ता, which is derived from the Skr. masc. रश्मिः or pleon. रश्मिकः (or रश्मकः of रश्मन्, see M. W. 835, 1); not *vice versa*, the E. H. masc. रस्ता formed from the E. H. fem. रस्सी (as Bs. II, 149), which would be an unique anomaly.

Eleventh Group.

263. Com. gen. अक्. Masc. आ or अव्. Fem. अई.

The form अक् is weak, the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them see § 195, note.

264. These suff. are used to derive ordinal numbers from the cardinals, with the exception of the four first and the sixth, which are formed differently (see §§ 269. 401). Thus m. or f. पंचक्,

m. पचा or पचवौ, f. पचई^३ *fifth*, of पच् *five*; m. f. दसव् or m. दसा or दसवौ, f. दसई^३ *tenth*, of दस् *ten*; m. f. बारहव् or m. बारहवौ, f. बारहई^३ *twelfth*, of बारह *twelve*, etc. They are added pleonastically to the following: दुसरा or दुसरव् or दुसरवौ *second*, of दुइ *two*; तिसरा or तिसरव् or तिसरवौ *third*, of तोनि *three*; चौथा or चौथव् or चौथवौ *fourth*, of चारि *four*; छठा or छठव् or छठवौ *sixth*, of छ *six*; बीसठा or बीसव् or बीसवौ *twentieth*, of बीस् *twenty*, etc.

265. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight differences: thus B. m. आ, f. ई^३ (S. Ch. 195); M. आवा, f. आवी, n. आवे^३ or (from 19th) आवा, आवी, आवे^३ (Man. 42. 44); H. II. आवौ, f. आवी^३; W. H. आवौ, f. आवी^३; P. आवौ or अमौ, f. आवी^३ or अमौ^३ (Ld. 82—85); G. (and O. H.) अमो, f. अमी, n. अमु^३ (Ed. 48); S. ओ^३, f. ई^३; e. g., B. पाचा, f. पाचई^३; M. पाँचवा, f. पाँचवी^३, n. पाँचवे^३, but विसावा, f. विसावी^३, n. विसावे^३ *twentieth*; W. H. पाँचवौ, f. पाँचवी^३; P. पंतवा^३ or पंतमौ, f. पंतवी^३ or पंतमौ^३; G. पाँचमो, f. पाँचमी, n. पाँचमु^३; S. पंजो^३, f. पंजी^३.

266. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. taddh. म or, with pleon. क added, मक; whence nom. sg. (incl. the final अ of the base) अमकः, f. अमिका, Mg. अमए, f. अमिआ, Ap. Mg. अवए, f. अविआ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), E. H. अवौ or (contracted, after eliding म् or व्) आ; f. अई^३ (cf. §§ 33. 47. 51). Thus Skr. पञ्चमकः, Ap. Mg. पंचमए or पंचवए, E. H. पचा or पचवौ; f. Skr. पञ्चमिका, Ap. Mg. पंचमिआ or पंचविआ, E. H. पचई^३. The M. form आवा may be a contraction of the Skr. अतितमकः; e. g., विंशतितमकः, Mg. बीसइअमए (cf. Wb. Bh. 476); or it may have arisen by adding the pleon. अ to the base and be = Skr. *विशकमकः, Mg. *वीसअमए. In the latter case the addition of the suff. आवा would be pleonastic, as the Skr. विंश itself means *twentieth*; but so it is in E. H. and all other Gds. in चौथवौ, छठवौ, बीसवौ, etc., the regular forms being चौथा, छठा, बीसा, etc.

Improper Suffixes.

267. The suffixes of the following groups are in reality curtailed nouns, and their derivatives modified compounds. This appears from the following facts: 1) that in some cases the base

does not exist in E. H.; e. g., कोहार् *potter* of *कोह् (Skr. कुम्भ, E. H. कुम्भ); कहार् *porter*, of *कह् (Skr. स्कन्ध, E. H. काँध); रोआसा *lachrymose*, of *रोद् (Skr. रोद); 2) that the various suff. (exc. आहर्) are, severally, found only in a very small number of words; 3) that the terminations of their derivatives are not recognised as suff., and their etymology in many cases unknown to all but Skr. scholars.

Twelfth Group.

268. Com. gen. स् or सर्. Masc. सरा. Fem. सरी.

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong.

These suff. are extremely rare, and occur only in numerals; thus m. f. दूसर्, m. दुसरा, f. ०री *second* (lit. *twice removed*, i. e., from Nro. 1), of दुइ *two*; m. f. तीसर्, m. तिसरा, f. ०री *third* (lit. *thrice moved*, i. e., from Nro. 1), of तीन *three*; m. चौस् or चउस् or f. चीसरी *a field four times tilled* (lit. *four times moved or turned*).

270. *Affinities.* This curious formation of the second and third ordinal numbers is confined to the E. and S. Gd. and H. H. The W. Gds. have the regular ordinal forms: O. H. दूस्रो or दूस्रो; P. दूस्रा or दूस्रा = Pr. दुइस्तओ or दुइस्तओ (H. C. 1, 94. 209); S. बीओ or बीओ, G. बीओ, Pr. बिइस्तओ (H. C. 1, 94) or बीस्तओ (H. C. 1, 248) or बिइस्तओ (H. C. 1, 248); again W. H. तीओ or तीओ, P. तीओ or तीओ, S. तीओ or तीओ, G. तीओ, = Pr. तइस्तओ (H. C. 1, 101) or तइस्तओ (cf. H. C. 4, 339). But H. H. and M. दूसरा, तीसरा.

271. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. past part. pass. सृत: *moved*, in A. Mg. सल्लि or सल्लि, which in Gd. becomes सर् by the successive quiescence of the final अ and इ (cf. §§ 45. 302), and स् by the elision of र् (cf. § 124). Similarly the E. H. सरा is = A. Mg. सल्लि, Skr. सृतक:; and f. सरी = A. Mg. सल्लिइ, Skr. सृतिका. E. g., Skr. *द्विसृत: (i. e., द्वि: + सृत), A. Mg. दूसल्लि, E. H. दूसर्.

Thirteenth Group.

272.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	अर् or र्	अरा or रा	अरी or री
	2)	आर्	आरा	आरी

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

273. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing (genitive) relation from subst. or pronouns; but they occur very rarely. Thus in the possessive pron.; m. f. हमारू or m. हमरा, f. °री *our* (lit. of *us*), of हम् *we*; m. f. तोहारू or m. तोहरा, f. °री *your* (lit. of *you*), of तोह् *you*; m. f. मोरू or m. मोरा, f. °री *mine*, of *मो *I*; m. f. तोरू or m. तोरा, f. °री *thine*, of *तो *thou*. Again in nouns; e. g., m. f. गँवारू or m. गँवरा, f. °री *rustic, vulgar*, of गाँव *village*; m. f. चिन्हारू or m. चिन्हारा *an acquaintance* (lit. of a mark, marked), f. चिन्हारी *acquaintance*; भिखारू *beggar*, of भीख् *alms*; perhaps also हथियारू *tools, weapons*, of हथिया *small handle*; m. घसियारा, f. °री *grassier*, of घसिया (or घास्) *grass*; भठियारा, f. °री *innkeeper*, of भठिया (or भठो) *hearth, inn* (Skr. भट्ट).

274. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. are identical with the gen. affixes करू, करा, करी, see § 377, where their derivation will be fully explained. The full suffix करू still exists in the M. गाँवकरू *villager* (Man. 113), खोडकरू (II. खोडिल्) *mischievous*, of खोड् (Man. 114); चिपलुंकरू *a man of Chiplun* (Bs. II, 181), etc. The curtailed suff. अरू, आरू, etc. are employed in B. and O. as their ordinary gen. affixes; as O. घररू *domestic or of a house*, of घर *house*. II. II. has हमारा *our*, तुम्हारा *your*, गँवारू *villager*.

Fourteenth Group.

275.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	आरू	—	आरा	आरी
	2)	—	आरिनि	आरो	आरिनी
	3)	कारू	—	कारा	कारी

The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

276. These suff. are used to derive nouns, expressing „workers of something“. They are of a limited number. Thus the 1st set in सोनारू, f. सोनारी or °रिनि or °रिनी *goldsmith*, of सोना *gold*; कोहारू, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *potter*, of कुम्म् *pot*; कदारू, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *porter*, of काँध् *shoulder*; चमारू, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *leather-worker*, of चाम् *leather*; सुतारू, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *carpenter*, of सूत् *thread*; अंधारू or अंधियारू or अंधारा, f. °री, or अंधियारा m.,

f. °री *dark* or *darkness*, of अंधा *dark*. The 2nd set in पुजारी, f. पुजारिनि or °रिनी *worshipper*, of पूजा *worship*. The 3^d set in छुटकार or °रा or °री *deliverance*, of छुटा *delivered*.

277. *Affinities and Derivation*. The original of these suffixes is the Skr. noun कार or कारिन्; e. g., Skr. कुम्भकारः or °री, Mg. कुम्भाले or °ली or कुम्भाले or °ली, E. H. कोहार् (cf. § 120); Skr. पूजाकारिकः (i. e., °रिन् + क), Mg. पूजालिए, E. H. पुजारी, N. पूजाहारि, (S. Lk. 1, 5). These and similar words occur in all Gds. As to the fem., see § 259.

Fifteenth Group.

278.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	क्	का	की
	2)	कै	—	—

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong.

279. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing relation from a subst. Thus काठक् or काठकै or काठका, f. °की *wooden*, of काठ *wood*; घरकै or घरका, f. °की *domestic*, of घर *house*; बनकै or बनका, f. की *wild*, of बन *forest*; etc.

280. *Affinities and Derivation*. These suff. are identical with the common genitive affixes; and their derivatives are really genitives of the respective bases. This can be seen from the fact that all the various Gd. gen. aff. may be used in this way; thus M. चा in M. घरचा *domestic* (Man. 113. Bs. II, 110), in S. गोठेचो *of the same village*, of गोठ; वेडीचो *of the jungle*, of वेडि (Tr. 91); again Konkani ला in M. तेथला *of that place*, of तेथे *there* (Man. 113); again G. णो in S. चोराणो *thievish*, of चोर *thief*, or बातूणो *oral*, of वातु *mouth* (Tr. 72. 73); again H. का in M. बोलका *eloquent*, of बोल् *word* (Man. 107), मारका *given to beating*, of मार *beating* (Man. 115), पाटिलकी *office of a पाटिल् village accountant* (Man. 113); in P. पिउंका *paternal*, of पिउ *father*; in S. हारिका *relating to a हारी peasant* (Tr. 71); again Mw. रो in M. खातरा *itch-producing*, of खात् (Man 115); and, of course, each in its own language. — As to the origin of all these affixal forms see § 377. — The vowel ए before चो in S. is not (as Bs. II. 110)

the inflected termination of the noun; for the obl. form of गोहृ is not गोहे but गोहृ; similarly of वेष्टि it is not वेष्टी, but वेष्टि (Tr. 123. 128); but all these long vowels in S., viz. ए in एचो, ई in ईचो, आ in आपो or आकू (Tr. 70), उ in उपो, ओ in ओको (Tr. 71), have probably arisen by the suff. being added to the strong form (in अय or इय or अक् or उक्, contracted to ए, ई, etc.), just as in M. भलेषण् goodness, of भला + णण् (see § 231).

Sixteenth Group.

281.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	—	आस्
	2)	आसा	आसी

The form आस् is weak, the others are strong. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

282. Of these suff. the first set is used to derive subst., expressing „desire of anything“, and the second set to derive adj. meaning „desirous“, from an other subst. The number of such derivatives, however, is small. Thus f. निँदास् desire to sleep, sleepiness; m. निँदासा, f. ०सी sleepy, of नीँद् sleep; उँवास् sleepiness, ०सा m., ०सी f. sleepy, of उँव sleep; मुतास् f. desire to make water, ०सा m., ०सी f. desirous of d^{to}, of मूत् urin; हगास् desire to stool, ०सा m., ०सी f. desirous of d^{to}, of हग excrement; चुदास् f. lasciviousness, ०सा m., ०सी f. lascivious, of चोद् copulation; पेदास् gluttony, of पेद् belly; कटासा m., ०सी f. inclined to bite, snappish, of काट bite. Sometimes the base is not in use, as in रोघास् f. inclination to weep, रोघासा m., ०सी f. tearful. In a few words the suff. has come to signify abstract nouns, as मिठास् f. sweetness (lit. desire or tendency to be sweet), of मोह sweet; उँचास् f. height, of उँच् high; नुरास् coldness, of नूर (H. H. नुर्) cold.

283. *Affinities and Derivation.* These derivatives are found also in W. H. and P. (see Bs. II, 82). In the other Gds. the (so-called) suff. is probably better preserved in its nominal form. It is merely a curtailment of the nouns वँस् or वँङ् (fem.) desire = Skr. वाङ्म, and वँसा or वँङ्ग desirous = Skr. वाङ्मकः, as may be seen from the alternative form चुदवँसा libidinous. In

the suff., वृ is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted to आ. Thus Skr. निद्रावाञ्छा, Pr. निद्रवङ्हा, E. H. निद्रास्; Skr. रोदवाञ्छकः, Mg. लोअवङ्हर or लोअअङ्हर, E. H. रोअसा. The change of इ to स् is very common in M. and Mw., and, though less so, in P., whence it has sometimes passed into the other Gds. (see § 11. Bs. I, 218). — Shakespear's (H. Dict.) identification of the suff. with the Skr. noun आशा *hope* is not tenable; neither is the theory of their connection (as Br. II, 81) with the Skr. desiderative. The latter is true only of E. H. पियास् f. *thirst* = Skr. पिपासा, Pr. पिआसा, and E. H. पियासा m., °सो f. *thirsty* = Skr. पिपासितकः m., °तिका f. (not, as Bs., Skr. पिपासुकः, which would be H. पियासू). It exactly corresponds to E. H. भूख् f. *hunger* = Skr. बुभुक्षा, Pr. वुडुक्खा, and E. H. भूखा m., भूखो f. *hungry* = Skr. बुभुक्षितकः m., °तिका f. — The two words कपास् f. and कटास् m. *violent burst of rain* do not belong to this group, but are compounds of कप् or कट् *quick* and Pr. वासा f. or वासं n. *rain* (see II. C. 2, 104), = Skr. वर्षा and वर्षम्.

Seventeenth Group.

284.	Set.	Fem.	Fem.
	1)	आहट् or आवट्	ओटी
	2)	आवत्	ओती

The forms in ट् are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

285. The first set is used to derive abstract nouns from adj. The form आहट् is the one commonly employed. Thus सचाहट् or सचावट् or सचोटी *truth, truthfulness*, of सच् or सचा *true* (= सचाई § 220); मिठाहट् *sweetness*, of मीह् *sweet*; गरमाहट् *warmth*, of गरम् (Pers. گرم) *warm*; खराहट् *purity*, of खरा *pure*; तिताहट् *bitterness*, of तोत् or तीता *bitter*; चिकनाहट् *smoothness*, of चिकना *smooth*; रूखाहट् *roughness*, of रूख् *rough*; कडुआहट् *bitterness*, of कडुआ *bitter*, etc.

286. The first and second sets occur in a few words, which are derived from subst., and express relation generally; as चमरावट् or चमरावट् *perquisites of a man of the चमार् caste*; अपोती *patrimony*, of आप् *father*; समोती *flesh, animal food*, (probably) of समा *kin, related* (= Skr. समर्ग *of the same origin*, hence *animal* as opp. to *vegetable*

(cf. § 120); *हिनोती* *humility, supplication*, of *हीन्* *destitute*; *हथोटी* *handicraft, dexterity*, of *हात्* *hand*.

287. *Affinities.* These derivatives are properly W. Gd. and have been introduced into the E. H. from the W. H. In the latter and in P. they are very common; also in S., which has the contracted forms *आटु* or *आतु* (or *अतु*) or *आठो* (probably for **आठो*), all masc., see Tr. 60. 62. 68. 74.; e. g., *चोकिराटु* *boyhood*, of *चोकरु*; *डिअपयातु* *debtor*, of *डिअपाओ* *debt*; *भर्यतु* *porter*, of *भरी* *load*; *पापयाठो* *damp*, of *पापाओ* *water*, etc. Also occasionally in M.; as *रानवट्* *belonging to a desert*, of *रान्* (Man. 113), or contracted to *ईट्* (= **आयट्*) as in *रामोइ* *angry*, of *राम्* (Man. 114).

288. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. nouns *वृत्ति* fem. or *वृत्त* neut., and *वार्ता* fem. or *वार्त* neut.; all meaning *condition, state, mode of life, earnings*, etc. (see M. W. 957. 958). The two former become in Pr. *वट्टी* or *वट्ट* (H. C. 2, 29), the two latter *वत्ता* (or *वट्टा*) and *वत्त* (H. C. 2, 30). Next Pr. *वट्टी* or *वट्टा* and, with pleon. *अ* added, *वट्टिआ* become in H. *वट्* and *वट्टी*, or, with pleon. *अ* added to the base, *आवट्* and *आट्टी* (contracted for *अवट्टी* or *अउट्टी*, cf. § 78, for *आवट्टी*, § 25) or, with *ह्* substituted for *व्* (see § 69), *आहट्*. Similarly Pr. *वत्ता* or *वत्तिआ* become in H. *आवत्* or *आट्टी*. Thus Skr. **सत्यकवृत्तिः*, Pr. *सच्चअवट्टी* or *सच्चअवट्टिआ*, E. H. *सचावट्* or *सचोटी*; again Skr. *चर्मकारकवृत्तिः* or *°वार्ता*, Pr. *चम्मआरअवट्टी* or *°वत्ता*, E. H. *चमरावट्* or *°वत्* (for **चमरावट्*, cf. § 25). The S. m. *आटु* arises similarly from the Skr. neut. *वृत्तम्*. — Those suff. which form adj., as S. *आतु*, M. *अवट्*, arise from the Skr. m. *वृत्तः* or *वार्तः*, Pr. *वट्टी* or *वत्तो*. Thus E. H. *गुबरोता* or *टा* *a beelle found in old cow-dung*, from *गोवर्* + *वृत्तकः* *living in gobar or cow-dung*. — In the E. H. *चिकनावट्* or *°वत्* (fem.) *clayey soil*, there is probably an exchange of *म्* and *व्*, see § 134, 2; E. H. also *चिकनी माटी*. — The suff. of this group should be carefully distinguished from those of the fifth group (§ 322) which are primary, and have an altogether different origin. Practically they are often confounded, and the dental *त्*, which is proper to the primary group, given to the secondary, the proper cons. of which is *ट्*; and *vice versa*.

Eighteenth Group.

289. Com. gen. सू. Masc. सा. Fem. सी.

The form सू is weak, the others are strong.

290. These suff. occur in a very few nouns, which more or less distinctly imply „likeness“. Thus आपुस् f. (H. H. आपस्) *kindred* (lit. *like self*); especially in the phrase आपुस् मे *among themselves*, of आपु *self*; पैसा m. *a copper coin*, the fourth part of an annā, of पाइ or पाई *a pice* (lit. *like the pāda or quarter of a weight of gold*, cf. M. W. 564); पनसा m., पनसी f. *insipid* (lit. *like water*), of पानी *water*; m. ऐकसा, f. ०सी *similar, identical* (lit. *like one*), of ऐक् *one*.

291. *Affinities.* These suff. exist. in all Gds. in the above mentioned words (cf. Bs. II, 330). — In M. they may be added, as a pleon. or dimin. suff., to any adj. in the following forms: m. सा, f. सी, n. सेँ or, less curtailed, com. gen. सरू; e. g., काऋसरू, e. g. *blackish*, of काऋ *black*; m. लहानसा, f. ०सी, n. ०सेँ *littleish*, of लहान् *little* (Man. 114). For the same purpose m. सौ, f. सी are used in W. H. (H. H. सा, सी), but as an affix, not as a suffix; that is, the adj., to which they are added, is itself inflected; thus H. H. ऊँचा सा पहाड़ *a rather high mountain*, नीली सी चिड़ियाँ *rather blue birds*, बड़े से घोड़े *rather large horses* (see Kl. 91)¹). — In W. H. and H. H. the same aff. is also commonly employed to express resemblance; as मेरी सी दशा *a condition like mine*; मुक् सा पापी *a sinner like me*; पंडित् की सी बोली *speech like that of a pandit* (examples of Kl. 91. Eth. 58). In E. H. सा, सी are not employed as affixes; in their place it uses ऐसन् *such* with subst. (e. g., हाथी ऐसन् *like an elephant*, आदमी ऐसन् *like a man*) and ऐक् *one* or ऐसन् *such* with adj.; as छोटे ऐक् (usually spelled छोटेक्) or छोटे ऐसन् *rather little* (cf. German *etwas klein*); थोरेक् or थोरे ऐसन् *rather few, some few*; बहुतैक् or बहुत ऐसन् *rather many*.

1) The examples are from Kl. The aff. never denotes *intensity*, as Kl., Eth. (H. Gr. 48) and Bates (H. Dict. 740) state. It expresses the English *rather*, not *very*. It has no connexion with the Skr. सम *like*, still less with the Skr. suff. शस् *fold* (as Kl. 91, a). Bates gives the correct derivation.

292. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. सदृश *like*, as evidenced by the E. H. use of ऐसन, which is the same as Skr. ईदृश (§§ 111. 458). Skr. सदृश: becomes in A. Mg. सरिसे (Wb. Bh. 422, cf. H. C. 1, 142) or सरिर (cf. H. C. 4, 300 for सरिह, with ह् as in तेदृहं H. C. 2, 157 or in तेहु = *तइहु H. C. 4, 402 = Skr. तादृश:). The latter becomes in Gd. *सरिश्, *सरि, whence M. सर or, by eliding र (cf. Ap. तइसो H. C. 4, 403 = Skr. तादृश:, see § 124) and dropping इ, E. II. स. Similarly Skr. m. सदृशक: = A. Mg. सरिसए or Ap. Mg. *सइश्ए, contracted *सइश् or (dropping इ and contracted) E. II. सा; fem. Skr. सदृशिका, A. Mg. सरिसिश्वा, Ap. *सइश्वा, E. II. contracted *सइई or सी. Precisely similar are E. H. भा or भया or भइश्वा *been* = Mg. भविसए, Skr. भूत:; E. H. गा or गया or गइश्वा, Ap. Mg. गइश्ए, Skr. गत:; E. H. का (§ 278) = S. कयो = Ap. कइश्उ, Skr. कृत:, see § 307; E. H. स् or सरू = A. Mg. सरिर, Skr. सृत: (§ 268). — The E. II. use of ऐक् may be compared with its analogous use in the indefinite numerals (§ 425), as दस् ऐक् *about ten, some ten*.

Nineteenth Group.

293. Com. gen. वारू or *वाल्. Masc. वारा or वाला.

Fem. वारी or वाली and वारिनि or वालिनि.

The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak.

294. These suff. are used to derive nouns implying possession or relation generally, from subst. Thus गोवारू or गोवाल् c. g. or गुवारा or °ला m. or गुवारी or °ली or गुवारिनि or °लिनि f. *cow-keeper, cowherd*, of गो *cow*; घटवारू or °वाल् c. g., °वारी or °ली or °रिनि or °लिनि f. *wharf-keeper, wharfinger*, of घाट *landing-place*; नाओवारू or °ला m., °री or °ली f. *boat-keeper, boat-man*, of नाओ *boat*; m. कपडावारा or °ला, f. °री or °ली *cloth-keeper, cloth-merchant*; दिल्लीवारा or °ला m., °री or °ली f. *belonging to or native of Delhi*, etc. Even with foreign words; as बक्सवारू or °ला m., °री or °ली or °रिनि or °लिनि f. *box-keeper, pedlar*.

295. *Affinities.* These suff. are not properly E. or S. Gd., but W. Gd., whence they have been introduced into E. H., B. (see S. Ch. 88, cf. 154; spelled m. उयाला, f. उयाली; e. g., B. टूपिउयाला *holding or wearing a टूपि cap*) and M. (see Man. 113, 2; e. g.,

दूधवाला *milkman*). In W. Gd. they are very commonly used. S. has वारो m., वारी f. (Tr. 76, 36); e. g., घरवारो *owner of a house*; G. has वामो m., वामी f. (Ed. 14); e. g., दुधवामो, टोपीवामो.

296. *Derivation.* The original of these suff., certainly in the two first examples, probably in all, is the Skr. noun पाल *keeper* or, with pleon. क added, पालक. Thus Skr. m. गोपालः or °लकः, f. °लिका, Mg. m. गोवाले or °लए, f. °लिआ, E. II. m. गोवार or °रा, f. °री. Practically, however, these suff. are confounded with the primary suff. वाला, °ली (in अनेवाला, °ली), see § 315. — The fem. in लीनि is probably an anomalous formation, see §§ 259. 262; though it might be referred to a Skr. base पालिन्.

3. PRIMARY DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

297. The primary derivative suffixes may be divided into eight groups, traces of all which already existed, more or less distinctly, in Pr.

First Group.

298. Com. gen. अत्. Masc. अता. Fem. अतो (or अति). The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak. The masc. strong form is not much used in E. II., except in the oblique form अते, as an adv. part., see § 488.

Note: Observe, in adding these suff., that ए is inserted after ई, and optionally व् after उ and ओ; and अ is elided after आ and ए and after R. हो be.

299. These suff. are used to derive the participle present from any root. Thus हसत् *laughing*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पठत् *reading*, of R. पठ् *read*; पीयत् *drinking*, of R. पी *drink*; चूयत् or चूवत् *dripping*, of R. चू *drip*; रोयत् or रोवत् *weeping*, of R. रो *weep*, etc. But खात् *eating*, of R. खा *eat*; देत् *giving*, of R. दे *give*; होत् *being*, of R. हो *be*, etc. The fem. in इ is only used as a component part of the pret. conj.; as कर्त्तिस् (f.) *thou didst*, of कर्त्ति + स्; see § 507.

300. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight modifications; thus B. इत् (only in the obl. f. इते, S. Ch. 148);

O. *अन्त् (only in the obl. f. अन्ते, Sn. 28); H. H. m. अता, f. अतो; W. H. m. अत्तु (Br.) or अतो (Mw.), f. अतो; P. m. अदा or अंदा, f. अदो or अंदो (Ld. 24), N. अदो, f. अदो; S. अंदो or ईंदो, f. अंदो or ईंदो (Tr. 268. 269); G. m. अतो, f. अतो, n. अत्तु (Ed. 113, 53); M. c. g. अत् or m. अता, f. अतो, n. अत्ते (Man. 63. 73); O. H. m. अंतो or अन्त् (Kl. 222. 240. 241). The O. has also उ (e. g., कृ doing, Sn. 28).

301. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अन्त् (or अन्त); in Pr. अन्त् (Vr. 7, 10. H. C. 3, 180. 181), or occasionally in Sr. Pr. अन्द् (H. C. 4, 261. cf. Ls. 362). Hence nom. sg. Mg. m. अन्ते, f. अन्तो (H. C. 3, 182) or, with pleon. अ added, m. अन्तए, f. अन्तिआ; and E. H. m. f. अत् or m. अता, f. अतो (cf. §§ 143. 146). Thus Skr. m. हसन्, f. हसन्तो; A. Mg. हसन्ते, f. हसन्तो; O. H. m. f. हसन्त्; E. H. हसन्त्; again Skr. *हसन्तकः, A. Mg. हसन्तए, E. H. हसता; fem. Skr. *हसन्तिका, A. Mg. हसन्तिआ, E. H. हसतो. — The S. अंदो, P. अंदा, N. अदो, Gw. अदो or अंदो (Kl. 215) are similarly derived from the Sr. Pr. अन्द्ओ. — The O. उ has, perhaps, arisen from अन्त् (or अन्त्तु) by the elision of न्? (see § 153). — The E. H. खात् is = Mg. खन्ते or खाअन्ते (cf. H. C. 4, 228); E. H. देत् = Mg. देन्ते (cf. H. C. 2, 206. 4, 379) = *दग्न्ते, Skr. ददन्त् (or *ददन्तः); E. H. होत् = Mg. होन्ते (cf. H. C. 3, 180) or हवन्ते or भवन्ते (cf. H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवन्त्.

Second Group.

302. Set. Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1) इल् or अल्	—	इलि or अलि	इला or अला	इलो or अलो
2) इअ or इ	अ	इ	आ	ई

The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak. The masc. strong forms in ला are not much used, except in the obl. f. इले or अले, as adv. part., see § 488. The forms with इल्^o are peculiar to the Maithili and Magadh in the eastern, and the forms (m.) अ or आ, (f.) इ or ई to Baiswari in the western part of the E. H. area. The latter (Bs.) dialect does not use the first set at all; the other E. H. dialects use both, see § 303.

Note: Observe, in adding the suff. beginning with अ, that व्

is inserted after आ and ई, and optionally व् after उ and ओ; before those beginning with इ neither य् nor व् is inserted.

303. These suff. are used to derive the past participle from any root. Thus हसल् or हसिल् *laughed*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पठल् or पठिल् *read*, of R. पठ् *read*; पीयल् or पीडल् *drunk*, of R. पी *drink*; चूयल् or चूवल् or चूडल् *dripped*, of R. चू *drip*; रोयल् or रोवल् or रोडल् *wept*, of R. रो *weep*; खाडल् or खायल् *eaten*, of R. खा *eat*, etc. The derivatives of the second set, and those of the fem. अलि are never used by themselves, but only as component parts of the pret. indicat. (exc. in Bs), see §§ 502. 504, thus हस्यो *I laughed*, of हसिच् + उँ; खाइस् *thou eatest*, of खाइ + स्; again हसलिस् (f.) *thou laughedst*, of हसलि + स्, etc. But in Bs. हसा m., हसो f. *laughed*; पठा m., पठो f. *read*; खाया m., खाई f. *eaten*; etc.

Note: This part. is used *passively* in the formation of the passive voice, but *actively* in that of the pret. tense active.

304. *Exception.* The following part. pass. are formed irregularly: R. करू *do*, P. P. 1) कइल् or कयल् or कैल्, or 2) किइच् or किहि° or Bs. कया or किया *done*; — of R. धरू *place*, P. P. 1) धइल् or धयल् or धैल् or 2) धइच् or धिहि° or Bs. धया; also regularly धरिल्, धरा, etc. *placed*. — R. मरू *die*, P. P. 1) मुइल् or मुयल् or 2) मुइच् or मुहि° or Bs. मुया; also regularly मरिल्, मरा *died*, etc. — R. जा *go*, P. P. 1) गइल् or गयल् or गैल् or 2) गइच् or गहि° or B. गया *gone*; also regularly जाइल् or जायल् (§ 479. exc.); — R. हो *be*; P. P. 1) भइल् or भयल् or भैल् or 2) भइच् or भहि° or Bs. भया or भवा *been*; also regularly होइल् or होयल् (§ 479. exc.). — R. दे *give*, P. P. 1) दिइल् or 2) दिइच् or दिहि° or Bs. दया or दिया *given*. — R. ले *take*, P. P. 1) लिइल् or 2) लिइच् or लिहि° or Bs. लया or लिया *taken*. — R. आवू *come*, P. P. 1) आइल् or आयल् or 2) आइच् or आहि° or Bs. आया or आवा *come*. — R. पावू *obtain*, P. P. 1) पाइल् or पायल् or 2) पाइच् or पाहि° or Bs. पाया or पावा *obtained*.

305. *Affinities.* The second set occurs in all Gds., exc. M.; but the first set in the E. Gd. and S. Gd. only. Thus 1) both sets; in B., wk. f. इल् (only in the obl. f. इले as a cond. part.,

S. Ch. 148), and wk. f. इय (only in the obl. f. इया as past part. and in the pret. tense, S. Ch. 148. 144), or st. f. आ m., ई f. (only in the pass. sense and to form the pass. voice, S. Ch. 148. 142); in O., st. f. इला (e. g., पडिला *fallen*, Sn. 29) or wk. f. इल् (only in the obl. f. इले as a condit. part., Sn. 28); and wk. f. इ (as past part., Sn. 28) or इय (only in the pret. tense, Sn. 30), or st. f. आ m., ई f. (as past part., Sn. 30; and in the pass. voice, Sn. 39). — 2) Only first set; in M., st. f. अला or इला m., अली or इली f., अले or इले n. (Man. 63. 64. 67. 68, note; e. g., सुटला or सुटिला = E. H. कुटल् or कुटिल् and M. सोटिला or सोटला = E. H. झोडल् or झोडिल्). — 3) Only second set; in O. H. (Chand), wk. f. इय (= Mg. इए, इय) or इव (= Ap. इउ) or st. f. एव (= Ap. इअउ), see Kl. 213. 215.; in H. H., st. f. आ m., ई f.; in W. H., st. f. यो or यो m., ई f.; in P., st. f. इया m., ई f. (Id. 24); in G., st. f. यो m., ई f., युं n. (Ed. 113. 50); in S., wk. f. इउ or इय or इ (Tr. 289), or st. f. इयो or यो m., ई f. (Tr. 271. 289); in N., wk. f. इय or ए or इ, or st. f. यो m., ई f. In all W. Gds. the P. P. is used in the pass. sense only, see § 487. — It is worth noting, that both sets exist in *Pashtū* (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXIII, 116); e. g., wk. f. *kar* or *krah* (= कृतः); st. f. *karai* (= कृतकः); and wk. f. *kral* (= *करितः, B. करिल्), st. f. *karalui* (= *करितकः, O. करिल्). Trumpp distinguishes the weak and strong forms as part. pret. and part. perf., but these names, being the same in import, do not explain the difference.

Note: Some Gds. add. a pleon. suff. to the past part. in order to make it more of the nature of an adj.; viz., M. adds ला (Man. 63. 64), G. लो (Ed. 50. 113), S. लु or लो (Tr. 272. 69), Mw. लो (Kl. 209, 393), N. को (see § 216). The term. of the part. suffers various modifications before these suff., which may be seen from the following examples: M. पढलेला, G. पढलो, S. पढिल्लु or पढिल्लो, Mw. पढ्योलो or पढ्यो, N. पढ्याको *read*, from the resp. part. M. पढला, G. पढ्यो, S. पढियो, Mw. पढ्यो, N. पढ्यो.

306. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. kṛit त or, with the connecting vowel इ added, इत. The addition of इ is very common in Pr., even with such roots, as do not take

it in Skr. (see Vr. 7, 32. H. C. 3, 156. Ls. 363. Wb. Spt. 65. Wb. Bh. 432. 433). In Gd. it has become almost universal; though there are a very few exceptions, as P. दिद्रा or डिद्रा *seen* (Pr. दिद्रो, Skr. दृष्टकः), but also regularly देखिआ (Ld. 66); G. दीहो *seen*, पेहो *entered* (Pr. पइद्रो, Skr. प्रविष्टकः); S. डिहो *seen*, पेहो *entered*, लधो *obtained* (Pr. लड्यो H. C. 3, 134., Skr. लब्धकः), and some others, see Tr. 273—279. Ed. 50. — The suff. इत becomes in Pr. either इद् which is the older form preserved in Sr. (H. C. 4, 269), Mg. (see Vr. 11, 11. H. C. 4, 291. 292) and old Ap. (H. C. 4, 396), or इच्च which is the later form of the Mh. (Vr. 7, 32. H. C. 3, 156) the A. Mg. (Wb. Bh. 433) and the later Ap. (e. g., हसिउ H. C. 4, 396. = Mh. हसिओ; Ap. थसिउ H. C. 4, 439 et passim; compare the treatment of the similar suff. इतव्य = Ap. इएव H. C. 4, 438). The (older) Mg. form इद् further changes in E. and S. Gd. to इल and अल (§ 109). The only instances of this change of दृ to ल् in Mg. are: कले for कदे (H. C. 4, 290. Skr. कृतः) *done*, गले for गदे (H. C. 4, 302. Skr. गतः) *gone*, and मले for मदे (cf. Ls. 423. Skr. मृतः) *died*¹) and, moreover, they are confined to the lower (or Ap.) types of Mg. (e. g., the Śābarī²) and Avantī, Ls. 417). This tendency of the Ap. Mg. has become the general rule in its descendants, the E. and S. Gd.; though side by side with the special Ap. Mg. forms in इल they have preserved also the general later (A. Mg., Mh., Ap. Sr.) Pr. forms in इच्च. There are, then, the following forms, in the nom. sg.: 1) Mg. m. इदे, f. इदा, and, with pleon. अ added, m. इदए, f. इदिआ; these result in the E. H.

1) It is commonly supposed (Ls. 412. Bs. I, 238) that दृ first changed to डृ and then to लृ; and it is true that Vr. 11, 15 gives the three Mg. forms कडे, गडे, मडे; but Md. 12, 28 gives them only as alternatives besides कदे, गदे, मदे. Seeing that the general tendency of the languages of the Mg. class is towards dentalisation (see §§ 15. 16), it seems more probable, that दृ changed at once to (dental) लृ, than that it first became cerebral डृ, and then reverted to the dental लृ.

2) It may be remarked, that O. which is closely allied to the Śābarī (see p. XXIV) preserves the three forms कल् *done*, गल् *gone*, मल् *died*.

m. इल् or अल्, f. इलि or अलि or इल् or अल्; and m. इला or अला, f. इलो or अलो. 2) Mg. m. इए, f. इआ, and, with pleon. अ added, m. इअए, f. इइआ, whence the E. H. m. f. इअ or (dropping अ) इ, and m. इआ or (suppressing इ) आ, f. इई or (contracted) ई. E. g., Skr. चलितः *walked*, Mg. चलिदे, E. H. चलिल् or चलल्; or A. Mg. चलिए (Wb. Bh. 215) or Ap. चलिउ, O. H. चलिप् or चलिब्¹), E. H. चलिअ or चलि, Bs. चलि or चल (*chala*). Again Skr. चलितोऽस्मि *I walked*, A. Mg. चलिए म्हि or चलिअ म्हि, Ap. चलिअउ (see § 503, 1. a), E. H. चलयो. Again Skr. चलितोऽसि *thou walkedst*, A. Mg. चलिए सि or Ap. a) चलिअसि or b) चलिअहि (see § 503, 1. b), N. a) चल्येस् or चलिस्, E. H. चलिस्, S. b) चलिर्. Again Skr. चलितकः *walked*, Mg. चलिदए, E. H. and M. चलला or चलिला, O. चलिला; or A. Mg. चलिअए, P. चलिआ, Bs., H. H., B., O. चला; or Mh. चलिअओ, Ap. चलिअउ, O. H. चलेव् or चलिओ or चलयो, W. H. चलयौ or चलयो, S. चलिओ or चलयो, G. and N. चलयो.

307. *Affinities and Derivation of the Exceptional Forms.* Cognate forms are denoted by identical letters. 1) R. खाद् *eat*; Skr. (a and c) खादितः or (b and d) खादितकः, Mg. (a) खाइदे or (b) खाइदए or A. Mg. (c) खाइए or (d) खाइअए, E. H. (a) खाइल् or (b) खइला or Bs. (c) खाइ or (d) खाया (for *खाइआ), B. and O. (a) खाइल् or (b) खइला or (c) खाइ or (d) खिया (for *खया = *खइआ, see below गिया *gone*, cf. Sn. 40), M. (b) खाल्ता (Man. 80), H. H. (d) खाया, P. (b) काहदा (with euphon. ह्, § 69) or (d) खाया (Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) खाइदउ or (d) खाइअउ, Mw. and G. (b) खाधो (for *खाहदो or खाहिदो with euph. ह्, as in P.), W. H. (d) खायौ or खायो. — 2) R. लभ् *take*; Skr. (α) लब्धः or (β) लब्धकः, Pr. (α) लढो (H. C. 3, 134) or (β) लढओ, S. (β) लथो (Tr. 278); or Skr. (a) *लभितः or (b) *लभितकः, Mg. (a) लहिदे or (b) लहिदए or A. Mg. (c) लहिए or (d) लहिअए, E. H. (a) लिहल् or (b) लिहला or (c) लिहि (in the pret. tense, cf. § 502 exc., for *लहि) or Bs. (d) लेवा (contr. for लइआ with euph. व्, cf. § 69, Kl. 224) or लया or लिया (like गिया *gone*), B. (a) निल् (in the past tense and

1) M., as usual (§ 65, note), changes इउ or इव् to ईव्; e. g., बाँधीव् *bound* or *built*, from R. बाँध् *bind* (see Man. 107. 114).

condit. part., S. Ch. 190), or (d) निया (S. Ch. 190), O. (a) नेल or (b) नेला or (d) नेया (Sn. 36), M. (b) ल्याला (Mn. 80), H. H. (d) लिया, P. (d) लङ्गा or लिंगा (Ld. 66) or (b) लीता (perhaps contr. for a Ps. Pr. forin *लङ्गत् or *लङ्गित्, or made after दिन्ना *given*, Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) लङ्गित् or (d) लङ्गित्, W. H. (b) Mw. लीदो (contr. for *लङ्गो) or लीधो (contr. like काधो *eaten*, Kl. 213) or लीनो or लीन्हो (with न् or न्ह् for द् or ध्, cf. H. C. 1, 208 गङ्गापो = Pr. *गङ्गापो = Skr. गर्भितः, Pr. अण्डितं = Pr. *अङ्गितं = Skr. अङ्गितकम्) or (d) लेवो (for *लङ्गो) or Br. (d) लयो or लियो, G. (b) लीधो (as in Mw., Ed. 50). — 3) R. द्ध *give* (substitute for दा or धा); Skr. (α) हितः (for *धितः) or (β) हितकः, Ap. (a) °हिद् (H. C. 4, 446) or (β) °हित्त (H. C. 4, 395), Gd. *deest*; again, formed strictly analogous to the P. P. of R. लभ्, Skr. *दधितः, Mg. (a) *दहिदे or (b) *दहिदत् or A. Mg. (c) *दहिद् or (d) *दहिदत्, E. II. (a) दिहल् or (b) दिहला or (c) दिहि (in the past tense, for *दहि) or Bs. (d) देवा (Kl. 224) or दया or दिया, B. (a) दिल् (in the past tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 190) or (d) दिया (S. Ch. 190), O. (a) देल or (b) देला or (d) देया (Sn. 36), M. (b) दिला (Man. 80), H. H. (d) दिया, P. दिन्ना (perhaps for Skr. दत्त, or formed like लीता *taken*, cf. Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) *दहिदत् or (d) *दहिदत्, W. H. (b) Mw. दीदो or दीधो or दीनो or दीन्हो or (d) दयो or Bs. (d) दयो or दियो, G. (b) दीधो (Ed. 59). — 4) R. ध् *place*; Skr. धृतः, Gd. *deest*; or Skr. *धरितः, Mg. (a) धलिदे or (b) धलिदत् or A. Mg. (c) धलिद् (cf. H. C. 1, 36. धरिन्) or (d) धलिदत्, E. II. (a) धडल् or धरिल् or (b) धडला or धरिला or (c) धड् or धरि or Bs. (c) धर or (a) धरा, B. and O. (a) धरिल् or (b) धरिला or (d) धरा, M. (b) धरला, H. H. (d) धरा, P. (d) धरिन्ना; again Ap. Pr. (b) धरिदत् or (d) धरिदत्, W. H. (d) धर्यो or धर्यो, G. (d) धर्यो, S. (d) धरिन्ना or धर्यो. — 5) R. कृ *do*; Skr. (α) कृतः or (β) कृतकः, Ap. (a) किद् (H. C. 4, 446) or (β) किञ्च (H. C. 4, 371), S. (β) किञ्चो (Tr. 277); again Skr. *करितः, Mg. (a) कलिदे or (b) कलिदत् or A. Mg. (c) कलिद् or (d) कलिदत् or Ap. (d) किया (H. C. 4, 396; see H. H. below), E. H. (a) कडल् (§§ 109. 124) or (b) कडला or (c) किहि (in the pret. tense, § 502 *exc.*, with euph. द्, for *किङ् = कङ् = करि, formed after लिहि *taken*, दिहि *given*)

or Bs. कर् or (d) कर्, B. and O. (a) कर्ल् or (b) कर्ला (in the past tense and condit. part., S. Ch. 144. 148. Sn. 27) or (d) कर् (S. Ch. 148. Sn. 39), M. (b) केला (for *कड्ला, Man. 80), H. H. (d) किया (for *कया = कड्या, see S. below, formed after दिया *given*, लिया *taken*, गया *gone*), P. (d) कीता (perhaps for *कडतए, like लीता *taken*, q. v., Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) कर्दिउ or (d) कर्चिउ or कियउ (H. C. 4, 378 = कड्चउ, see below W. H.), W. H. (b) Mw. कीदो or कीधो or कीनो or कीन्हो (formed like लीदो, etc., q. v., Kl. 213), or (d) कर्यो or (d) Br. कर्यो or कियो (for *कयो = कड्यो, see below S.), G. (b) कीधो (Ed. 50) or (d) कर्यो, S. (d) कयो (for *कड्यो, Tr. 277) or (b) कीतो (see above P.). — 6) R. गम् *go*; Skr. (a) गतः or (β) गतकः, Mg. (α) गदे or गडे or (β) गदए or गडए, O. (α) गल् or (β) गला (in the pret. tense and condit. part., Sn. 34); or Skr. (a) *गमितः, Pali (a) गमितो (Ms. 131), Mg. (a) गमिदे or (b) गमिदए or (c) गमिए or (d) गमिचए (cf. Wb. Bh. 405 गमेयाए = *गमिचयाए = *गमितकया), or Ap. (d) गया (H. C. 4, 376. see H. H. below), E. H. (a) गडल् or (b) गड्ला or (c) गड् (in the pret. tense, § 502 exc.) or Bs. (d) गगा (= गड्गा, see below P.) or contr. गा (Kl. 225), B. (a) गेल् (in pret. tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 144. 148) or (d) गया (S. Ch. 148, for गया, see below P.), M. (b) गेला (Man. 80), H. H. गया (= गड्गा), P. गड्गा or गिगा (Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (d) गमिचउ or गड्चउ or contr. गयउ (H. C. 4, 422. 20., see W. H. and above P.), W. H. (d) Br. गयो or Mw. गयो or गीयो (Kl. 213. ? गियो?), G. (d) गयो (Ed. 50 or गयलो Ed. 83., see § 216), N. गयो. — 7) R. भू *be*; Skr. भूतः, Pr. हूओ (H. C. 4, 64), Gd. *deest*; or Skr. *भवितः, Mg. (a) भविदे or (b) हविदे or (c) हुविदे (cf. H. C. 4, 60) or (d) भविदए or (e) हविदए or (f) हुविदए or (g) भविए or (h) हविए (cf. H. C. 4, 401 परिहविच्च^० = परिभूत^०) or (i) हुविए or (k) भविचए or (l) हविचए or (m) हुविचए, Ap. (m) हुआ (H. C. 4, 351, for हुड्आ, see below H. H., and compare Ap. मुआ and मुड्आ), E. H. (a) भडल् or (d) भड्ला or (g) भड् or भय् (§ 123) or (h) हउ or हो (in the pres. tense, § 514, 3, for *हवि, § 122) or Bs. (k) भवा or भय (= भड्गा) or contr. भा, B. (b) हड्ल (in the condit. part., S. Ch. 144. 148) or (l) हड्या (S. Ch. 148), O. (c) होडल् or (f) होड्ला

(in the pret. tense and condit. part., Sn. 35) or (i) होइ (Sn. 35) or (m) हुआ (Sn. 66, see H. H. below), M. (e) काला (Man. 80, for *काला or *हइला), H. H. (m) हुआ (for हुइहा, see P. and Km. below), P. (m) होइहा (Ld. 26); again Ap. Pr. (k) भविष्यत् or (l) हविष्यत् or (m) हुविष्यत्, W. H. (k) Br. भवो (for *भव्यौ) or भवो (= भइव्यौ) or contr. भौ or Km. भवो or भवो or भो (Kl. 205) or (l) Mw. द्वियो (suppressing अ between हवि^o) or द्वियो (? Kl. 236) or (m) हुवो or हुयो (Kl. 210, for हुइव्यो) or contr. हो (Kl. 200), G. (l) हवो (Ed. 69) or (m) होवो (Ed. 69), S. (m) हुवो (Tr. 298, see H. H. above), N. (k) भवो (= भइव्यो), Km. (m) हुइव्यो (Kl. 2, 237), Gw. (m) होवो (Kl. 236). — 8) R. मृ die; Skr. मृतः, Mg. (a) मदे or (β) मए (Wb. Bh. 156) or (γ) मडे (Vr. 11, 15) or Mh. मुस्रो (Spt. 144 et passim), O. (a) मल्; or Skr. *मर्तिः, Mg. (a) मलिदे or (b) मुलिदे or (c) मलिदए or (d) मुलिदए or (e) मलिए or (f) मुलिए or (g) मलिअए or (h) मुलिअए, Ap. (f) मुइअ (H. C. 4, 367. 419., eliding ल् = र्, § 124) or contr. (h) मुहा (H. C. 4, 442., see H. H. below), E. II. (a) मरिल् or (b) मुइल् or (c) मरिला or (d) मुइला or (e) मरि or (f) मुइ or (g) Bs. मरा or (h) मुहा, M. (c) मेला (Man. 80, for *मइला), H. H. (h) मुहा (for मुइहा, see Ap. Mg. above); again Ap. Pr. (g) मरिष्यत् or (h) मुरिष्यत् or contr. मुष्यत् (H. C. 4, 442, for *मुइष्यत्, see Ap. Mg. above and W. H. below), W. H. (g) मर्यो or मर्यो or (h) मुस्रो or मुस्रो (for *मुइस्रो), G. मुवो (Ed. 50), N. (g) मरियो or मर्यो, S. dto. — 9) R. आप् come and प्राप् (= प्र + आप्) obtain; Skr. आपः or प्राप्, Pr. अत्रो or पत्रो (cf. H. C. 4, 332), Gd. decst; or Skr. *आपितः or *प्रापितः, Mg. (a) आविदे or (b) अपविदए or (c) आविए (cf. H. C. 4, 387 पाविअ, and see Ap. below) or (d) आविअए, E. II. (a) आइल् or (b) अइला or (c) आइ or आय् or (d) Bs. आया (cf. § 423), B. (a) आइल् (in the pret. tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 188. 189)¹), M. (b) आला (Man. 80, for *आइला), H. H. (d) आया (for आइया), P. (d) आइया; again Ap. Pr. (c) आविउ or आइउ (H. C. 4, 422) or (d) आविष्यत् (cf. H. C. 4, 432 Bombay Ed. आउइव्यो = आविष्यो?), W. H. (d) आयो or आयो (for आइव्यो), N. आयो. The forms of प्राप् are strictly analogous throughout.

1) The other B. forms आतिल्^o, etc. are derived from the R. आइस् = Pr. आविस् = Skr. आविर्न् enter (आ + विष्).

Third Group.

308.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	इब् or अब्	*इबा or *अबा	इबि or अबि
	2)	आब् or आव्	आवा	आवाई or आई or आवट्
	3)	अब्बू or आबू	—	—
	4)	अवइया or अइया	—	—
	5)	अवारू or अवाल्	अवारा or अवाला	अवारी or अवाली
	6)	आरू or आलू	—	—

The forms of the fourth set are redundant (§§ 200. 202); of the others those in आ, ई and ऊ are strong, the remainder are weak. — The forms with initial इ are not commonly employed, except with Rs. in आ and causal or denom. Rs. in आव् (or आ by § 33). — The masc. strong forms of the first set are never used, exc. in the obl. form इबे or अबे or (by elision of ब्) contr. ऐ. — The suff. आवट् is sometimes wrongly spelled आहट्, owing to a confusion with the suff. आहट् of § 284.

Note: Observe in adding these suff., 1) that in the first set the initial अ is elided after Rs. in आ, ए and R. हो be, and इ after Rs. in ई; 2) that before the suff. of the second and fourth sets, the termin. आव् of caus. and den. Rs. is elided, and final radical आ and ए are shortened. For the rest see § 298, note.

309. *Meaning.* These suff. are used to derive 1) part. fut., both pass. and act., and 2) verbal nouns, both of act and agency, from any root. Originally their derivatives were part. fut. *passive* only; but in the neuter gender they naturally came to express verbal nouns of act and thus were used as the (so-called) infinitive; for the “it is to be done” of a thing is equal to the “doing” of a thing. Next the pass. sense was dropped, as in the case of the past part. pass. (§ 301, note), and the part. used actively (e. g., in the formation of the fut. tense act. cf. § 509, 3); and thus it came to express verbal nouns of agency. The latter process was facilitated by the addition of pleon. suff., see § 314. With some intrans. verbs, as होब् to be, the part. fut. pass. ne-

cessarily has an active sense; and this may have led the way to the general practice of using this part. *actively*.

310. The first set is used to form the part. fut. or the inf. Thus हसब् or हसिब् *what is to be laughed at or to laugh*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पठब् or पठिब् *what is to be read or to read*, of R. पठ् *read*; कर्ब् or करिब् *what is to be done or to do*, of R. कर् do; छूम्ब or छूह्ब् or छूइब् *what is to be touched or to touch*, of R. छू *touch*; बोम्ब or बोवब् or बोइब् *what is to be sown or to sow*, of R. बो *sow*. But खाइब् or खाब् *what is to be eaten or to eat*, of R. खा *eat*; कराइब् or कराब् *what is to be caused to be done or to cause to do*, of C. R. कर्वा *cause to do*; पीयब् or पीब् *what is to be drunk or to drink*, of R. पी *drink*; देब् or देइब् *what is to be given, debt or to give*, of R. दे *give*; होब् or होइब् *what is to be, future, possible or to be*, of R. हो *be*. Thus मो के or मो से उ कर्ब् बाटे *by me that is to be done*, or actively मै कर्बो (= कर्ब् + उँ) *I shall do*. The fem. in इ is used only as a component part of the fut. tense act., as कर्बिस (fem.) *thou wilt do for कर्बि + स्*, cf. § 509, 3.

311. The second set is used to form nouns of act. Thus आवार् *coming*, of R. आव् *come*; जवार् *going*, of R. जा *go*; खवार् *eating*, of R. खा *eat*; सुकाव् or सुकाई or सुकावट् *seeing*, of R. सूक् *see*; सिचाव् or सिचाई or सिचावट् *irrigation*, of R. सीच् *irrigate*; ओलाव् or ओलाई or ओलावट् *movement*, of R. ओल् *move*; लराव् or लरावट् *fighting*, of R. लर् or लर् *fight*; चलाव् *dispatch*, of C. R. चलाव् *cause to go*. Very commonly the fem. expresses the wages or price paid for doing a thing, as रखवार् or रखाई *wages for keeping*, of R. रक् *keep*; कटवार् *wages for cutting*, of R. काट्; बनवार् or बनाई or बनावट् *making or price for making* of C. R. बनाव् *make*; लिखवार् or लिखाई *wages for writing or dictation*, of R. लिख् *write* or C. R. लिखाव् *dictate*. The masc. strong form is very rarely used and, as a rule, has some special meaning; thus पहिरावा *dress* (lit., *what is to be put on*), of R. पहिर् *put on, wear*; बुलावा *a call*, of C. R. बुलाव् *call*, but बुलवार्, बुलावट् *calling*; मिलावा *mixture*, of R. मिल् *mix*; चढावा *sacrifice*, of C. R. चढाव् *sacrifice* (lit., *cause to ascend*).

312. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth sets are used to form nouns of agency. The fourth set is the one commonly employed. Thus खाबू or खब्बू *glutton* or खवइया or खवैया *eater*, of R. खा *eat*; उराबू or उरब्बू or उरालू or उरवाला or उरवइया *timid, coward*, of R. उर *fear*; रखवारू or रखवारा or रखवइया or रखइया *guardian*, of R. रख *keep*; कगगरू or कगगलू *quarrelsome*, of R. कग *quarrel*; कवइया *thatcher*, of R. का *thatch*; दिवइया *giver*, of R. दे *give*; चढवइया *riders*, of R. चढ *mount*; देखवइया *observer*, of R. देख *see*; सुनवइया *listener*, of R. सुन *hear*; बनवइया *maker*, of C. R. बनाव *make*, etc. The fem. makes nouns of act., as रखवारी *guarding*.

313. *Affinities.* The first and second sets occur in all Gds. as suff. of the part. fut. pass. or of nouns of act. (i. e., of the infinitive), exc. in P.¹). Thus the first set in B. (wk. f.) इब् (in the fut. tense act., S. Ch. 146) and (st. f.) इबा or (by elision of ब्) contr. आ (as “gerund or verbal noun”, S. Ch. 149, i. e., as part. fut. pass. and inf.); this same आ or (uncontracted) इये (= इये = इए) is used also in an active sense as a suff. of nouns of agency; e. g., घासकाटा *a grass cutter* (S. Ch. 154. 149). Similarly in O. (wk. f.) इब् (in the fut. act. Sn. 27) and (st. f.) इबा or contr. आ (Sn. 30). Also in W. H. (as inf. and part. fut. pass.) (st. f.) Br. अबौ or अबौ or इबौ or इबौ or Mw. अबौ or अबौ or इबौ or इबौ (obl. f. अबे or इबे, as in E. H.). In G. it occurs as the suff. of a part. fut. pass., ending in (st. f.) m. अबो, f. अबी, n. अबू, and forms the so-called “potential” (Ed. 57); e. g., मारे होउवो हतो lit., *by me he should be delivered*; also as suff. of the infinit., viz. (st. f.) अबू neut. (Ed. 50. 112); e. g., होउवू *to deliver*. Also in S. it occurs; though never to form an inf., but only a part. fut. pass. in इबो (in the fut. tense pass. Tr. 336), and strangely also a part. present pass. (Tr. 54); e. g., इडिबो pres. *being given up* (Tr. 331) or fut. *he shall be given up* (Tr. 336). Perhaps it exists also in the M. inf. termin. ऊँ, a strong form, contr. for इऊँ = इबू (Man. 61, 5. 71);

1) The so-called P. „gerund“ (Ld. 24. 45. 81) ending in इआ m., इ f., is identical with the past part. pass.; see the § on compound verbs.

e. g., सोडूँ to loose (for *सोडिउँ = Mw. सोडिबोँ, G. सोडवुँ) ¹⁾. — The second set, which now forms in E. H. and similarly in W. H. verbal nouns only, is still used in M. to form the part. fut. pass., ending in (st. f.) आवेँ neut. (called “supine” in Man. 62. 61, 5), with an obl. f. आवया (= E. H. आवे) or (by eliding व्) contr. आया (= E. H. ऐ, B. इये). It also occurs in M. with the sense of a part. pres. pass. in the formation of the pres. conj. tense, ending in आवा m., आवी f., आवेँ n.; e. g., M. मी सुडावा I may be loosed (lit. I am to be loosed), or म्याँ सोडावा I may loose him (lit. by me he may be loosed or by me he is to be loosed); see § 509, 3. — The other sets occur also in W. H., except that there is no change of ल् to र् in the 5th and 6th sets; e. g., W. H. रखवाल् or °ला, f. °ली; कागालू. The 5th set occurs in M. as अवाडू or अवाकू (see Bs. II, 60; e. g., कन्हवाकू pitiful, of R. कन्हू moan); and in G. as अवानो (commonly used to form the fut. tense act.; e. g., छोडवानो he shall deliver, of R. छोड् Ed. 61), the original pass. sense of which may be seen from its use in the so-called “potential” (Ed. 57); e. g., मारे छोडवानो हतो lit., by me he should be delivered. The sixth set occurs in M. as आडू or आकू (see Man. 114. Bs. II, 60; e. g., खेमाडू frolicsome, of R. खेल् play; खानाकू itching, of R. खानू itch); in S. as आरौ or आरू (Tr. 53; e. g., धारारौ or धोरारू pedlar, of R. धोरू seek; पीजारौ cotton-carder, of R. पिज् card).

314. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit तव्य forming the part. fut. pass. It is often added with the connecting vowel इ; thus इतव्य. The addition of इ is general in Pr. (Vr. 7, 33. H. C. 3, 157) and universal in Gd. The suff. इतव्यम् (nom. sg. neut.) becomes in Pr. एअव्वं or इअव्वं (H. C. 3, 157) and in Ap. *एव्वं or एव्वं (H. C. 4, 438. K. I. 53 in Ls. 469, 5) or इव्वं (K. I. 50 in Ls. 468, 3); finally in E. H. इब् or अब्. Similarly,

1) If it were not the long vowel उ, it might be taken as a contr. of the Pr. एउं or इउं = Skr. इतुम् H. C. 3, 157; like the M. conj. part. in उण = Pr. एउण or इउण, Skr. *इत्वानम्.

with the pleon. अ added, Skr. इतव्यकम्, Pr. एष्वुअं or इष्वुअं, Ap. Sr. (a) एवुउं (H. C. 4, 438. 4, 354) or Ap. Mg. (b) एवा (= *एवए or *एवुअं, cf. § 54), W. Gd. (a) इवौ or अवौ or E. Gd. (b) इवा or अवा or S. Gd. (b) आवे (= *एवुअं). Thus Skr. कर्त्तव्यम् (or *कर्त्तव्यम्), Pr. करेअवं or करिअवं, Ap. *करेवं or करिवं or करेवं, E. H. करिब् or करब्; again Skr. कर्त्तव्यकम्, Pr. करेअवुअं or करिअवुअं, Ap. (a) *करेअं or (b) करेवुउं or (c) करेवा; Gd. (a) M. करावे, (b) W. H. करिवौ, (c) O. करिवा. It should be remarked, that H. C. expressly gives the neut. wk. f. एवं (H. C. 4, 441) as an inf. suffix, while the corresponding st. f. एवुउं and एवा (H. C. 4, 438) are mentioned as suff. of the part. fut. pass. — The suff. अवाई is a comp. of the suff. अन् or आव् + suff. आई of § 220; and the suff. अवइया a comp. of suff. आव् + pleon. suff. ऐया (of the redundant form, § 202); and the suff. अवार् or अवारा a comp. of suff. आव् + pleon. suff. अर् or अरा (§ 209); and the suff. आवट् a comp. of suff. आव् + ट्. The nature of the latter element (ट्) is obscure. Perhaps it represents the Skr. suff. ता of abstract nouns (§ 220, also contained in the suff. अवई) or त्वम् (or fem. *त्वा in Mg., see Wb. Bh. 437); thus Skr. इतव्यता or त्वम् = Mg. इष्वुता or Ap. *एवुटा, E. H. आवट्; the change of त् to ट् (as in पट्णं for पत्न H. C. 2, 29) may be owing to a confusion with the suff. आवट् or आवट् (§ 284) derived from the Skr. वृत्ता = Pr. वट्. — Again the suff. आई, अवइया and अवार् (or अवाल्) are contr. respectively from the suff. अवई, अवइया and अवारा (or अवाला), by the elision of व्; just as the E. H. obl. f. ऐ is contr. for B. इये (= इवे), and the M. obl. f. आया for आवया (§ 313). — The suff. तव्य, in course of time, lost its originally pass. sense and became active, as in B. अ and इये (see § 313); in the other Gds., this process was facilitated by the addition of the pleon. suff. ऐया and अरा = Ap. Pr. अयअ (= अकके) and अउअ, the उ of which latter suff. changed, as usual in Gd., to क् or ल् or र् or न्. E. g., Ap. रवेवुअउउ (Skr. रक्षितव्यः), W. H. रवबालौ or E. H. ररा; Ap. खेलेवुअउउ, M. *खेलवार् or contr. खेलार्. Similarly the originally pass. suff. अनीया (of the part. fut.) and इत (of the past. part.) have become active

in Gd. (see §§ 316. 305). It is a remarkable fact, that the suff. *तव्य* has suffered a precisely analogous change in the Latin *tivus*. Its derivatives occur very rarely in classic Latin, and, as a rule, are used passively, as *captivus* "prisoner", *votivus* "dedicated"; but *stativus* "appointed" or "stationary" is both pass. and act., and *fugitivus* "fugitive" is active. But in the later (low) Latin they are very common, and, as a rule, used actively; as *effectivus* "effective", *operativus*, *contemplativus*, *negativus*, etc.

Fourth Group.

315. Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1) घन्	घना	घनी	
2) घावन् or घान्	घउना or घौना	घउनी or घौनी	
3) घनिहार	घनिहारा	घनिहारी	
4) —	घनेवारा or °ला	घनेवारी or °ली	

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. The second set, on being added to caus. and den. roots in *घाव्*, supersedes that termin. For the rest, see § 298, note.

316. *Meaning.* These suff. are used to derive 1) part. fut., both pass. and act., and 2) verbal nouns, both of act. and agency, from any root. The nouns of agency are, in fact, *part. fut. act.*, implying the habit of doing a thing. As to the change of the sense from pass. to act., see § 309. The verbal nouns of act., formed by these suff. and used as infinitives in W. H. and the other Gds., are seldom or never employed so in E. H.

317. All these suff. (exc. the strong fem. of the third set) are occasionally used to form the part. fut. pass., and generally have some particular meaning. Thus देन् or देना or देनी *what is to be given, a debt*, of R. दे *give*; लेन् or लेना or लेनी *what is to be taken, a receipt*, of R. ले *take*, as in the phrase लेन् देन् *intercourse, traffic*; बाजन् or बाजना *what is to be played, a musical instrument*, of R. बाज् *be played*; घोऱ्ना or घोऱ्नी *what is to be put on, a cloak or sheet*, of R. घोऱ् *put on, wear*; बिहावन् or बिहउना or बिहौना or f. °नी *what is to be spread, bed-clothes*, of R. बिह् or बिहाव् *spread*; खेल्उना or खेलौना, f. °नी *what is to be played*

with, a toy, of R. खेल play; भरना or भारीना what is to be loaded, a load, of R. भार load; कहानी (H. H. कहानी) what is to be said, a story, of R. कह speak; पहिरावन् or पहिरौनी what is to be put on, garments, of R. पहिर put on; इउनी or झौनी encampments, barracks (lit., what is to be thatched), of R. झा thatch; पढ़न् or पढ़नी what is to be read, spell, charm, of R. पढ़ read. Again होना, f. होनी, or m. f. होनिहार or m. ०रा, or m. होनेवारा, f. ०री what is to be, possible, future, and अहोना impossible, of R. हो (but होनेहारी possibility, fidurity).

318. The third and fourth sets (exc. the strong femin. of the former) are used to form part. fut. act. or nouns of agency. Thus m. f. करनिहार, m. ०रा one who is going to do or a doer, of R. कर do; m. f. पढ़निहार or m. पढ़निहारा or पढ़नेवारा or ०ला, f. ०री or ०ली one who is going to read, a reader, of R. पढ़ read; m. f. देनेहार or m. ०रा or m. देनेवाला or ०रा, f. ०लो or ०री one who is going to give, a giver, of R. दे give, etc. Occasionally also the strong forms of the first and second sets form nouns of agency, as हँसना, f. ०नी jester, of R. हँस laugh; उरना or उरौना, f. ०नी coward, timid, of R. उर fear; सुहना or सुहौना, f. ०नी pleasing, of R. सुहव please; घिनना or घिनौना, f. ०नी disgusting, of R. घिनाव nauseate; पहिरउनी or पहिरौनी a tire-woman, of C. R. पहिराव attire. The fem. in घनी often signifies an instrument, and the masc. in घान् a place; thus fem. खोदनी a spade (lit., digger), of R. खोद dig; लेखनी style, pen, of R. लेख write, engrave; कतरनी scissors, of R. कतर cut; सुननी sense of hearing, of R. सुन hear, etc.; and masc. उठान् area, court, of R. उठ rise; बकान् place for ensnaring, of R. बाक् or बकाव ensnare; ठिकान् halting-place, of R. ठिक् halt.

319. The weak forms of the first and second sets and the strong femin. of the first, second and third sets are commonly used to form nouns of act. Thus m. कहन् or f. कहनी speaking, speech, of R. कह speak; सुनन् or सुननी hearing, of R. सुन hear; लेन् or लेनी taking, of R. ले take; करन् or करनी ¹⁾ action, of R. कर do; रहन् or रहनी ¹⁾ existence, living, of R. रह remain, live; होनी ¹⁾ occur-

1) Also कर्तव्, रहतव्, होतव् or होनिहार, which are clearly part.

rence, accident, of R. हो *be*; सुकावन् *direction, advice*, of R. सुकाव् *show*; मनावन् *agreement, respect*, of R. मान् *respect* or मनाव् *persuade*; ब्रतनी *dispute*, of R. ब्रत् *fight*; लिखनी *writing*, of R. लिख् *write*; सिखावन् *instruction*, of R. सिखाव् *teach*, etc. Especially the suff. अन्; as उडान् *flying*, of R. उड् *fly*; कुडान् *leaping*, of R. कूड् *leap*; चडान् *ascent, riding*, of R. चढ् *mount, ride*; डोलन् or डोलान् *movement*, of R. डोल् *move*; बइठान् *sitting, session*, of R. बइठ् *sit*; धरान् *holding*, of R. धर् *hold*; पकरान् *seizure*, of R. पकर् *seize*; सिचान् *irrigation*, of R. सोच् *irrigate*; उठान् *rising*, of R. उठ् *rise*; चलान् *clearance*, of R. चलाव् *dispatch*; लडान् *fighting*, of R. लड् *fight*, etc.

Note: उडान् *flying*, etc. may be also उडाव्, उडाई, उडावर्, etc.; see § 308. — The derivatives of the 1st and 2nd sets must not be confounded with those of the Skr. suff. अन्, which are not E. H. formations but received from the Skr. as tats. or tadbh. The suff. अन् no longer exists as such in Gd., nor apparently did it do so in Pr. Its derivatives in E. H. can be often recognized by the fact of the non-existence of their roots in it. Thus E. H. पान् *beverage*, दान् *giving*, मान् *respect*, गवन् or गमन् *going*, ब्रधावन् *presents*, etc., whose roots *पा, *दा, *मा, *गम्, *ब्रधाप्, etc. do not exist in E. H., at least in this particular form. But sometimes it may remain doubtful, whether an E. H. word is an old tadbh. deriv. of the Skr. suff. अन् or an E. H. formation of the present group.

320. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gds.; but those of the 4th set are not properly E. H., nor generally E. or S. Gd. (cf. S. Ch. 154. Man. 113, 2), but introduced into them from the W. Gd., especially from W. H., P. (Ld. 24, 80) and S. (Tr. 76 अन्वारो or अनेवारो). — The third set is that commonly used in E. H.; it occurs also in W. H., P. (Ld. 24, 80) and S. (Tr. 75); in G. it is contr. to अनार् (forming the fut. act. tense, Ed. 61), also in M. अपार् or अपार् (forming the fut. part. act. or nouns

fut. pass. and thus disclose the etymological character of the words in the text.

of agency, Man. 63, 3. 64, 4). — The first and second set is used in all Gds. in the same way as in E. H.; moreover, the masc. strong form commonly serves as the (so-called) infinitive in W. H. (अनौ or अनौ in Br. and अनौ or अनौ in Mw.), P. (अपा or अना Ld. 24, 80); also in M. (neuter) अपो (called “gerund” in Man. 61, 100. 62); and, in the weak form, in B. अन or अनि or आन् or अनि (S. Ch. 149. 186), O. अपा or अपा (Sn. 30, 38), W. H. (Br.) अनि, S. अपु or इपु (Tr. 54. 251), N. अनु. The strong form exists also as a suff. of the part. fut. pass. in W. H. m. अनौ, f. अनौ, and S. m. अपो or इपो, f. अपौ or इपौ (Tr. 279. 55).

321. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अनौ, which in Pr. becomes अपौ (Vr. 2, 17. H. C. 1, 248) or अपौ (as in पापौ or पापौ water = Skr. पानी Vr. 1, 18. H. C. 1, 101) or अपौ (or अपौ Wb. Bh. 418. H. C. 4, 443. 441). The latter form has already dropped the passive signification and become a suff. of act. or agency. From the Ap. forms अपौ or अपौ, by the addition of the pleon. suff. उ or उ or उ or उ, arise the forms अपौउ or अपौउ, which become अपौ or अपौ or अपौ or अपौ in M. and G.; and the form अपौउ, which (inserting euph. व्) appears in S. as अनौ, W. H. अनौ; and the forms अपौउ or अपौउ, which (inserting euph. इ) appear in E. H. etc. as अनौ or अनौ. The simple Ap. form अपौ (H. C. 4, 443) appears in E. H. etc. as अना. The simple Ap. अपौ, which forms the inf. (H. C. 4, 441) appears in the W. H. infinitive in अनौ or अनौ; and the Ap. inf. suff. अपौ (H. C. 4, 441) in the W. H. inf. suff. अनौ or shortened अनि. — It is probable that in the popular usage the two krit suff. अन (pleon. अन = Pr. अपौ) and अनौ have become confused, so as to make a correct allotment of their respective derivatives a matter of difficulty. But as there can be no doubt, that the passive suff. तव्य has become an active suff. of act. and agency (see § 314), it is extremely probable that the same change has occurred in the case of the similar suff. अनौ, the modern derivatives of which exhibit remarkably analogous forms and meanings to those of the

suff. तव्य. — The secondary suff. वासा or वारा (§ 293) have contributed a further cause of popular confusion.

Fifth Group.

322. Set. 1) Fem. अत् or अती. Set. 2) Fem. आवत् or औती. The forms in ई are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

323. These suff. are used to derive nouns of act. from a root; but they exist only in a limited number of words. Thus the first set in चुकत् or चुकती *settlement*, of R. चुक् *finish*; चुन्त् *plaiting, plaits*, of R. चुन् *plait*; असती *dwelling, village*, of R. बस् *dwell*; भरती *filling up, enlistment*, of R. भर *fill*; चरती *rising, gain*, of R. चर् *rise*; बरती *increase*, of R. बर् *increase*; घटती *decrease*, of R. घट् *decrease*; लगती *belonging, assessment*, of R. लग् *belong*. Occasionally the root is not in use, as in अरत् *commission* (lit., *increase*), of R. *अर्; बिनती *information, petition*, of R. *बिन्. The second set in समुकावत् or समुकौती *explaining*, of R. समुकाव् *explain*; कुरौती *release*, of R. कुराव् *release*; मनौती *security*, of R. मनाव् *cause to trust*.

324. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds. Those of the second set, however, appear to be extinct in B. and O., see Bs. II, 108. In M. they are उत् and अवतो; in G. औती or उती; in P. and W. H. आवत्, औती. Thus W. H. and P. समुकौती, G. समनुती, M. समजुत; W. H. and P. मनौती, G. मनोती; W. H. and P. चुकौती, M. चुकवती. S. seems to have only the first set in अति (Tr. 49).

325. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit ति (fem.), added to the caus. or denom. radical suff. णप् (§ 349); thus णप्ति or, with pleon. क added, णप्तिक्; and in Pr. अती or अतिष्ठा, in E. H. अत् or अती. Thus Skr. विज्ञाप्तिक्, Mg. विज्ञुत्तिष्ठा, E. H. बिनती; or Skr. *वर्धाप्तिक् (of R. वृध्), Mg. वडुत्तिष्ठा, E. H. बरती; or Skr. *अर्धाप्तिः (of R. ऋध्), Mg. अडुती (cf. T. V. 3, 1. 13)¹, E. H. अरत्, M. अउत्, O., B., G., S. आउत् (see Bs.

1) According to H. C. 4, 81 Pr. substitutes आअडु for the Skr. R.

II, 53). — By the dissolution of the conjunct प्र , the forms प्र श्रवती or श्रवतिष्ठा , E. H. श्रवत् or श्रीती might arise; thus Skr. *मनापिका, Mg. *मणावतिष्ठा, E. H. मनीती (for मनवती or मनउती, §§ 25. 34. 78).

Sixth Group.

326. Com. gen. अ . Masc. आ . Fem. ई .

The form अ is weak; the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

327. These suff. are used to derive nouns of act. from any root. As a rule they are fem. Thus सृक् *sight*, of R. सृक् *see*; लयेर् f. *dragging* (W. H. लयेर्), of R. लयेर् *draggles*; चपेर् f. or चपेटा m. a *slap*, of R. चपेर् *slap*; खेल् m. or f. *play*, of R. खेल् *play*; चाल् f. *walking, conduct, custom*, of R. चाल् or चल् *walk*; पक्क f. *seizure* (W. H. पक्क), of R. पक्क *seize*; हँस् m. f. or हँसा m., हँसी f. *laughter*, of R. हँस् *laugh*; दउर् f. or दउग m. or दउगी f. *running, race*, of R. दउर् *run*; रगर् f. or रगग m. *rubbing*, of R. रगर् *rub*; फेर् m. or फेरा m. or फेरी f. *turning, circumambulation*, of R. फेर् *turn*; दाब् m. *pressure, force, fear*, of R. दाब् *press*; बोल् m. or बोली f. *speech, dialect*, of R. बोल् *speak*; पङ्ताव् m. or पङ्तावा m. *repentance*, of R. पङ्ताव् *repent*, etc.

328. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight differences: W. H. has m. f. अ , and m. ओ or ओ , f. ई ; S. m, उ, f. अ or इ , and m. ओ , f. ई (Tr. 46, 47); G. m. f. अ , and m. ओ , f. ई ; M., B. and O. have the same as E. H. Thus M. बोल् , बोली *speaking, language* (Man. 107); बाँध् , बाँधा *binding, embankment*, of R. बाँध् (Man. 107), etc.; S. भोल् f. *error*, E. H. भूल् , of R. भूल् ; S. घाटि f. or घाटो m. *decrease*, of R. घट् ; S. फेर् m. *turning* (Tr. 46. 47). Further examples see in Bs. II, 51. 52.

329. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अ , which (in the nom. sing.) forms m. अः , f. आ and, with pleon. क added, m. अकः , f. इका . These are in Mg. m. ए , f. आ ,

व्याप् ; T. V. 3, 1. 13 gives आचङ्ग ; thus H. C. आचङ्गु , T. V. आचङ्गु . The derivation is obscure; but it seems rather to be connected with the R. अध् .

and m. अट्, f. इत्था; whence E. H. m. f. अ (cf. §§ 42. 45) and m. था, f. इ (cf. §§ 47. 51). Thus Skr. क्रीडः or क्रीडा (or खेला), Mg. खेल्ले or खेल्ला (cf. H. C. 4, 382), E. H. खेल्ल; again Skr. हसः or हसिका, A. Mg. हसे or हसिन्ना, E. H. हँस् or हँसी, etc.

Seventh Group.

330.

Com. gen. उ or घाउ.

Both forms are strong. Causal roots in घाव् take the suff. घाउ which supersedes the caus. termination; that is, उ is added to घाव्, the व् of which is elided.

331. These suff. are used to derive nouns of (habitual) agency from any root. Thus उ in खाउ *eater, glutton*, of R. खा; उचाह् *vexatious*, of R. उचाह् *vex*; मारह् *fighter, beater*, of R. मार *beat*; मूँउ *ascetic* (lit., *one who shaves his head*), of R. मूँउ *shave*; काह् *cutter, biter*, of R. काह् *cut, bite*; कारह् *sweeper, broom*, of R. कार *sweep* (W. H. काह्); तगह् *vigilant*, of R. तगह् *wake*; बिगाह् *spoiler*, of R. बिगाह् *spoil*, etc. Again घाउ; in कागडाउ *quarrelsome*, of R. कागडाउ *quarrel*; उगडाउ *spendthrift*, of R. उगडाउ *squander* (lit., *cause to fly*); कमाउ *laborer, bread-winner*, of R. कमाव् *labor, earn*; ठिकाउ *stationary*, of R. ठिक् *stop*; बिकाउ *saleable*, of R. बिक् *sell* (intrans.); फुसलाउ *coaxer, tempter*; of R. फुसलाव् *coax*. Occasionally the root no more exists in E. H. as डाँक् or डाक् *robber*, of R. *डाँक् *bite or overpower*.

332. *Affinities.* These suff. are not properly E. H., nor E. Gd., but W. Gd., whence they have been introduced. W. H., P. and S., like the E. H. (Tr. 51), have उ and घाउ; G. appears to have a weak form in उ, as खाउ *eater*, काउ *broom*, etc.; see Bs. II, 37 where other examples will be found; it may, however, be strong; for G. has a tendency to shorten a strong final उ or ओ; e. g., Ap. Pr. सोखउं, Mw. सोनो is in G. सोनु or सोनु *gold* (Skr. सुवर्णकम्).

333. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit त् or, with pleon. क added, तृक; the ऋ of which has a tendency to change to उ in Pr. (cf. H. C. 3, 44), also in Pāli (see Ms. 40. Bs. II, 57). Whence (nom. sing.) Pr. उ or उओ (= *तुः or

*तुकः), W. Gd. उ or उ; e. g., Skr. भर्ता *husband* (base भर्तृ), Pr. भर्तू (H. C. 3, 44), Gd. *deest* (E. H. has भर्तार, Pr. भर्तार H. C. 3, 44); Skr. पिता *father* (base पितृ), Pr. पिउ or पिउओ (H. C. 1, 131), P. पिउ or पिउ; Skr. भ्राता *brother* (base भ्रातृ), Pr. भाउ or भाउओ (H. C. 1, 131) or Ap. भ्राउ or भ्राउउ (cf. H. C. 4, 398), P. भाउ or भाउ or भ्राउ or भ्राउ (cf. Ld. 10, 30), S. भाउ, M. भाउ. Similarly Skr. दंष्टकः (of R. दंष्ट् or दंस्) *one who bites or overpowers*, Pr. उक्कुओ (cf. H. H. 2, 2 उक्को = Skr. दष्टः *bitten*), Ap. उक्कुउ, W. Gd. डाक् *robber*. — The suff. तृ was often added in Skr. with the connecting vowel इ; thus इतृ. This was, probably, generally done in Pr. (see the analogous cases of the suff. इत and इतव्य §§ 306. 314), and universally in Gd. Whence we have in Pr. इउ or इउओ and (with absorption of इ) in W. Gd. उ (G.) or उ (W. H., P., S.). Thus Skr. खादिता *eater* (base खादितृ), Pr. खाइउ or खाइउओ, G. खाउ or W. H. खाउ; Skr. मारितृ *beater*, Pr. मारिउ or मारिउओ, G. मारू or W. H. मारू, etc. — The suff. घाउ contains the caus. or denom. suff. घापृ; thus Skr. कर्मापयितृ *worker*, Pr. कम्मावेउओ or कम्मावउओ, W. Gd. कमाउ, where वृ is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted, as usual in caus. or denom. verbs (e. g., W. H. part. pres. कम्मातु *working* = Pr. कम्मावंतो or कम्मावेंतो).

Eighth Group.

334.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	अक्	अका	अकी
	2)	आक्	आका	आकी

The forms of com. gen. are weak; the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

335. The first set forms nouns of act. In many cases the original root is no longer in use; and the derivative itself, in its weak form, is employed as a root. The weak form is, as a rule, fem. Thus बइठक् f. or बइठका m. *sitting, seat*, of R. बइठ् *sit*; कलक् f. *pain*, of R. कस् *tighten*; तउक् f. *cracking, cleft*, तर्का *day-break*, of R. *तर् or तर्क् (W. H. तउक्) *crack*; कमक् f. or कमका m., °की f. *glittering*, of R. *कम् (*wave*) or कमक् *glitter*; कलक् f. *glitter*, कलकी f. *glance*, of R. *खल् or कलक् *glitter*; कपक् f. or °की m. or

°की f. *snatch, wink*, of R. *क्प् be quick (Skr. अद्यप् ?); कटक् f. or °का m. *twitch*, of R. *कट् be quick (Skr. अद्यट् ?); फडक् f. *palpitation*, फडकी *partition, screen*, of R. फाड् split; फाटक् m. *gate*, of R. फाट् split; सडक् f. *road*, of R. सद् join?, etc.

336. The second set is used to derive nouns of agency from roots. Thus चराक् m. or f. *an animal that grazes*, of R. चर् graze; चलाक् m. or f. *active, clever*, चलाकी f. *cleverness* (see § 257), of R. चल् walk, move; दडगक् m. or f. *runner, racer*, of R. दड् run; लराक् m. or f. or °का m., °की f. *quarrelsome*, of R. लर् (W. H. लड्) fight; उडगक् m. or f. *capable of flying, fledged*, of R. उड् fly; पडराक् swimmer, पैराकी act or art of swimming, of R. पडर् swim, etc.

337. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds.; but the W. Gds. have final ओ or ओ for E. Gd. आ; and S. has आकु or आक् for E. H. आक् or आका (Tr. 52, 9). Examples, see in Bs. II, 31—33. 42. 43. They are exactly the same as in E. H.

338. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अक, which is really a compound of the krit suff. (or nominal termin.) अ and the nominal base क (probably = कृत् doing, of R. कृ do) meaning *doing, agent*. On this subject see § 353. The derivatives of the suff. अक, therefore, are really compound words, made up of two nominal bases, one ending in अ, the other being क; e. g., Skr. कर्षक = कर्ष + क lit. *making a tightening*, E. II. कसक्. An initial क् of the second part of a compound has a tendency to be preserved or even doubled in Pr.; e. g., अम्हक्करं or अम्हक्करं (H. C. 2, 99 = अम्ह + करं), पडिक्कूलं or पडिक्कूलं (H. C. 2, 93 = प्रति + कूलं), मुक्को or मुघो (H. C. 2, 99 = मू + क lit. *made fast*, i. e., *dumb*). Hence the preservation of it in the Gd. suffixes. — The second set, probably, contains the denom. suff. आप्, and is equal to Skr. आपक; thus Skr. उडुपक, Mg. उडुपके or उडुअके, E. II. उडगक्, with elision of व् and contraction of the hiatus-vowels.

SECOND CHAPTER. ROOTS.

339. The usual rule in Hindi grammars for ascertaining the form of the root is, to reject the suff. of the infinitive. This rule holds good for the E. H. also. The root is obtained by detaching the suff. *अब्* or *इब्* (§ 308). Thus R. पढ़् from inf. पढ़ब् *to read*; R. बूक् from inf. बूकब् *to know*; R. खा from inf. खाइब् or खाब् *to eat*. In some cases, however, a *व्* or *य्* must be either supplied or omitted; thus R. पाव् from inf. पाइब् *to obtain* (for *पाविब् § 33); R. जी from inf. जीयब् *to live*; R. चू from inf. चूवब् or चूअब् *to drip*; R. रो from inf. रोवब् or रोअब् *to weep*, etc. It will be found that with a few exceptions (about 25) which have a final vowel, all E. H. roots terminate with a consonant.

340. The same result, however, is obtained by taking the 3^d pers. sing. pres. conj. (see § 495) and detaching from it the termination ऐ (or ए); thus R. पढ़्, from पढ़ै *he reads*; R. बूक्, from बूकै *he knows*; R. पाव्, from पावै *he obtains*; R. खा, from खाय् *he eats*; R. जी, from जीयै *he lives*; R. चू, from चूरे *he drips*; R. रो, from रोरे or रोवै *he weeps*. Moreover, this, unlike the ordinary method, presents the E. H. root in the most convenient form for comparing it with the original Skr. root which it represents. Thus while in such cases as that of the inf. पढ़ब् *to read* and 3. sg. pres. conj. पढ़ै *he reads*, both forms lead equally well to the original Skr. root पठ्, through their respective Skr. and Pr. equivalents (viz., inf. Ap. Pr. पठिञ्च, Skr. पठितव्यम् and pres. Pr. पठइ, Skr. पठति); on the other hand, in such cases as बूकब् *to know*, it is only the 3. sg. बूकै *he knows*, which leads through its equivalents, Pr. बुक्कइ, Skr. बुध्यते (i. e. बुध्-य-ते), to the original (Skr.) form of the root बुध्; for the inf. बूकब् can, by no possibility, be an equivalent of the Skr. बोधितव्यम्. Its Skr. equivalent would be, if it could exist at all, some such form as *बुधितव्यम्. Such inf. as बूकब्, in fact, are purely Gd. formations, made from a previously changed radical form बूक्. For the explanation of this and similar radical changes, see §§ 344—349.

341. *Affinities.* On the whole, the Gds. show a very close agreement with one another, as regards roots; especially the E. and W. H. The differences are, in general, only phonetic. Thus E. H. uses र् and ल्, where W. H. has रू and लू (see §§ 29. 30); e. g., E. H. पर् fall, W. H. पॄ; E. H. चर् walk, W. H. चल्. Or E. H. has ह् where M. has स् (see § 11); e. g., E. H. हुर् be loosed, होर् loose, M. सुर्, सोर्. Or E. H. has an aspirate, where M. has a tenuis (see § 145, note); e. g., E. H. सिख् or सीख् learn, M. सिक्, etc. Sometimes the difference is greater, and is either phonetic or due to different derivation; e. g., E. H. बैस् sit, N. बस्, P. वह्, S. विह (Skr. उपविष्, cf. § 173); or E. H. सूत् sleep (den. of the Skr. part सुप्, § 352), W. H. सो (Skr. R. स्वप्). Sometimes the same root, though it may exist in both languages, is common in one, but uncommon in the other; e. g., E. H. मोहराक् call, W. H. पुकार्. There are, however, a few roots, especially in S. and M., which do not exist in E. H.; e. g., S. पस् see, M. पाह् see, but E. H. दिस् or देख्, which are also S. and M.

342. If the E. H. roots are examined, they will be found capable of division into two classes. Firstly, those which, though disguised more or less by phonetic modifications, are direct representatives of old Skr. roots (single or compound); secondly such as, though ultimately connected with Skr. roots, are not directly traceable to any of them. Examples of the first kind are: E. H. चल्, Skr. चल् walk; E. H. तप्, Skr. तप् be hot; E. H. ज्ञान्, Skr. ज्ञा know; E. H. कर्, Skr. कृ do; E. H. जो, Skr. वप् sow; E. H. खा, Skr. खाद् eat; E. H. चू, Skr. क्ष्युत् leak; E. H. कोप्, Skr. कुप् be angry (§ 148); E. H. बोल्, Skr. वद् speak; E. H. मल्, Skr. मृद् rub; E. H. तूट् or टूट्, Skr. ब्रूट् break (§ 174); E. H. घस्, Skr. घर्ष् rub; E. H. परिस्, Skr. स्पर्स् touch (§ 58, note); E. H. परोस्, Skr. परिविष् distribute (§ 122, 5); E. H. देख्, Skr. दृष् see; E. H. उठ्, Skr. उत्था rise; E. H. काँड्, Skr. अध्वद् sweep (§ 172), etc. Of the second kind are: E. H. भूल् forget, cf. Skr. भ्रमर्; E. H. हाह् wish, cf. Skr. उत्साह् (§ 173); E. H. बॄह् sit, cf. Skr. उपविष्ट (§ 173); E. H. पॄह् enter, cf. Skr. प्रविष्ट; E. H. सूत् sleep, cf. Skr. सुप्; E. H.

निकाळ् or निकाळ् *eject*, cf. Skr. निष्कृष्ट (cf. §§ 113. 114); E. H. ज्ञाव् *make known*, cf. Skr. ज्ञाप; E. H. पलट् or पलट् *turn over*, cf. Skr. पर्वत्त (§ 143); E. H. पक् *cook*, cf. Skr. पक्; E. H. पद्दिचान् *recognize*, cf. Skr. परिचयनम् (§ 69); E. H. कौक् *spy, peep*, cf. Skr. ध्यां कृ; E. H. ओक् *vomit*, cf. Skr. वम् कृ; E. H. कउक् *crack, rumble*, cf. Skr. कर्द कृ; E. H. धौक् *blow*, cf. Skr. धुम् कृ, etc. The first class of roots I shall designate *primary*, the other *secondary*.

1. PRIMARY ROOTS.

343. The phonetic disguises which affect the primary roots and make them differ more or less from their Skr. originals, are generally owing to the following causes: 1) phonetic permutation of the radical consonant or vowel; 2) the incorporation of the Sanskritic „class-suffix“ into the root; 3) the change of the Sanskritic „class“ of the root; 4) the addition of the pleonastic radical suff. अपि. Not unfrequently several of these causes act together. On the other hand a few roots, favored by peculiar phonetic circumstances, remain altogether unchanged so as to be identical in E. H. and in Skr.

344. *Phonetic permutation.* 1) Final radical consonants are principally exposed to this cause of change, because through the accretion of the (so-called) „class-suffix“, they generally become medial, and then, in their progress through Pr. and according to its laws, liable to permutation or elision. Thus E. H. खा *eat* for Pr. खा, Skr. खाद्; as 3^d sing. pres. Skr. खादति, Pr. खाद्य् or खाइ (Vr. 8, 27), E. H. खाय्. Sometimes, however, a root contains a final consonant which Pr. tolerates, and thus identical roots arise; e. g., E. H. चल् *walk* for Pr. चल्, Skr. चल; as Skr. चलति, Pr. चलइ, E. H. चलै. Hence, when the E. H. exhibits an (apparently) identical root with Skr. (as E. H. तप् *be hot*), containing a final consonant, which would ordinarily be liable to change in Pr., the identity is open to suspicion, and is, probably, to be accounted for in a different way, namely by the incorporation of „the class-suffix“, see § 345. — 2) Initial radical consonants are rarely

liable to change, and, indeed, never change, unless they are compound consonants or a prefix is added, when the initial cons., being now medial, is either changed or elided in Pr.; but such roots are of unfrequent occurrence in E. H.; thus E. H. च *leak* for Pr. चु (चो), Skr. श्रुत् or चुत्; as Skr. अयोतति, Pr. चुअइ (H. C. 2, 77) or चोअइ, E. H. चूऐ; or E. H. परोस् *offer food* for Pr. परिवेस्, Skr. परिवेष् (caus. of परि-विष्); as Skr. परिवेष्यति, Pr. परिवेसेइ or परिवेसइ, E. H. परोसै (§ 122, 5). Very exceptionally a real single initial cons. is changed; e. g., E. H. हो *be* for Pr. हुव, Skr. भू (§ 176, note), as Skr. भवति, Pr. हुवइ or होइ (Vr. 8, 1), E. H. होय *he is*; but the original भ् is preserved in the E. H. past part. भइल् *been*. — 3) Radical vowels occasionally suffer a change; sometimes through the vocalisation of an adjoining semivowel (य् or व्, §§ 121. 122); thus E. H. हो *be* for Pr. हुव or हव, Skr. भू; E. H. भीव् *moisten* for Skr. अभ्याद् (§ 172); sometimes by the ordinary phonetic laws; thus E. H. मल् *rub* for Pr. मल्, Skr. मृद्, as Skr. मर्दति, Pr. मलइ (H. C. 4, 126), E. H. गलै (§ 109); or E. H. तूद् or टूद् *break* for Pr. तुद्, Skr. त्रुद्, see §§ 143. 147. 174; E. H. कोप् *be angry* for Pr. कुप्, Skr. कुप्, see §§ 143. 148. — 4) Exceptionally the initial vowel of the prefix of a compound root is elided; as E. H. व्हाइ *wish* for Pr. *उक्वाह्, see § 173; or E. H. कौइ *sweep* for Pr. अक्कइ, see § 172.

345. *Incorporation of the „class-suffix“.* Skr. roots are divided into ten classes, according to the suffix which they assume for the purpose of forming the conjugational base for the four principal tenses or moods (pres., imperf., potent., imper.). In all other tenses these „class-suffixes“ are rejected and the root used alone. Already in Pr., however, it had become the custom, sometimes to incorporate the class-suff. and to use the root, thus amended, as the conjug. base in all tenses (or moods) and derivative verbs (passive, causal, etc.). In Gd. this usage has been still more extended. Thus E. H. has R. जान् *know* for Pr. जण् and जा, Skr. ज्ञा, through incorporating the suff. ण of the IXth class, as Skr. जानाति, Pr. जाणाइ (cf. H. C. 3, 154. Ls.

348 = ज्ञा + पा + इ) or ज्ञाण्ड (Vr. 8, 23 = ज्ञाण् + अ + इ); E. H. ज्ञानै; or E. H. चुन् *gather* for Pr. चुण् or चिण् or चि, Skr. चि, through incorporating the suff. नु of the Vth cl.; as Skr. चिनोति, Pr. चिणोड् (cf. Ls. 347 = चि-णो-इ) or चिण्ड् or चुण्ड् (Vr. 8, 29. H. C. 4, 238 = चिण् or चुण् + अ + इ), E. H. चुनै; or E. H. नाच् *dance* for Pr. पाञ्च्, Skr. नृन्, through incorporating the suff. य् of the IVth cl., as Skr. नृत्यति, Pr. पाञ्चड् (Vr. 8, 47 = पाञ्च् + अ + इ), E. H. नाचै, etc. It should be noticed, that the incorporation of the class-suff. is more or less optional in Pr. and, indeed, exceptional as regards the so-called „general“ tenses and derivat. verbs (cf. Wb. Spt. 59); but in Gd. it is absolute. It may be surmised that, while this was the case in the literary Pr., in the more vulgar Ap. dialects, from which the Gd. took its immediate origin, incorporation was the usual, perhaps the general, practice. That it was a real incorporation of the suff. into the root, even in Pr., can be seen clearly from those forms in which according to Skr. usage the class-suff. could have no place; such as ज्ञापिञ्चं (lit., Skr. *ज्ञानितम्) *known*, but also regularly पायं (H. C. 4, 7), for Skr. ज्ञातम्; or Pr. ज्ञापिऊण (lit., Skr. *ज्ञानित्वा) or regularly पाऊण (H. C. 4, 7), for Skr. ज्ञात्वा *having known*; or Pr. ज्ञाणावेड् (H. C. 3, 149), for Skr. ज्ञापयति (lit. *ज्ञानापयति) *he caused to know*; or Pr. चिणिहिड् or चिव्विहिड् (H. C. 4, 243), for Skr. चेष्यति (lit. *चिनिष्यति or *चिन्विष्यति, i. e., चिन् or चिनु-इष्यति) *he will gather*; or Pr. चिव्वड् (H. C. 4, 242), for Skr. चीयते (lit., Skr. *चिन्व्यते or Pr. *चिणुईष्यड्) *it is gathered*; or Pr. सुण्ड (Spt. 46) or सुणईष्यड् (cf. H. C. 4, 302. Dl. 24, lit. *सुन्यते), but also regularly सुव्वड् (H. C. 4, 242), for Skr. श्रूयते (lit. *श्रुन्यते) *it is heard*; or Pr. सुणिऊण (lit., Skr. *सुनित्वा) or regularly सोऊण (H. C. 4, 241), for Skr. श्रुत्वा *having heard*; or Pr. पाञ्चाविञ्चड् (H. C. 1, 33), for Skr. नर्तितानि (lit. *नृत्यापितानि) *caused to dance*; or Pr. कडिञ्च (lit. *कर्य) or regularly कटुञ्च (H. C. 4, 272), for Skr. कृत्वा *having done*, etc. In E. H. this incorporation is so thoroughly established, that the old radical forms have entirely disappeared, and their places have been taken by the new ones, even, e. g., as the base for the formation of the ver-

bal noun in *ज्ञ* which is the source of the modern infinitive (§§ 308—314); thus E. H. *ज्ञान* to *know* for Skr. *ज्ञातव्यम्* (lit. **ज्ञानितव्यम्*); E. H. *नाच* to *dance* for Skr. *नर्तितव्यम्* (lit. **नृत्यितव्यम्*), etc. This process explains why many Skr. roots ending in a vowel terminate in E. H. with a consonant.

Note: In most of the above examples there is not only an incorporation of the class-suff., but simultaneously also a change of the „class“; see § 347.

346. An exactly analogous process is the *incorporation of the passive suff.* य, by which means a few intransitive roots are formed in E. H. from Skr. transitive (active) roots; e. g., the Skr. R. चप् is trans. *press*, but the E. H. R. चप् is intrans. *be put down, be abashed*, and equal to the Skr. pass. R. चप्य; as Skr. pass. चप्यते *he is pressed*, Pr. चप्पइ, E. H. चपै, etc. Sometimes both the Skr. and Gd. Rs. are intrans.; e. g., E. H. चार् (W. H. चाल्) and Skr. चल् *walk*, as Skr. pass. चलयते (but act. चलति), Pr. चल्लइ (Vr. 8, 53, but act. चलइ H. C. 4, 231), W. H. चालै or E. H. चारै (but act. W. H. चलै, E. H. चरै), etc. In rare cases both are trans.; e. g., E. H. सीच् and Skr. सिच् *irrigate*; as Skr. pass. सिच्यते (but act. सिचति), Pr. सिच्चइ (H. C. 4, 230, but act. सिंचइ H. C. 4, 239), E. H. सीचै (but act. सीचै), etc. Other examples, see § 348.

Note: In most cases of this kind also a change of „voice“ from pass. to act. takes place; see § 348.

347. *Change of „class“.* The Skr. distribution of roots into ten classes had already in Pr. become, to a considerable extent, obliterated. In Gd. it has disappeared altogether. While Skr. has ten classes, of which the Ist (incl. VIth) and the Xth (incl. denom. and causal) include by far the largest number of roots, Pr. has, in the main, only two, of which one corresponds to the Skr. VIth (or Ist) and the other to the Skr. Xth cl. The remaining classes occur in Pr. only in extremely isolated and exceptional cases; but as a rule, roots belonging to them are transferred into the VIth (or occasionally Xth) class, either 1) by

1) It is usual to say the Ist cl. (cf. Wb. Spt. 59. Ls. 334); but it seems

substituting the suff. **अ** of the VIth (or Xth) for their proper class-suff. (नु of the Vth, न of the VIIth, उ of the VIIIth, ना of the IXth, ण of the IVth), see H. C. 4, 239; or 2) by incorporating the latter with the root and, when necessary, eliding and changing the final vowel of such class-suff. (उ, ञ) into **अ**, the characteristic of the VIth and Xth classes (cf. Wb. Spt. 59 ff. Ls. 334); or 3) by interpolating the suff. **अ** of the VIth class. For example; R. चि *gather* is in Skr. of the Vth cl., base त्तिनु, hence 3. sg. pres. चिनोति, but in Pr. it becomes of the VIth cl., by incorporating नु and changing उ to **अ**, hence base चिण, 3. sg. pres. चिणइ (Vr. 8, 29); or again R. प्राप् *obtain* is in Skr. of the Vth cl., hence base प्राप्, 3. sg. pres. प्रप्नोति, but in Pr. of the VIth cl., by substituting the suff. **अ** of the VIth for नु, hence base पाव, 3. sg. pres. पावइ (H. C. 4, 239); or again R. भञ् *break* is in Skr. of the VIIth cl., hence base भनञ्, 3. sg. pres. भनक्ति, but in Pr. of the VIth cl., by incorporating न and eliding its **अ**, hence base भञ्, 3. sg. pres. भञ्इ (H. C. 4, 106); similarly in Pr. पीसेदि or पिसेदि (Ls. 347), for Skr. पिनष्टि, there is a transfer of the R. पिष् from the VIIth into the Xth cl.; or again R. कृ *do* is in Skr. of the VIIIth cl., hence base कर्ह, 3. sg. pres. करोति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Ist or Xth cl., by changing the suff. उ of the VIIIth to **अ**, hence base °कृ (i. e., क्र) or कर् or क्रे (i. e., कर्य), 3. sg. pres. °कृइ (as in बुकृइ Spt. 173 = Skr. बृत्करोति) or कर्इ (Vr. 8, 13)

to me, on the whole, that the form which such Pr. roots take, is more accurately described as that of the VIth cl. The Ist differs from the VIth cl. by *gunating* and *accentuating* the radical vowel; the VIth does not *gunate* the radicals and accentuates the suffixal vowel. Now in many cases Pr. does not *gunate* the rad. vowel; e.g., in चिणइ, सुणइ, where if they were of the Ist cl., it should be चेणइ, सोणइ; for the Rs. are, practically, चिण्, सुण्. Again in many other cases the final rad. sound is a comp. cons., which precludes the *gunation* of the rad. vowel and thus renders it impossible to determine the class by this sign; e.g., in भञ्इ, पाञ्इ. Here the class could only be determined by the accent; but as Pr. (and Gd.) is devoid of the old Aryan accent, this aid to determine the class also fails. Thus circumstances are in favor of its being the VI class.

or करेइ (H. C. 4, 337); or again R. ज्ञा *know* is in Skr. of the IX cl., hence base ज्ञाना, 3. sg. pres. ज्ञानाति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Xth, by incorporating ना and changing आ to अ, hence base ज्ञाप or ज्ञापो (i. e., ज्ञानय), 3. sg. pres. ज्ञापइ (Vr. 8, 23) or ज्ञापोइ (Dl. 15); or again R. ग्रह् *seize* is in Skr. of the IXth cl., hence base गृह्णा, 3. sg. pres. गृह्णाति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Xth, by substituting their suff. अ (अय) for ना, hence base गेह् or गेहे (i. e., गेह्य), 3. sg. pres. गेहइ (Vr. 8, 15) or गेहेदि (Dl. 90); or again R. नृत् *dance* is in Skr. of the IVth cl., hence base नृत्य, 3. sg. pres. नृत्यति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Xth, by incorporating य, hence base पाञ्च or पाञ्चे, 3. sg. pres. पाञ्चइ (Vr. 8, 47) or पाञ्चेदि (Dl. 50); or again R. रुद् *weep* is in Skr. of the IInd cl., hence irregular base रोदि, 3. sg. pres. रोदिति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Ist cl., by substituting their suff. अ for the irreg. इ of the IInd cl., hence base रुद् or रोद्, 3. sg. pres. रुअइ or रुवइ (H. C. 4, 226. Spt. 311 or contr. रोइ H. C. 4, 368) or रोअइ or रोवइ (H. C. 4, 226); or again R. या *go* is in Skr. of the IInd cl., hence base या, 3. sg. pres. याति, but in Pr. of the VIth cl., by interpolating its suff. अ, hence base ज्ञाय, 3. sg. pres. ज्ञायइ (H. C. 4, 240 or contr. ज्ञाई H. C. 4, 240. 350). Moreover, there was already in Pr. a tendency to run its two (remaining) classes, the VIth and Xth, into *one*, either by transferring the roots of the VIth into the Xth; or *far more commonly* by reducing the roots (whether primitive or denom. or caus.) of the Xth into the VIth, through changing the Xth class-suff. ए into the VIth class-suff. अ (see H. C. 3, 158. 149. Wb. Spt. 60. Ls. 341. 342. 344). Thus 1) change of the VIth cl. into the Xth; e. g., हसेइ (H. C. 3, 158), for हसइ (H. C. 3, 158. Skr. हसति) *he laughs*; करेइ (H. C. 4, 337), for कइ (Vr. 8, 13) *he does*; नच्चेइ (Dl. 50), for नच्चइ (Vr. 8, 47) *he dances*, etc.; 2) change of the Xth cl. into the VIth; e. g., कहइ (H. C. 4, 2), for कहेइ (Spt. 35. cf. H. C. 4, 267), Skr. कथयति, from R. कथ् *speak*; or चिंतइ (H. C. 4, 422), for चिंतेइ (Spt. 156. cf. H. C. 4, 265) *he thinks*; or सइ (Spt. 260), for साहेइ (Spt. 188), Skr. साधयति, from R. साध् *accomplish*; again in causals: दइसइ

(H. C. 3, 149), for दृष्टिसेद्, Skr. दृष्टयति, from R. दृश् see; or क्रावद् (H. C. 3, 149), for क्रावेद् (H. C. 3, 149), Skr. कारयति, from R. कृ do; or हसावद् (H. C. 3, 149), for हसावेद् (H. C. 3, 149), from R. हस् laugh; or भमावद् (H. C. 3, 151), for भमावेद् (H. C. 3, 151) *he causes to roam*, from R. भम्, etc. In E. H. (and Gd. generally) this process reaches its natural conclusion by all roots whatsoever (whether primitive or derivative) having been transferred to a single class, which practically corresponds to the VIth of Skr. While, therefore, in Skr. roots belong to ten, and in Pr. (in the main) to two classes, they all belong in E. H. to one and the same. Thus (see the above examples) E. H. चुनै = Pr. चुगाद्; E. H. पावै = Pr. पावद्; E. H. भतै = Pr. भंतद्; E. H. पीसै = Pr. पीसद् or पिसद्; E. H. करै = Pr. करद्; E. H. ज्ञानै = Pr. ज्ञापाद्; E. H. गहै = Pr. गेहद्; E. H. नाचै = Pr. सञ्चद्; E. H. रोरे = Pr. रोश्चद्; E. H. ज्ञाय् (W. H. ज्ञायै) = Pr. ज्ञाद् (or ज्ञाश्चद्); E. H. हसै = Pr. हसद्; E. H. कहै = Pr. कहद्; E. H. चिंतै = Pr. चिंतद्; E. H. क्रावै = Pr. क्रावद्; E. H. हसावै = Pr. हसावद्, etc. Some E. H. roots ending with an anomalous long vowel, as पी *drink*, चू *drip*, are probably to be explained on the principle of the interpolation of the VIth class-suff. ञ्; just as in the case of the above mentioned R. ज्ञा go. Thus E. H. पीयै *he drinks* presupposes a Pr. form *पिञ्चद् or *पिञ्चयद्, instead of the common Pr. पिञ्चद् (H. C. 4, 10) or पियद् (H. C. 1, 180), Skr. पिवति, which would be in E. H. either *पीद् or *पियै; similarly E. H. चूरे *it drips* = Pr. *चुञ्चद्, for the ordinary Pr. चुञ्चद् (H. C. 2, 77).

Note: Some Skr. roots are conjugated in several classes, one of which is the usual one, while the others are either rarely used or confined to the Vedas. It will be found, that some Gd. roots which have apparently changed their Skr. class, have really preserved such an unusual or vedic class. Thus R. तप् *be hot* is in Skr. both of the Ist cl., तप, and also, but rarely, of the IVth cl., तप्य. The latter is the modern E. H. तप् (Pr. तप्य). The former would have become in E. H. तव or तो, through Pr. तव (cf. तवद् H. C. 1, 231). Again R. मृ *die* is in Skr. of the VIth cl., म्रिय,

but in the Vedas of the 1st cl., मर्. The latter is preserved in the E. H. मर्, Pr. मर् (Vr. 8, 12 मर्इ, E. H. मर्). It is possible that other modern Gd. roots, which have apparently changed their class, have really preserved an ancient traditional one of colloquial use, even though in many instances no evidence of it has survived either in Skr. or Pr. literature.

348. An exactly analogous process is the *change of „voice“*. In the case of some simple roots, their passive radical forms, made in Skr. with the suff. य्, are used in Pr. in an active sense and substituted in their place (cf. Wb. Spt. 64. S. Gdt. in J. G. O. S. XXIX, 492). By this process, practically, such roots are transferred in Pr. from their proper Skr. class into the VIth (or Xth), and in E. H. into the VIth. Thus R. भृ break is in Skr. of the VIIth cl., hence base भन्, 3. sg. pres. भन्ति; its pass. root or base is भय, hence 3. sg. pres. भयते *he is broken*. Now Pr. treats this form, as if it were an active one of a R. भृ of the IVth cl., and, by incorporating the (really passive, but practically IVth cl.) suff. य्, makes the root to be of the VIth; hence base भत्, 3. sg. pres. भत्ति *he breaks* (cf. Spt. 168 भत्तत्, Dl. 42 बिभत्त). Again R. रुध hinder is in Skr. of the VIIth cl., hence base रुध्, 3. sg. pres. रुधति; but in Pr. it is of the VIth cl., by incorporating न् and eliding its अ; hence base रुध्, 3. sg. pres. रुध्ति (Vr. 8, 49). The Skr. pass. base is रुध्, hence 3. sg. pres. रुधते *he is hindered*; in Pr. this becomes रुत्ति (or रुत्ति) and is used both in its proper pass. sense (*he is hindered* H. C. 4, 245. 248) as well as in the act. sense (*he hinders* H. C. 4, 218): that is, Pr. transfers the R. रुध् into the VIth cl., by incorporating the pass. suff. य् and employing it in an act. sense. Examples of this kind are not uncommon. Thus R. शक् can forms Pr. शक्ति for Skr. शक्नोति (Vr. 8, 52. H. C. 4, 230). Now clearly शक्ति is the equivalent of the Skr. pass. शक्यते, used actively. The real equivalent for the Skr. (Vth cl.) शक्नोति is the alternative Pr. form शक्नुयि (cf. Dl. 36 शक्नुयि). Again R. लग् belong forms Pr. लग्ति (Vr. 8, 52), which cannot be = Skr. (1st cl.) लगति, but = Sk

pass. लग्यते; again R. स्फुट् *burst* forms Pr. फुट् or फुड् (Vr. 8, 53). Of these, evidently, the former = Skr. pass. स्फुट्यते, the latter = Skr. act. (VIth cl.) स्फुटति. Again R. सिच् *sprinkle* forms both सिचि (H. C. 4, 230) = Skr. pass. सिच्यते, and सिचि (H. C. 4, 239) = Skr. act. (VIth cl.) सिचति. Again R. हन् *kill* forms either हम्प् = Skr. pass. हन्यते and used both as an act. (Vi. 8, 45) and as a pass. (H. C. 4, 244), or हपा (Dl. 72) = Skr. act. हन्ति. Again the R. विक्री *sell* (i. e. वि-क्री) forms both विक्रे and विक्रीपा, of which the latter = Skr. act. विक्रीणीते; but that the former = Skr. pass. विक्रीयते is shown by the E. H. बिकै *it is sold* which is still used exclusively in a pass. or intrans. sense. This Pr. form विक्रे, by showing that the termin. एङ् may represent the Skr. pass. termin. ईयते, throws light on some strange Pr. forms, which thus are shown to be passives, used actively. Thus Pr. धेङ् *he places*, of the R. धा, is the same as Skr. pass. धीयते; for from the usual Skr. act. (III^d cl.) दधाति it cannot be phonetically derived. Thus also देङ् (Cw. 99) *he gives*, of R. दा, is probably the Skr. pass. दीयते; and Pr. चेङ् *he gathers* (T. V. 2, 4, 72), of R. चि, is the Skr. pass. चीयते rather than an assumed new Ist cl. चयति (as Wb. Spt. 60); and Pr. ठेङ् or थेङ् (Ls. 345) *he stands*, of R. स्था, is the Skr. pass. स्थीयते rather than an assumed new Ist cl. स्थायति, of R. स्था (? as Ls. 135); and Pr. उडुङ् *he flies* (Cw. 99), of R. उड्-डि, is the Skr. IVth cl. उडुयते (in reality a pass. form) rather than the Skr. Ist cl. उडुयते. All these last mentioned forms in एङ्, as regards their termination, resemble the Pr. Xth cl., which likewise ends in एङ्, as Pr. कहेङ् = Skr. कथयति; and thus they come to be treated as if they were really Xth cl. formations, and may all be optionally transferred into the VIth cl. Just as कहेङ् may change to कहङ्, so देङ् to दङ् (Spt. 216), ठेङ् to ठङ् (H. C. 4, 17), and, no doubt, the others similarly, though in their case the Pr. evidence is wanting. But the fact is proved by the E. H., which here again makes the change absolute and transfers all pass.-act. roots to the VIth cl. Thus E. H. बिकै = Pr. विक्री or विक्रे; E. H. ओहै (in पहिरै *he put son*, see § 133) = Pr.

०धइ or ०धेइ; E. H. संचै = Pr. संचइ or संचेइ; E. H. उडै = Pr. उडइ or उडेइ; the only exception is E. H. दे (or देय्) for Pr. देइ. Again E. H. सकै = Pr. सकइ; E. H. लगै = Pr. लगइ; E. H. फुटै = Pr. फुटइ; E. H. चारै or W. H. चालै = Pr. चलइ; E. H. सोचै = Pr. सिचइ.

Note: The cause, no doubt, of this confusion in Pr. of the pass. and act. was the great likeness between the form of the (active) IVth cl. and that of the passive. Even in Skr. they can only be distinguished by the accent, which in the IVth cl. is thrown on the radical, but in the pass. on the suffixal vowel; thus act. नह्यते *nahyate* he binds, but pass. नह्यते *nahyāte* he is bound. In Pr., where the accent is disused, the identity becomes complete. In this way some passives became associated in the popular mind with the IVth cl. and came to be used as actives. Most, if not all, the facts might be explained, by supposing a transfer in Pr. of certain roots into the VIth cl., but such a change of class is otherwise quite unsupported; and the explanation by means of a change of voice seems much simpler.

349. *Addition of the pleonastic suffix* अ॒पि. In Skr. the causal roots are occasionally formed by adding the suff. अपि (Pr. आवि, E. H. आव) instead of the ordinary causal suff. इ; e. g., caus. R. अध्यापि (3. sg. अध्यापयति *he teaches*), of R. अधी (i. e., अधि-इ) *read*; see other examples in M. M. 217. 218. In Pr. any C. R. may be formed at pleasure with either of these suff. (Vr. 7, 26. 27. H. C. 3, 149. Wb. Spt. 64. 65. Wb. Bh. 436); e. g., Pr. कारेइ or कारवेइ *he causes to do* = Skr. कारयति or *कारयति. In E. H. the C. R. is *always* formed with अपि; the original C. Rs. formed with इ, so far as they have survived, having become primitive transitive roots (see §§ 471—473). Thus E. H. कारवै *he causes to do*, not *कारै, which does not exist; again E. H. मारवै *he causes to die* (i. e., causing death indirectly), but मारै *he beats* or *he kills*. Now it has been shown in § 347, that, in Pr., roots of the VIth cl. are occasionally transferred into the Xth cl. (H. C. 3, 158), i. e., practically are formed like causal roots with इ;

and hence they also occasionally assume the (caus.) suff. *आपि*, which in their case, of course, is practically pleonastic (cf. H. C. 3, 158 *सुपाउ* perhaps contr. for *सुपावउ* or *सुपावेउ*); e. g., Pr. has the pleon. R. *सुहावि* = Skr. *सुह्* or **सुहापि* (3. sg. *सुहावेइ* Spt. 169), E. H. *सुहाव्*. In E. H. these pleon. roots are still more common; e. g., *चुराव्* *steal*, Pr. **चुरावि*, Skr. *चुर*; E. H. *गरियाव्* *abuse*, Pr. **गलिहावि*, Skr. *गल्ह*, etc. See the List of Roots. There can be little doubt, however, that such Gd. pleon. Rs. as well as their Skr. originals are in reality *denominative* roots (see § 352).

2. SECONDARY ROOTS.

350. Secondary roots may be divided into three classes, according to their origin. I shall distinguish them as 1) *derivative*, 2) *denominative*, and 3) *compound*.

351. *Derivative Roots*. In E. H. there sometimes exist pairs of roots, of which one member is intrans. and corresponds to the Skr. simple or (sometimes) passive root, and the other is trans. and represents the corresponding Skr. causal root. In these cases the intrans. has a short and the trans. a long vowel. Thus E. H. *सरू* *issue* intrans. = Skr. S. R. *सृ*, and E. H. *सारू* *accomplish* (lit. *cause to issue*) trans. = Skr. C. R. *सारि*; or E. H. *मरू* *die* intr. = Skr. S. R. *मृ*, and E. H. *मारू* *kill* trans. = Skr. C. R. *मारि*; E. H. *सुड़* *sink* intr. = Skr. S. R. *सृड्* and E. H. *बोड़* *immerse* trans. = Skr. C. R. *बोडि*, etc. In a similar manner, by shortening the radical vowel, E. H. sometimes derives new intrans. from trans. roots, when, on phonetic grounds, only the latter can be shown to have an equivalent in Skr. or Pr.; vice versa, in a few cases, by lengthening the radical vowel, E. H. derives trans. from intrans. roots, when only the latter exist in Skr. or Pr. The latter process is resorted to only very exceptionally, because E. H. has its own special means of forming causal (or trans.) roots with the suff. *आव* (see §§ 349. 474). Thus E. H. possesses a number of new pairs of roots, of which one member is original, while the other is derivative. Thus E. H. *निबाहू* *accomplish*

is trans. and equivalent to the Skr. C. R. निर्वाहि, of the trans. S. R. निर्वह्; from निवाह् E. H. derives an intrans. R. निबह् *be accomplished*, which cannot, phonetically, be derived from the Skr. pass. R. निर्वह्य or निर्वह्य; for these forms would become in Pr. निवह्य, and thence E. H. *निबह्. Again E. H. नहा *bathe* is equivalent to the Skr. S. R. स्ना (Pr. णहा). From it E. H. derives the intrans. R. नह् *flow*, for which Skr. offers no equivalent. It is, as if नहा were a trans. C. R., and नह् is to it, as करू *do* is to करा (or कराव्) *cause to do*. On the other hand, E. H. संह् or सट् *combine* is intrans. and equivalent to the Skr. intrans. S. R. संस्था (Pr. संठा or संठ). From it E. H. derives a trans. (or caus.) R. संह् or सट्, which cannot be derived, phonetically, from the Skr. C. R. संस्थापि, Pr. संठाव, etc.

352. *Denominative Roots.* Nouns which are used as roots for the purpose of forming new verbs, are called denominative roots. The practice of thus using nouns is very ancient. Even among the recognised Skr. simple roots, there are many which are really denominative. Pr. and Gd. have considerably added to their number. Theoretically the power of using nouns as roots is unlimited, and a great variety of nouns are actually thus employed upon occasion in Skr., Pr. and Gd.; see examples in M. M. 227—230. Wb. Spt. 60. 65. Wb. Bh. 429. 437. I speak here, however, only of such nouns, as are formally recognised and treated as roots and enumerated as such in *dhatupāthas* (or lists of roots). Such radical nouns or denominative roots 1) always end in ष; 2) may be either common nouns or participles (see also Wb. Bh. 429); and 3) belong, as regards Skr., generally to the Xth class, but occasionally also to the Ist. In Pr., with its tendency to obliterate class-differences (see § 347), they are all made optionally to belong to the VIth cl., to which they belong without exception in E. H. Thus, e. g., the following roots are derived from common nouns in Skr.: R. मार्त् *scour*, from मार्त् *scouring*, a krit-derivative of the S. R. मृत् *scour*; or R. मार्ग *seek*, from मार्ग *seeking*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. मृग् *seek*; both

preserved in E. H. as मॉत् and मॉग्. Again Skr. roots derived from participles are amongst others: R. वेष्ट् *surround*, from वेष्ट *enclosure*, perhaps a past part. pass. of S. R. विष् or विष् with suff. त; or R. कष्ट् *pull* from कष्ट *pulled*, a past part. pass. of S. R. कष् (or कृष्) *rub, pull* with suff. त; both preserved in E. H. as बेष्ट् and काष्ट् (cf. Cw. 99. Wb. Spt. 107). Examples from the E. H. and Pr. are: 1) roots derived from common nouns: R. जन् *germinate*, from Skr. जन्म *birth*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. जन् *be born*; thus 3. sg. pres. Skr. *जन्मयति, Pr. जन्मेइ or जन्मइ (H. C. 4, 136), E. H. जमे; again R. धार or ढार or ढाल् *pour*, from Skr. धार *flowing*, probably connected with the S. R. धाव् *run*; Skr. *धारयति, Pr. धाडेइ or धाडइ (T. V. 3, 1. 14, where it is said to be a substitute of Skr. निःसर्ति), E. H. धारै or ढारै *he pours*. Again 2) roots derived from participles: R. पलट् or पलथ् *turn over*, from Skr. पर्यस्त *turned over*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. Cp. R. परि-अस् *turn over* with suff. त; Skr. *पर्यस्तयति, Pr. पलट्इ or पलथ्इ (H. C. 4, 26. 200), E. H. पलटे or पलथै *he turns over*; again R. पीट् *beat*, from Skr. पिष्ट *beaten*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. S. R. पिष् *beat* with suff. त; Skr. *पिष्टयति or पिट्ठयति (? Spt. 173. Comm.), Pr. पिट्ठेइ (Spt. 173 for *पिट्ठेइ) or पिट्ठइ, E. H. पीटे *he beats*. Examples, from the E. H. or Pr., of denominative roots, formed with the pleonastic suff. of the Xth cl. ञपय (Pr. ञवे, H. ञव, see § 349), are the following. One root derived from a common noun is सुहाव् *be pleasant*, from Skr. सुख *pleasure* (said to be a compound of सु *good* and ख *a mine*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. खन् *dig*), Skr. सुखयति or *सुखापयति, Pr. सुहावेइ (Spt. 169) or सुहावइ, E. H. सुहावै *it is pleasant*. A root derived from a participle is चित्ताव् *make known*, from Skr. चित्त *known*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. S. R. चित् *know* and suff. त; Skr. *चित्तापयति, Pr. *चित्तावेइ or *चित्तावइ, E. H. चित्तावै *he makes known*.

353. *Compound Roots.* The great diversity and intricacy of the old Skr. system of radical „classes“ must always have formed a formidable obstacle to its being adopted in the language of the common people. An evidence of this fact has been already

noted in § 347, in the decided tendency of Pr. and still more of Gd. to reduce the ten Skr. classes to one. But they made use, besides, of an other remedy, viz., instead of inflecting the root itself, they took some very simple form of a noun derived from it and construed it with the inflected root कृ do. This is still a common practice in modern H., where numerous verbs are formed from (especially foreign) nouns by construing them with the verb कर्ब् to do; thus तमा कर्ब् to collect, बंदू कर्ब् to shut, बेलू कर्ब् to boil, पास कर्ब् to pass an examination, मेलू कर्ब् to mix, ध्यान् कर्ब् to meditate, बिचारू कर्ब् to think (for बिचारब्, as in English to make answer for to answer), etc. Even in Skr., paraphrased roots of this kind are often found; thus ऋक् + कृ make low, degrade, चिरे कृ make long, delay, etc. (see more examples in M. W. Skr. Lex. under Art. कृ). In fact, any suitable noun might be thus turned into a verb. But it is not of these, that I speak here, but of a special and small class from among them, in which the construction of the noun with the R. कृ has become so firmly established by more or less obscure causes, as to produce, through constant usage, a coalescence of its two component parts (N. + R.) into one single simple form, and the recognition and treatment of this compound form as a simple root. Such roots I designate *compound roots*. Thus there is in Skr. a paraphrased verb सुत् + कृ or फुत् + कृ blow, whence फुत्करोति he blows; this appears in Pr. as फुक्क्रे or फुक्क्रे and in E. H. as फूक्के. In Skr. the two component parts, N. फुत् and R. कृ, are still separate and clearly recognisable, but they have already in Pr. and still more in E. H. coalesced into one form, Pr. फुक्क, E. H. फूक्क which is now recognised in E. H. as a simple root; in reality it is compound. This process of amalgamation must have been already at work in old times, for among the recognised simple roots of Skr. are found several, which are clearly compound; as बुक्क bark (cf. H. C. 4, 169) = बू or वदू + कृ; धक्क destroy = धक् + कृ or धवत् + कृ (acc. sg. neut. of N. दह् or धवस्); फक्क swell = फदू + कृ; चिक्क pain = चत् + कृ; टक्क bind = तन् + कृ, etc. There can hardly

be a doubt as to the compound character (as above explained) of such roots; though the exact phonetic process, by which it was produced, may be obscure. The following may be found a probable explanation. It has been shown in § 348, that in Pr. passive roots are often employed in an active sense; and that sometimes they are recognisable by the termination एङ्, which is occasionally reduced to ञङ्. It is probable, therefore, that the Pr. form केङ् or कङ् (as in खोक्केङ् or खोक्कङ् Spt. 173 = Skr. खुत्करोति) is a passive-active form, or identical with the Skr. pass. क्रियते, used actively. There are in E. H. a few forms which support this view. Thus it has the form ञोढे which is both active (*he wears*) and passive or intrans. (*it is worn* or *it wears*); the corresponding Pr. forms would be उञ्जङ्ङ् or उञ्जङ्ङेङ्; and in Skr. we find the form उपद्रियते which is both pass. and act. (VIth class). In fact, in this particular case, the properly passive form उपद्रियते has already in Skr. assumed an active sense; for the usual active form of the R. धृ is धर्ति, of the Ist class. Similarly the R. मृ *die* is said to be in classic Skr. an active belonging to the VIth class (म्रियते). It is, however, really passive with an active sense¹); for the proper active voice, which has been lost in the classic Skr., but preserved in the Vedic and also in Pr. and E. H., is (like that of R. धृ) of the Ist cl. (मर्ति). It is precisely the same with the R. कृ *do*. Its Skr. pass. form क्रियते has come to be occasionally (i. e., in compound roots) used in Pr. as an active (of the VIth cl.). Its corresponding proper active form is (like that of the Rs. मृ and धृ) कर्ति, of the Ist class, and, though lost in classic Skr., still preserved in the Vedic and in Pr. (करङ्) and E. H. (करै). But although the Pr. केङ् or कङ् and the E. H. कै have generally assumed an active meaning, their original passive signification is still apparent enough in some cases. Thus E. H. बह्कै,

1) The change, in this case, was facilitated by the R. मृ being intrans. Besides, as both the VIth cl. and the pass. accentuate the suffixal vowel, there is absolutely no difference, externally, between the act. VIth cl. म्रियते *mriyâte* and the pass. म्रियते *mriyâte*.

from E. H. R. बह्क् *stray* (i. e., lit. *be turned out*, scl., *of the right path*) represents the Pr. बहिक्रइ or बहिक्रेइ and Skr. बहिक्रियते; or E. H. उचकै, of the E. H. root उचक् *be raised, rise*, representing the Pr. उचक्रइ or उचक्रेइ and Skr. (Vedic) उचाक्रियते *he is carried on high*, etc. ¹). It has been stated already that in such compositions the R. कृ was usually constructed with some simple derivative noun. The simplest form of a noun, derived from the simple root, is the root itself; as Skr. R. रुध् *hinder*, N. रुध् *hindrance*. The next simplest is a noun, formed by one of the krit-suffixes त् or ञ्; as Skr. R. च्यु *cease*, N. च्युत् *ceasing*; or R. कष *pain*, N. कष *pain*. In constructing such a noun with the R. कृ, it is, if it has the form of the simple root or is formed with the krit-suff. त्, immediately joined with the R. कृ; as N. रुध् *hindrance*, acc. sg. neut. रुत्, whence Cp. R. रुत् + कृ = E. H. रोक *hinder*; or N. च्युत् *ceasing*, acc. sg. neut. च्युत्, whence Cp. R. च्युत् + कृ = E. H. चुक् *cease*. Or if it is formed with the krit-suff. ञ्, it is joined with R. कृ by means of a connecting vowel, generally ई; e. g., N. कष *pain*, when Cp. R. कषीकृ = E. H. कसक् *pain* ²). It will be seen that in such compounds the initial क् *k* of the R. कृ or of its inflected form क्रियते is preceded either by a consonant or a long vowel; hence in Pr., according to its phonetic usages, the क् is always doubled, either by assimilating the consonant or shortening the vowel; thus Skr. रुत्-क्रियते = Pr. रुक्क्रेइ or रुक्कइ *he hinders*;

1) In the Vedas the R. कृ is also of the IInd cl., thus 3. sg. pres. parasm. कर्ति, atm. कते. The latter would be in Pr. क्रइ and by transfer into the Xth cl. (§ 347) क्रइ. This may serve as an alternative explanation, if the pass.-act. theory given in the text be not accepted.

2) This ई is, probably, the debris of an old case-ending. In Vedic Skr. occasionally ञा is used, which is also without doubt an old case-ending, such as we see, e. g., in Skr. बलात्कृतः lit. *violently treated, forced* (बलात् abl. sg. of बल *violence*); thus Ved. उचाक्रियते *he is carried up* = Pr. उचक्रेइ, E. H. उचकै *he rises*. As these C. Rs. were probably formed in very old times, it was possibly the connecting vowel ञा rather than ई, which was used in them. However, it makes no practical difference, whether it was ञा or ई; for in E. H. both are equally reduced to ञ.

Skr. च्युत्-क्रियते, Pr. चुक्ते or चुक्ते *he ceases*; Skr. कषीक्रियते = Pr. कसिक्ते or कसिक्ते *it pains*; indeed the doubling of क् is already insured by the following र् (in क्). In E. H., finally, according to its phonetic laws, the double क् is reduced to single क् (§ 143). Thus Pr. रुक्ते = E. H. रुक्ते (§ 148); Pr. चुक्ते = E. H. चुक्ते (§ 146); Pr. कसिक्ते = E. H. कसक्ते (§ 58). This explains the preservation in E. H. of the initial क् of the R. क्, which, therefore, is an almost unerring indication of the presence of a compound root, in which it now forms the terminal sound; thus E. H. चुक्ते *cease*, रुक्ते *hinder*, कसक्ते *pain*. Similarly E. H. चमक्ते *glitter*, 3. sg. pres. चमक्ते, Pr. *चमक्ते or *चमक्ते, Skr. *चमत्क्रियते, comp. of N. चमत् (onomatop.) and R. क् *do*, etc.

Note: Sometimes, though a C. R. does not exist in E. H., nominal derivatives of it do. Thus नक्ते *degraded, vile*, from the unused C. R. नक्, Pr. नक्ते, Skr. न्यक्ते *degrade* = नि-ञच्-क्.

354. It remains briefly to notice a small number of E. H. roots, which probably belong to the one or the other of the above mentioned two principal classes, but which I am not able satisfactorily to trace to a Skr. origin. They must have been subject to extreme phonetic deterioration. They may be divided into:

1) such as are, probably, primary roots; e. g., टस् *burst*, टम् *ver*, टेर *shout*, टेल् *remove*, टेव् *sharpen*, टो *handle, grope*, टाँस् *cram*, टो *carry*, तग् *stich*, तच् *be parched*, यित् *be congealed*, तिहुत् or त्योत् *bend*, पतर *drip*, पसा *skim*, पहुत् or पौत् *repose*, पैना *sharpen*, पो or पोव् or पौत् *make bread or thread*, मूच् *shut*, मुर *acquire a taste*, लच् *bend*, लट् *be laden*, लिउ or लील् *swallow*, लेट् *recline*, लोट् *turn over, return*, सन् *be mixed, be soiled* and tr. सान् *mix, soil*, सोत् *review*, हट् *be perverse*, हिच् *loathe*, etc.

2) such as are, probably, secondary roots, and divisible into:

- a) *denominative*; as गोहराव् *call*, इलग् *be kindled*, etc.; — b) *compound*; as जौक् *scold*, टोक् *prevent, challenge*, भटक् *go astray*, etc.; — c) to these may be added a class of roots which end in ल् or इ

(or *र*) or *ट*; as *टहल्* or *टहर्* *walk to and fro* (cf. N. *टहल्* f. *service, drudgery*); *ठहल्* or *ठहर्* *stop, remain* (cf. *ठहर्* or *ठौव्* a *place*); *ढकेल्* or *धकेल्* or *धकोल्* *shove* (cf. *ढक्का* or *धक्का* a *shove*); *बहल्* *pass agreeably, be amused* (cf. R. *बह* *flow*); *भिसल्* *be dazzled* (cf. Pr. R. *भिस* H. C. 4, 203 = Skr. *भास्*); *कगड्* *quarrel*; *लथड्* *be dragged* or *लथेड्* *draggle*; *लताड्* or *लतेड्* (lit. *kick*) *insult, exhaust by labour* (cf. *लात्* or *लत्* a *kick* and *लतर* an *old shoe*); *कपड्* *spring* or *कपेड्* *attack suddenly* (cf. *कप्* *quick*); *चपड्* *be flattened* or *चपेड्* *flatten* (cf. R. *चाप्* or *चौप्* *press* and N. *चाप्* a *bow*); *रपड्* *slip* or *रपेड्* *chase* (cf. *रापी* or *राँपी* an *iron scraper* or *knife*); *लपड्* *adhere* or *लपेड्* *enclose, fold* (cf. N. *लप्* *palm of the hand hollowed so as to hold water*); *घसड्* or *घसिड्* or *घसीड्* *drag* (cf. R. *घस्* *rub*); *बुकोड्* *scratch* (cf. *बुक्* or *बुक्का* *claw, a handful*). The forms with a penultimate long vowel are, as a rule, trans.; those with a short one, intrans. These roots, however, are not properly E. H. or E. Gd., but introduced from W. Gd. It will be shown (in § 476) that in W. Gd. there are causal roots in *घाल्* or *घला* (W. H.), *घाड* or *घवाड* (G.), *घारू* or *घरा* (S.); e. g., W. H. *घिठला* or *घिठाल्* *cause to sit*, G. *खवाड्* *cause to eat* (Ed. 114), S. *डियाड्* *cause to give*, *घारा* *cause to wound* (Tr. 256. 257). It seems probable, that these W. Gd. causals and the above mentioned (W. Gd.) secondary roots have an identical origin. There is, moreover, a curious analogy in Pashtu (see Tr. in J. G. O. S. XXXIII, 7 ff.). It has a class of secondary roots in *ēd* (infinit. in *ēdal*), which are, as a rule, intrans.; e. g., *bahēd* *flow* (cf. E. H. *बहल्*), *matēd* *be broken* (cf. Skr. *मृष्ट* *rubbed*); *kēd* *be done*; but occasionally trans.; e. g., *āvrēd* *hear*, *blōsēd* *torment*, *puštēd* *ask* (cf. Skr. *पृष्ट* *asked*). Occasionally the primary root exists also, as *zang* or *zangēd* *swing*, *kr* *do* and *kēd* *be done*; just as in E. H. *चौप्* and *चपेड्* *flatten*. And further, the causal roots may be made with *ēd* in Pashtu¹).

1) Trumpp explains the Rs. in *ēd* as being compounds with *kēd* *be done*. This might suit the intrans., but not the trans. and caus. Rs. in *ēd*; moreover the R. *kēd* itself requires to be explained; for it is clearly a derivative of the R. *kr* *do*.

The origin of these roots is very obscure. Possibly they are denominative roots, derived from nouns which are themselves again derived from others by the secondary or pleonastic suff. *अल, इल, अउ, etc.* (cf. §§ 209. 245) or *वट्* (cf. § 285). Or perhaps they may be compound roots, formed from the Skr. R. *वृत्* (Pr. *वट्*), of which the terminal *ट्* (or *अट्, एट्, एइ*) is the sole remnant, as *क्* (of R. *कृ*, Pr. *क्क*) is in the other compound roots. Thus Skr. *वर्षे वर्जते* *he is occupied in rubbing, he drags* = **वर्षवर्जयति* den. of **वर्षवर्ज*, Pr. **वस्सवट्* = **वस्सअट्* = **वस्सगट्* = E. H. *वसेटै* or *वसीटै*. At all events, in some cases, these roots have an alternative form, ending in *क्*; thus *कपट्* and *कपक्*; *चपट्* and *चपक्*; *लपट्* *cling* and *लपक्* *spring*; cf. also E. H. *ओचट्* and *ओचक्* *suddenly*.

355. There is also in E. H. a very small number of what may be called *tatsama* roots; viz., denom. roots formed from tats. nouns. Some are comparatively modern formations. Thus *गत्तु* *thunder* (Skr. *गर्ज*); *त्याग* *abandon* (Skr. *त्याग*); *धूप* *perfume* (Skr. *धूप*); *भोग* *enjoy* (Skr. *भोग*); *लोभ* *be enamoured* (Skr. *लोभ*), etc.

THIRD SECTION. INFLEXION OF NOUNS.

FIRST CHAPTER. THE SUBSTANTIVE.

1. FORMS OF THE SUBSTANTIVE.

356. Every subst. admits of three forms: the short, long and redundant. The short is the primary form, which is given in dictionaries, and by which it is generally known. It is, as a rule, the only one admissible in good or literary language. The other two forms are more or less vulgar. They are made by adding to the short form the pleon. suff. of the fourth and sixth sets of the first group, as explained in §§ 199. 200 (q. v.). E. g., masc. sh. f. *मोत्* *friend*, lg. f. *मितवा* or *वौ*, red. f. *मितोवा* or *वौ* or *मितौ*; fem. sh. f. *खाट्* *bed*, lg. f. *खटिया* or *वौ*, red. f. *खटियवा* or *वौ*;

masc. sh. f. बेटा *son*, lg. f. बेटवा or °वाँ, red. f. बेटौवा or °वाँ or बेटौ; fem. sh. f. सीता *Sitā*, lg. f. सितिया or °याँ, red. f. सितियवा or °वाँ; in इ; masc. sh. f. मुनि *sage*, lg. f. मुनिया or °याँ; rel. f. मुनियवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. आँखि *eye*, lg. f. आँखिया or °याँ; red. f. आँखियवा or °वाँ; in ई; masc. sh. f. भाई *brother*, lg. f. भइया or भैया or °याँ; red. f. भइयवा or भैयवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. धूरी *axe*, lg. f. धुरिया or °याँ; red. f. धुरियवा or धुरीवा or °वाँ; in उ; masc. sh. f. तह *tree*, lg. f. तहवा or °वाँ; red. f. तहयवा or तहूवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. पतोहु *daughter-in-law*, lg. f. पतोहुवा or °वाँ; red. f. पतोहुयवा or पतोहूवा or °वाँ; in उ; masc. sh. f. नाउ *barber*, lg. f. नउवा or नौवा or °वाँ; red. f. नउयवा or नौयवा or नऊवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. बहू *daughter-in-law*, lg. f. बहूवा or °वाँ; red. f. बहूयवा or बहवा or °वाँ, etc.

Note: Sometimes the W. H. long and red. forms are used; as कन्हैया or कन्हई *krishna*, रमै or रमैया *Rām*.

357. Many subst. (especially among those in अ) admit of two forms, a weak and a strong. Most of them, however, (especially those in इ and उ) exist in one of these forms only. The weak form is the original one; the other is made by adding to it the pleon. suff. of the first set of the first group, as explained in § 196 (q. v.). Thus 1) in अ or आ; masc. भेड़ or भेड़ा *ram*, माथ् or माथा *forehead*, बास् or बासा *dwelling*, बाल् or बाला *child*, etc.; fem. भेड़ी or भेड़ी *ewe*, लाह् or लाठी *staff*, मूह् or मूठी *fist*, etc.; in इ or ई; masc. very rare, e. g., ज्ञान (ज्ञानि) or ज्ञानी *wise man*; fem. बाति or बाती *wick, light*, बहिनि or बहिनी *sister*, etc.; in उ or ऊ; masc. very rare, e. g., पोलु or पोलू *elephant*; fem. बहु or बहू *daughter-in-law*, पतोहु or पतोहू *daughter-in-law*. 2) Only in अ; masc. सोनार् *goldsmith*, कहार् *porter*, देव *god*, बाघ् *tiger*, बैल् *ox*, घर *house*, नाम् *name*, फूल् *flower*, पेट् *stomach*, पेड़ *tree*, etc.; fem. बात् *word, event*, नाँक् *nose*, नीँदू *sleep*, etc. 3) Only in आ; masc. लरिका or झोकरा *boy*, बनिया *merchant*, घोरा *horse*, काँठा *thorn*, कुत्ता *dog*, मोटा *footstool*, etc.; fem. only tats., as दुर्गा *Durgā*, सीता *Sitā*, or semitats., as किरपा *mercy*, etc. 4) Only in इ, rarely; masc. generally tats., as मुनि *a Muni*, or semitats., as रिखि *a Rishi*, etc.; fem. आगि *fire*, आँखि *eye*, etc. 5) Only in ई; masc. धोबी *washerman*,

माती *gardener*, तेली *oilman*, हाथी *elephant*, नाती *grandchild*, भाई *brother*, बहिनोई *brother-in-law*, कोळी *leper*, पानी *water*, मोती *pearl*, घी *clarified butter*; fem. घोरी *mare*, बिल्ली *cat*, लरिकी or झोकरि *girl*, माई *mother*, टोपी *hat*, सीरी *drain*, माखी *fly*, etc. 6) Only in उ; rarely, masc. तत् *tree*, गुरु *teacher*, etc.; fem. देस्त. 7) Only in उ; masc. नाउ *barber*, पहरा *watchman*, हिन्दू *a Hindu*, घालू *potlato*, पेदू or खाउ *glutton*, etc.; fem. मेहरारू *woman*, जोरू *wife*, तलू *leech*, बालू *sand*, etc.

Note: On the meaning of these various forms, see § 201.

2. GENDER.

358. There are only two genders, the masculine and the feminine. No practically workable rules can be given to recognise the gender of a subst. by its termination; excepting, that short forms in आ (exc. tats., like दुर्गा) are always masc.; e. g., घोरा *horse*, हाँडी *pot*, गोला *ball*, जूता *shoe*, etc., and that such short forms in ई, as have a synonymous masc. in आ, are always fem.; e. g., घोरी *mare*, हाँडी *pot*, गोली *bullet*, जूती *shoe*, etc. As a rule E. H. subst. retain the gender which they had in Skr.; but Skr. neut. become masc. in E. H. This affords, on the whole, a safe guide for those who can use it. Where there is a natural gender, that of course, determines the grammatical gender also. For the rest, the gender must be learned by practice.

359. The difficulty of determining the gender of E. H. words by their termin., is easily explained. Compare §§ 42 to 53. The termin. ई and उ must be uncertain, because they are contractions of the Mg. Pr. termin. masc. इए or उए, fem. इआ or उआ; thus Pr. fem. घोडिआ *mare* = E. H. घोरी; but Mg. Pr. masc. तेलिए *oilman* is likewise = E. H. तेली; again Mg. Pr. fem. बालुआ *sand* = E. H. बालू, but Mg. masc. बिच्छुए *scorpion* is also = E. H. बिछू. — The E. H. termin. इ and उ must be uncertain, because they were so even in Pr. and Skr., where their nom. sg. in ई and उ (Pr.) or इ, उ: (Skr.) may be of either gender. — On the other hand, since the Pr. termin. आ, whether masc. or

fem., always becomes *अ* in E. H. (e. g., Pr. masc. *राजा* or *राज king*, E. H. *राय* or *रै*; Pr. fem. *वत्ता word*, E. H. *वात्*), no E. H. short form in *अ* can be fem. (always excepting tats., which have not passed through Pr.); and since every final E. H. *अ* of a short form stands for a Mg. masc. *अए*, therefore all E. H. short forms in *अ* must be masc. Similarly, since every final E. H. *ई* of a short form, which corresponds to a synonymous masc. short form in *अ*, stands for a Pr. fem. *इआ*, all such E. H. short forms in *ई* must be fem. — Finally the termin. *अ* of E. H. long and redundant forms must be uncertain, because it is a contraction of the Mg. Pr. gen. termin. masc. *आह*, fem. *आअ* (§§ 369, 2. 865, 1); e. g., E. H. *नतिआ grandchild* = Mg. *नत्तिआह* (Skr. *नप्तृकः*, H. C. 1, 137); but E. H. *बुद्धिआ old woman* is also = Mg. *बुद्धिआअ*. — The number of words, which are masc. or neut. in Skr., but fem. in E. H., is limited; and in the case of most of them the change had already taken place in Pr. Thus (see Vr. 4, 26. H. C. 1, 35. S. C. 1, 1. 53) Skr. n. *अक्षि eye*, Pr. n. *अच्छि* or f. *अच्छो* or **अकलो*, E. H. f. *अँलि*; Skr. m. *रश्मि cord*, Pr. m. or f. *रस्सो*, E. H. f. *रस्सो*¹); Skr. m. *अक्षलि handful*, Pr. m. or f. *अक्षलो*, E. H. f. (also m.) *अक्षलि*; Skr. *अलि offering*, Pr. m. or f. *अलो*, E. H. f. *अली*; Skr. m. *विधि (good) conduct*, Pr. m. or f. *विही*, E. H. f. *बिही*; Skr. n. *पृष्ठम् back*, Pr. n. *पिट्ठ* or f. *पिट्ठी*, E. H. f. *पोह*; Skr. m. *कुक्षि belly*, Pr. m. or f. *कुच्छी*, E. H. f. *कोह* or *कोल्*; Skr. n. *चौर्यम्*, Pr. n. *चोरिअ* (Vr. 3, 20) or f. *चोरिआ* (Spt. 210), E. H. f. *चोरी*¹). Again Skr. m. *ग्रन्थि knot*, Pr. m. or f. *गंठी* (H. C. 1, 35), E. H. f. *गँह* (also m.); Skr. m. *बाहु arm*, Pr. m. *बाहू* or f. *बाहा* (H. C. 1, 36. S. C. 1, 1. 54), E. H. f. *बाह* or *बाँह*; Skr. n. *अन्तम् intestines*, Pr. f. *अंती* (in Ap. *अंत्रडी* H. C. 4, 445. T. V. 3, 4. 69), E. H. f. *अँत*; Skr. n. *अस्थि or अस्थिकम् bone*, Pr. n. *अट्ठिअ* (cf. Spt. 100) or f. *अट्ठी* (H. C. 2, 32), E. H. f. *अँठी*. To these may

1) The Pr. fem. *चोरिआ* is really a different word, i. e., = Skr. *चौरिका* (cf. Wb. Spt. 45); so also the E. H. fem. *रस्सो* is really derived from the masc. *रस्सा*; see §§ 257. 262.

be added, as examples of what seem to be purely E. H. changes, E. H. f. अग्नि *fire*, Skr. m. अग्निः, Pr. m. अग्नी (Vr. 5, 18. S. R. fol. 9^b); E. H. f. देह *body* (but S. m. डेहु), Skr. m. देहः, Pr. m. देहो (Spt. A, 63); E. H. f. सोह् *oath*, Skr. m. प्रापयः or n. प्रापयम्, Pr. m. सवहो (Vr. 2, 15) or n. सवहं (Spt. 361); E. H. f. बिंदू or बिंदी or बूंद or बूंदी *drop*, Skr. m. बिन्दुः, Pr. m. बिंदू or n. बिंदुं (H. C. 1, 34. S. C. 1, 1. 52); E. H. बार्ह *wind*, Skr. m. वायुः, Pr. m. वाउ (Vr. 5, 18)¹. The strong E. H. forms बिंदी (or बूंदी) and बार्ह seem to be diminutives (Pr. *विदिन्ना, *वाइन्ना) and to presuppose Pr. fem. forms *विदिता, *वायिता; just as Pr. fem. वाहा and masc. वाहू *arm*. Curious anomalies are, E. H. वस्तु *thing* (S. regularly tadbh. वस्तु fem. Tr. 105) and धातु *metal* (also वस्तु and धातु), which are masc., but are sometimes used as fem., though they are tats., which always keep their original gender, in this case n. and m. respectively in Skr. Of words in which the gender has changed from fem. in Skr. to masc. in E. H., there is, I believe, only one; and the change took place in Pr.; viz., Skr. fem. प्रवृष *rainy season*, Pr. m. पाउसो (Vr. 4, 18. H. C. 1, 31. S. C. 1, 1. 50), E. H. m. पाउस् or पावस्²). As regards the change of Skr. neut. to E. H. masc., it had already taken place in Pr., in the case of all neut. ending in the cons. न् and स् (Vr. 4, 18. H. C. 32. Wb. Bh. 404. 420); thus Skr. n. कर्म (base कर्मन्) *work*, A. Mg. m. कम्मे (Bh. 163. 167) or Mh. कम्मो, E. H. m. कम्; Skr. n. वज्रः *renown*, A. Mg. m. जस्से (Bh. 420) or Mh. जसो, E. H. m. जस्; Skr. n. उरस् *breast*, A. Mg. m. उरे, E. H. उर; Skr. n. पयस् *milk*, A. Mg. m. पये, E. H. m. पय or पै; Skr. n. चक्षुस् *eye*, Pr. m. चक्खू (H. C. 1, 33. S. C. 1, 1. 51, also n. चक्खुं), E. H. m. चक्, etc. Sometimes also the change took

1) E. H. f. तौत् *string* is not = Skr. m. तन्तुः (as Bs. II, 174 after Tr. 59 says), but = Skr. f. तन्ती. — The E. H. बार्ह *wind*, however, is more probably = Skr. f. वातिः.

2) The other word mentioned by the Pr. Gramm., m. सर्द्धो = Skr. f. शर्द्ध, occurs in E. H. only as a fem. semitats. सर्द्ध. — There is, however, also a Skr. m. प्रवृषः.

place in the case of neut. in श् (Skr. nom. sing. शम्; see H. C. 1, 33. S. C. 1, 1. 51), especially in Mg. (Wb. Bh. 416. Ls. 399. 408. 429) and in Ap. (H. C. 4, 445. Ls. 461. 476); thus Skr. n. कुलम् *family*, Pr. n. कुलं or m. कुलो, Ap. m. कुलु (H. C. 4, 361), E. H. m. कुल; Skr. n. दुःखम्, A. Mg. n. दुःखं or m. दुःखे (Bh. 190. 191), E. H. m. दुःख; Skr. n. नयनम् *eye*, Pr. n. पाशपां or m. पाशपो or पाशपो, E. H. m. नयन् or नैन; Skr. n. वचनम् *word*, Pr. n. वचपां or m. वचपो or वयपो, Ap. वयपु (H. C. 4, 387), E. H. वयन् or वैन; Skr. n. लोचनम् *eye*, Pr. n. लोचपां or m. लोचपो or लोयपो, E. H. m. लोयन्; Skr. n. हृदयम् *heart*, Pr. n. हिम्रं (Vr. 1, 28) or Mg. m. हियर् (Bh. 394, also हड्के) or Mh. हिम्रो (Urv. 23, 10 in Pl. Diss. 5), E. H. m. हिया; Skr. n. धनम् *wealth*, Mg. m. धपो (Vr. 11, 11) or Ap. धपु (H. C. 4, 358), E. H. m. धन्; Skr. n. शिरस् *head*, Mh. n. सिरं (H. C. 1, 32), but Ap. m. सिर (H. C. 4, 445), E. H. m. सिर. In Gd. (exc. M., G. and exceptionally W. H.) the Pr. tendency to change neut. into masc. is extended to all neut.; thus Skr. n. दाम् (base दामन्) *string*, Pr. n. दामं (H. C. 1, 32), but E. H. m. दाम् (sometimes even fem.); Skr. n. गृहम् *house*, Pr. n. घर, M. n. घर, but E. H. m. घर; Skr. n. घृतम् *clarified butter*, Pr. n. घिअं, M. n. घो, but E. H. m. घो; Skr. n. दधिकम् *sour milk*, Pr. n. दहिअं, M. n. दही, but E. H. m. दही; Skr. n. पानीयम् *water*, Pr. n. पाणिअं (Vr. 1, 18), M. n. पानी, but E. H. m. पानी; Skr. n. मौक्तिकम् *pearl*, Pr. n. मोत्तिअं (Spt. 314), M. n. मोती, but E. H. m. मोती; Skr. n. मस्तिकम् *head*, Pr. n. मत्तिअं, M. n. माती, but E. H. m. माथी; Skr. n. सुवर्णकम् *gold*, Pr. n. सोलअं or सोलयं (cf. Spt. 194), O. H. सोनयं, M. n. सोने, but E. H. m. सोना; Skr. n. अश्रुकम् *tear*, Pr. n. अंसुअं, M. n. अंसू, but E. H. m. अंसू (O. H. अंसुअ in Chand Devagiri 22); Skr. n. युगम् *yoke*, Pr. n. जुअं, M. n. जू, but E. H. m. जू or strong form जुआ; Skr. (st. f.) n. कर्तव्यकम् *doing*, Pr. n. करिअवुअं, Ap. n. करेवुउं (H. C. 4, 438) or करिवुउं, W. H. n. करिबौ or m. करिबो, O. m. करिबा, E. H. (wk. f.) m. करिब or करब्.

360. *Affinities.* As regards the gender of nouns, E. H. occupies an intermediate position. The M. and G. have preserved the three genders of the Skr. and Pr. Again B. and O. distinguish

no gender at all. But E. H. has at least two genders, masc. and fem. Generally speaking it agrees in that respect with W. H., P., S. and N.; though traces of the old neut. survive in W. H. in the infinitives in *अनौ* and *इअौ* or *अअौ*, as indicated by the final *anunásika*. — All the above mentioned E. H. instances of change of gender are common to W. H. and, as a rule, to the other Gds. also.

3. NUMBER.

361. There are only two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plur. of nouns, which signify *rational beings*, is formed 1) generally by adding the noun *लोग्* *people*, without any change in the sing. noun; or 2) less commonly by using the same form of the noun as in the sing. Thus *disciples* may be either *चेलालोग्* or less frequently *चेला*, from sing. *चेला*; or *daughters* *बेटीलोग्* or *बेटी*, from sg. *बेटी*. The plur. of any other being or thing can, generally, be formed only in the second way. Thus *horses* is *घोरा* but not *घोरालोग्*; *words* is *वात्*, not *वातलोग्*, from the sing. *घोरा* and *वात्*. In such cases, if the noun be in the nom. case, the context must decide its number. The plural, formed with *लोग्*, I shall call the *compound*, the other the *simple*.

Exception. A few nouns optionally form anomalous plurals, as *तन्* *man*, pl. *तने*; *मनुख्* *man*, pl. *मनइ*.

362. The termination of the subst. suffers no change in the sing. nor in the nom. and acc. *proper* of the plur.; but in the oblique cases of the plur. the suff. *अन्*, *इन्*, *उन्* are added to subst. in *अ* or *आ*, *इ* or *ई*, *उ* or *ऊ* respectively. In the case of the comp. plur. they may be added either to the noun itself or, as is more common, to the plur. sign *लोग्*. The form thus made, I shall call the *oblique plural*; that of the obl. cases of the sing. and of the nom. and acc. *proper* of the (simple) plur., the *oblique sing.*; and that of the nom. sing., the *direct form*. See examples in § 379.

Exception. Subst. in *ई*, signifying *inanimate objects*, do

not make the oblique plur. (with इन्) in the short, but only in the long and red. forms; see examples in § 379.

363. *Affinities.* 1) In E. H. the nom. and acc. *proper* of the simple plur. of all subst. are identical with the obl. form of the sing.; the reason of which will be explained in § 369. The same, in principle, is the case in all Gds., except in O. and, partially, M. In the latter the fem. and neut. subst. have a special dir. form of the plur., whilst in O. there is no simple plur. at all (exc. in the plur. sign माने, see below Nro. 2. 3). But the B. and N. are peculiar in adding to the obl. sg. a special case-affix to denote its nom.-plur.-application; viz., B. र, N. र्; and N. has the further peculiarity of using an archaic obl. sg. in दे or ह (see §§ 364, 3. 365, 6). Thus E. H. obl. sg. चेला, nom. pl. चेला *disciples*, W. H. obl. sg. चेले, nom. pl. चेले; B. obl. sg. चेला, nom. pl. चेला-र, N. old obl. sg. चेलाहे or चेलाह, nom. pl. चेलाहे-र् or चेलाह-र्, etc.; for other examples see §§ 364, 3. 369, 1. — 2) The E. H. has both a simple and a comp. plur., the former for all subst., the latter (as a rule) for those only which denote *rational beings*. Formerly the O. also had, for subst. denoting rational beings, a simple plur. which, in the case of ञ-bases, ended in ए (see Bs. II, 198; e. g., कुमारे pl. of कुमार *boy*); but now the comp. plur. (made with माने) only is used. For all other subst. the O. has no plur. at all (see Sn. 14). None of the other Gds. possess a comp. plur.; B. using the simple plur. for rational beings only (S. Ch. 44. 53); the rest of the Gds., for all subst. alike. The comp. plur. is made, in O. with माने, obl. f. मानन्, in E. H. with लोग्, obl. f. लोगन्. Thus nom. pl. E. H. चेला or चेला-लोग् *disciples*, O. चेला-माने; dat. pl. E. H. चेलन्-के or चेला-लोगन्-के, O. चेला-मानन्-कु. It should be observed, however, that, for the purpose of emphasizing the plur. meaning, a periphrastic plur. may be formed in all Gds. for any subst. whatsoever, by appending to the sing. some suitable collective noun, such as गण् *troop*, वर्ग *class*, सकल or सब् *all*, etc. — 3) All Gds. have an obl. f. of the simple plur. (see

table, below), exc. the N., B. and, apparently, G. which use the form of the nom. pl. in the obl. cases also. Thus E. H. nom. pl. चेला, obl. चेलन्; H. H. चेले, obl. चेलो, etc.; but G. nom. and obl. चेलाच् or (variously spelled) चेलाउ or चेलाओ. However, in G. the final *anunásika* (Pr. *anuvára*), which usually distinguishes the obl. plur. (see § 368, 6), may have been dropped. Where there is no simple plur., as in O., there can be, of course, no obl. plur. But the O. and E. H. comp. plur. signs माने and लोग् (see Nro. 2) form a regular obl. pl. मानन् and लोगन्. As to the N. and B., see § 364, 2. 3. — 4) As regards the sing., the general tendency of the Gds. is to assimilate the obl. to the dir. form. In the E. Gd. the assimilation is complete, no subst. (of whatever termin.) having its obl. differing from its dir. form. In W. Gd. (exc. S.) and N. Gd., it is almost complete, the only exceptions being strong nouns in ञा. In S. the obl. form of masc. nouns in उ and ओ, and of com. gen. nouns in ई and उ is different from the direct. In S. Gd. the two forms differ in most nouns of whatever termination. It must, however, in all cases be understood, that the obl. f., though *now* it may outwardly be the same as the dir., is not really identical with it, but has a different origin, as will be shown in § 365. Thus nom. sg. A. Mg. सामिर् or सामिन् = dir. f. M. and E. H. सामी, or nom. sg. Mh. सामिओ, Ap. सामिउ = dir. f. S. सामी *lord*; and gen. sg. A. Mg. सामिन्नाह = obl. f. M. साम्या, E. H. (lg. f.) समिया; or gen. sg. Ap. सामिन्नाहो or ०हु = obl. f. O. H. सामिन्नाह, S. सामिन्नाह, W. H. and E. H. सामी. Again nom. sg. A. Mg. घोउर् or घोउन् = dir. f. M. and E. H. घोउ, or nom. sg. Mh. घोउओ, Ap. घोउउ = dir. f. S. घोउे; and gen. sg. A. Mg. घोउन्नाह = obl. f. M. घाउ्या (for *घोउया), E. H. (lg. f.) घोउ्या; or gen. sg. Ap. घोउन्नाहो or घोउन्नाहे = obl. f. O. H. घोउन्नाह or O. P. घोउन्नाहि, G., W. H., E. H. घोउ, P., H. H. घोउ. — 5) The subjoined tables give a comparative view of the various terminations of the Gd. dir. and obl. forms. Observe, that where a form is not ascribed to any particular Gd., it belongs to all; and where no gender is mentioned, it is common.

Direct forms singular

of weak bases	in अ	अ; exc. S., O. H., O. P. उ m., अ f.
	in इ	इ; exc. M., H. H. इ m. n., इ or अ f.
	in उ	उ.
of strong bases	in आ	E. Gd., H. H., P. आ m., Br. आ or ओ m., Mw., S., N. ओ m., G. ओ m., उँ n., M. आ or उ m., ऐँ or उँ n., O. H. ओ or अय m. अयँ n.
	in ई	ई; exc. M. ई m. f., ईँ n., O. H. ई m., इय f.
	in उ	उ; exc. M. उ m. f., उँ n., G. उ c. g.

Direct forms plural in M.

of weak bases	in अ	आ f., ऐँ n.	of strong bases	in आ	ईँ or ऐँ n.
	in इ	ई f.		in ई	या f., ऐँ n.
	in उ	deest		in उ	आ f., वेँ n.

Oblique forms singular

of weak bases	in अ	अ; exc. B. अ or ऐ, M. आ m. n., ऐ f., O. H. अ or अह or अहि, O. P. अ or अहि.
	in इ	इ; exc. M. ई, O. H. इ or इह or इहि, O. P. इ or इहि.
	in उ	उ; exc. M. उ, O. H. उ or उह or उहि.
of strong bases	in आ	B., O., E. H., Mw. आ m., Br. आ or ऐ m., H. H., P., S. ऐ m., M. या or आ m. n., G. आ m., आँ n., O. H. अअह or अअहि m. n.
	in ई	ई; exc. S. इअ, M. या m. n., ये f. or ई c. g., O. H. इअह or इअहि.
	in उ	उ; exc. S. उअ, M. वा m. n., वे f. or उ c. g., O. H. उअह or उअहि.

Oblique forms plural

of weak bases	in अ	E. H. अन्, H. H. ओँ, Br. ओँ or अन् or अनि, Mw., M. आँ, P. आँ m., ईआँ f., G. ओ, S. आँ or ऐँ or अनि c. g., उनि f., O. H. आन् or अन् or अन्ह or अन्हि.
	in इ	E. H. इन्, H. H. इयोँ, Br. इयोँ or इन् or इनि, Mw. याँ, P. इआँ, G. इओ, M. ईँ, S. इआँ or इऐँ or इनि or इअनि or इउनि, O. H. इन् or इन्ह or इन्हि.
	in उ	E. H. उन्, H. H. उओँ, Br. उन or उनि, Mw., P. उआँ, G. उओ, S. उनि, M. उँ, O. H. उन् or उन्ह or उन्हि.

N. B., in B., O., N. *deest* throughout.

of strong bases	in अ	P. इअँ m, S. अँ or ऐँ or अनि m., G. आव् (or आओ) m., अँ n., M. यँ or अँ m. n.	the rest as in the weak bases.
	in ई	Br. इयँ or इयन् or इयनि or इन or इनि, P. ईअँ, G. ईओ, M. यँ or ईँ.	
	in उ	Br. उअँ or उअन् or उअनि or उन् or उनि, P. उअँ, S. उअँ or उऐँ or उअनि or उनि, M. वँ or उँ.	

Obl. forms used as nom. plur.

of weak bases	in अ	B. अ-रा or ए-रा, N. अहे-न् or अह-न्, E.H. अ, H.H. अ m., ऐँ f., Br., O.H. अ m., ऐँ f., Mw. अ m., अँ f., P. अ m., इअँ f., S. अ m., अँ or उँ f., M. अ m., G. अ m., ओ c. g.	
	in इ	B. इ-रा, N. इहे-न् or इह-न्, E.H. इ, H.H., Br. इ m., इयँ f., Mw. इ m., यँ f., P. इ m., इअँ f., S. इ m., इउँ f., G. इ m., इओ c. g., M. इ c. g.	
	in उ	B. उ-रा, N. उहे-न् or उह-न्, E.H. उ, H.H., W.H., P. उ m. उअँ f., S. उ m., उँ f., G. उ m. or उओ c. g., M. उ.	
N.B., in O. <i>dee</i> st throughout.			
of strong bases	in आ	B. आ-रा, N. आहे-न् or आह-न्, E.H., Mw., S. आ m., H.H., P. ए m., Br. आ or ए m., G. आ or आव् m., अँ or ओँव् n., M. ए or उ m.	
	in ई	B. ई-रा, N. ईहे-न् or ईह-न्, E.H. ई, G. ईओ, H.H. ई m., इयँ f., Br. ई m., ईँ or इयँ f., Mw. ई m., यँ f., P. ई m., ईअँ f., S. ई m., ईयूँ f., M. ई m.	
	in उ	B. उ-रा, N. उहे-न् or उह-न्, E.H., S. उ, H.H., W.H. उ m., उअँ f., P. उ m., उअँ f., G. उओ or उ c. g., M. उ m.	
N.B., in O. <i>dee</i> st throughout.			

Note: It will be observed, that in W. Gd. the obl. plur. of weak nouns in इ and उ generally adopts the obl. termin. of strong nouns in ई and उ, and vice versa in E. H. the obl. plur. of strong nouns in आ, ई, उ the obl. termin. of the weak nouns in अ, इ, उ.

364. *Derivation of the plural signs.* 1) The O. माने or, shortened, मान is, probably, identical with the E. H. plur. मनइ men (§ 361, exc.; from Skr. मानव *man*; not मान *measure*, as Bs. II, 199), and is a plur. noun with the old termination ए, obl.

अन् (see § 363, 2). The E. H. लोग् *men* (Skr. लोक § 102) is also a plur. noun, as shown by its obl. f. लोगन् (§ 363, 2), and, like मान, is shortened for लोगे. The shortened form मान is not used with rational beings (see Sn. 11). — 2) The B. is generally said to form a comp. plur. with the pl. sign दिग्, which is sometimes (see Bs. II, 200) believed to be none other than the Skr. दिक् *region, side*. But there can be little doubt, that this identification is a mistake. For a) the B. दिग् ends in (quiescent) घ, while the Skr. दिक् does not; b) a final Skr. क् would not become ग् in either Pr. or Gd.; c) the Skr. दिक् is merely the nom. sg. of the base दिष्, while the B. दिग्, if anything, is an obl. f., i. e., equal to the Skr. gen. sg. (see § 366) which is दिष्ः (Pr. दिसो or rather दिसार्, cf. H. C. 1, 19. 3, 30); d) the sg. दिष् (or nom. दिक्) is not a collective noun and, therefore, could not serve to form a plur.; on the other hand e) in the plur. (like माने, लोग) it would be Skr. दिष्ः, Pr. दिसाघो, which would not produce the B. दिग्. I am inclined to believe, that दिग् is not a real word, but merely a compound of two case-affixes. The ordinary B. gen. pl. ends in देरू. This I divide into दे (base) and र (case-aff.), just as in the gen. sg.; thus देवदेरू *of gods* = देवदे-रू, just as देवेरू *of a god* = देवे-रू (see § 365, 6). Here देवदे, like देवे, is an obl. f.; its dir. f. would be देवदा (or देवद); and, in fact, the two forms, thus deduced, are the same as the P. gen. sg. देव-दा and its obl. f. देव-दे. It should be observed that the B. uses the gen. sg. to serve as a plur. base (see § 369); its nom. pl. देवे-रा *gods* is but the st. f. of its gen. sg. देवे-रू *of a god*. Similarly it uses an other (now obsolete) gen. sg. देव-दा, to serve as the pl. base of the obl. cases, which are made by adding certain case-affixes. Before the latter, as usual, the base is inflected, i. e., देव-दा becomes देव-दे, and with the gen. aff. रू it is देव-दे-रू. With the dat. aff. के it ought to be देव-दे-के; but के has a tendency to change to गे (just as in W. H. among the *Mairs* the gen. aff. are गो, गा, etc. for जो, का; in N. गरू *to do* for करू) and दे to become दि (just as the B. and E. H. dat. aff. के is in O. कि); hence it is देव-दि-गे

(or देवदिगे, as it is commonly spelled, see S. Ch. 58, with two ग्, to compensate for the shortening of ए). Similarly with the loc.-aff. ते or के-ते, it is देव-दि-गे-ते (just as, e. g., in H. H. dat.-acc. उस-के-तई^३ to him, lit. up to him). In course of time this origin was forgotten and an imaginary noun दिग formed, and henceforth treated like a real noun. Thus a dat. दिग्-के and a gen. दिगेर् was made. The form दिगेर्, however, is, according to S. Ch. 50 not commonly used in speaking, which points to a surviving consciousness on the part of the people of the unfitness of the formation. The occurrence of the ordinary P. gen.-aff. दा in B., at the two furthest extremities of the Gd. area, is no doubt remarkable; but it is by no means the only fact of its kind. Thus there is the same peculiar auxil. past tense in the O. चैला he was and in S. चियो, P. या; and indeed the ordinary B. and O. gen.-aff. रू occurs also in the distant Mw. रो (see § 377, 1). In each case, these words are almost entirely absent in the intermediate Gds.; though occasionally यो and दा are met with in W. H. (see Kl. 70. 157), and या and यो are the regular forms in H. H. and N. respectively, and रू occurs in the plur. of N. (see Nro. 3). It will be shown also in § 377, 3, that the B. instr.-aff. दिया is connected with the gen.-aff. दा. — 3) There is a close analogy between the N. and B. plur. The former is made by adding हेर् or हर् to the sing. But these plur. signs are not, as it has been supposed, nouns, but are compounded of the old gen. or obl. termin. हे or ह (see § 365, 6) and the gen.-aff. रू, which is identical with the B. gen.-aff. रू, but has preserved the old termin. उ. In fact, the N. plur. termin. हेर् is identical with the B. gen. termin. (एर्) and the B. plur. termin. एर्; the latter being the st. f., the other two wk. forms. Thus N. देवहे-र् or देवह-र् gods = B. देवे-र् (or gen. देवे-रू). The B. ए is but a contraction of the older form अहे or अहि. In the O. Gd. the gen. or obl. sg. in अहे or अहि or अह or (shortened) ए was used as a nom. plur. (see § 369); e. g., जने men = जनहि lit. of man scl. multitude; and in order to make it a plur. base capable of declension, the declinable



gen.-aff. ह् or (st. f.) ण (a curtailed nomin. base, § 377) was added. Thus the N. जनह-ह् (originally a gen. sg., = Ap. Pr. जनहो केह्) is now a plur. base, which can be regularly declined; e. g., gen. जनह-ह-को of men, dat. जनह-ह-लाइ to men, etc. Similarly in B.; only instead of declining the plur. base जन-ण, it substitutes in the obl. cases an other plur. base जन-दा or जन-द, which was also originally a gen. sg. Thus gen. जन-दे-रू of men, dat. जन-दि-गे to men, etc. But, as in the case of the B. दिग्, the true nature of the N. हेह् or ह् is now forgotten, and it is supposed to be a real noun; see also § 369, 1.

365. *Derivation of the obl. terminations.* It will be seen from the table of obl. termin. (§ 363), that they are divisible into two great types, of which those of the M. and S. are respectively most characteristic, and which can be best distinguished in the sing. In M. the sg. obl. forms end in a long, in S. in a short vowel. Thus M. obl. sg. (wk. f.) m. ञा, f. ए, m. f. ई, m. f. ऊ, and (st. f.) m. ञा, ञा, f. ये, ये; again obl. pl. (wk. f.) m. f. ञाँ, ईँ, ऊँ, and (st. f.) m. f. ञाँ, ञाँ. But in S. obl. sg. (wk. f.) m. f. ञ, इ, उ, and (st. f.) m. f. ञा or ए (= ञञ), इञ, उञ (or in the other Gds. contracted ई, ऊ); again obl. pl. (wk. f.) m. f. ञाँ or ऐ (in W. H. ञाँ, ञाँ), and (st. f.) m. f. इञाँ or इऐ, उञाँ or उऐ (in W. H. इयाँ or इयाँ, उयाँ or उयाँ). To the S. type belong the W. and N. Gds.; to the M. type, of course, the S. Gd. (i. e. M.), though exceptionally, a few forms of the S. type have found admittance into M.; viz., the M. strong obl. forms in ञा, ई, ऊ. The E. Gds. again are a mixture of both; for their short (incl. weak and strong) forms are of the S. type, and their long forms of the M. This double character can be best seen in E. H. — The original of the Gd. oblique form is the Pr. genitive (see § 366). The obl. f. of the M. type goes back to the M. gen.; that of the S. type to the Ap. gen. — 1) *Deriv. of the Mg. type.* The suff. of the gen. sg. are in Mg. Pr. ञ (or ञा = Skr. ञ) or इ (Vr. 11, 12. H. C. 4, 299), which are added indifferently to all three kinds of bases in ञ, इ and उ of whatever gender (see § 367).

Before ह the final of the base is lengthened. Thus there are two sets of Mg. gen. termin.: 1) अस्स, इस्स, उस्स and 2) अह, ईह, उह or, with strong bases, 1) अअस्स, इअस्स, उअस्स and 2) अआह, ईआह, उआह. In M. (representing the old Dk. Pr. of the Mg. Pr. type, see Introd.) the 1st set becomes (§§ 143. 147) आत्, ईत्, उत् or (st. f.) यात् (for अयात् or इआत्), वात् (for उआत्), and the 2nd set (dropping ह¹) आ, ई, उ or (st. f.) या (for अया or इआ), वा (for उआ). In the E. H. (= old A. Mg. Pr.) only the 2nd set occurs; viz., (lg. f.) अवा, इवा, उवा (with euph. य् and व्). Both sets are preserved in the M. dat., which is identical with the old gen. (see Vr. 6, 64); thus M. देवास् or देवा to a God = Dk. Pr. देवस्स or देवाह, Skr. देवस्य. But, in M., the first set is also preserved in its proper gen. sense in the so-called post-position आढी, which is really a compound of the gen. termin. स् and the post-position आढी (= Ap. Pr. अट्टहिं, Skr. अर्थे for the sake of); thus M. देवासाढी lit. for the sake of God, i. e. देवास् आढी = Dk. Pr. देवस्स अट्टहिं, Skr. देवस्य अर्थे. The 2nd set is used as the termin. of the ordinary M. and E. H. obl. form, and as such retains its old gen. sense. Thus M. dat. देवा लाई lit. for the benefit of God = Dk. देवाह लाहहिं, Skr. देवस्य लाभे; or (lg. f.) M. देव्या लाई = Dk. देवयाह लाहहिं, Skr. देवकस्य लाभे; or E. H. dat. देववा के lit. at the side of God, A. Mg. देवआह कहि, Skr. देवकस्य कन्ते. — 2) The suff. of the gen. sg. of fem. nouns in आ, ई and उ is in Pr. ए (= Skr. यात्) or, shortened, इ or अ (Vr. 5, 22. 23. H. C. 3, 29. 30). The form अ is, evidently, the latest, whence it passed into Gd. Thus the latest Mg. Pr. gen. termin. are: आअ, ईअ, उअ or, with strong bases, इआअ, उआअ. In M., these become ए (for आय with euph. य्), ई and उ (dropping अ), and (st. f.) ये, वे (for याय, वाय); and in E. H., (lg. f.) इया, उआ or उवा (dropping अ and inserting euph.

1) As to the Gd. tendency to drop a final ह, see § 32. In the O. H. of Chand *shāh* king is often spelled सा, and *sih* lion सी; e. g., करी आनि साहाब सा बन्धि मोरी, *Revātātā* 43; or रा चावँउ जैतसी *Devagiri* 51 for साहाब साह and जैतसीह.

य and व). These M. and E. H. termin. occur in their obl. forms. Thus M. obl. f. जीभे of a tongue, contr. for Dk. जीभाय or जिब्भाय or जिब्भाइ or जिब्भाए = Skr. जिह्वायाः, of M. जीभ्, Dk. जिब्भा (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. जिह्वा. — 3) There are some M. strong masc. and fem. nouns in ई and ऊ, the obl. form of which ends also in ई and ऊ instead of in या m. (ये f.) and वा m. (वे f.). Thus m. विंचू scorpion has obl. f. विंचवा or विंचू; m. हत्ती elephant has obl. f. हत्ती (not हत्त्या); f. घोड़ी mare has obl. f. घोड़ी, (not घोड़ये), f. सासू mother-in-law has obl. f. सासवे and सासू. It is just possible, that here ई and ऊ may be contractions of या, ये and वा, वे respectively; but it is much more probable that they are Ap. Pr. forms which have been mixed up in M. with Dk. Pr. forms (see Nro 6)¹). The same remarks apply to the E. Gd. obl. forms in आ, ई, ऊ of short-form nouns in आ, ई, ऊ. Thus E. H. obl. f. घोड़ा of a horse might be contracted from A. Mg. gen. घोडआह; but it is much more probably a contraction of the Ap. Pr. घोडअहो. — 4) The suff. of the gen. pl. are in Mg. Pr. पां or पा (Vr. 5, 4, 4, 16. H. C. 3, 6. 1, 29 = Skr. नाम्) and हँ (H. C. 4, 300), which are added indifferently to bases in अ, इ and उ of whatever gender (see § 367), and before which the final of the base is lengthened. Thus there are two sets of Mg. Pr. termin.: 1) आपां, ईपां, ऊपां and 2) आहँ, ईहँ, उहँ, or, -with strong bases, 1) अआपां, इआपां, उआपां and 2) अआहँ, इआहँ, उआहँ. In M. the 1st set becomes आना, ईना, ऊना²) or (st. f.) याना (for अयान or इयान), वाना

1) That both the Mg. and Ap. gen. have contributed to the M. obl. forms, can be clearly seen from the following example: Skr. nom. घोटकः, gen. घोटकस्य becomes, in M., nom. घोडा, obl. घोड्या; analogously Skr. वर्त्मसरकः should be, in M., nom. वाटसरा, obl. वाटसर्या, but it becomes वाटसर, obl. वाटसरा. The reason is, that the former represent Mg. forms: nom. घोडए, gen. घोडआह; the latter Ap. forms: nom. वट्सरउ, gen. वट्सरअह or हो.

2) These forms are usually divided into आ + ना, ई + ना, ऊ + ना, and ना is considered to be an aff., and the rest to be the ordinary obl. f. This is possible, as ना might be a modification of the ordinary M. dat. aff. ला, analogous to the G. sg. and pl. dat. aff. ने. But in that case,

(for उग्रान्), and the 2nd set becomes (by elision of ह् and contraction of the hiatus-vowels) अँ, ईँ, ऊँ or (st. f.) यँ (for अयँ or इयँ), वँ (for उग्रँ). In E. H. the first set becomes (by shortening the initial vowel) अन्, इन्, उन्, or (lg. f.) अवन्, इयन्, उग्रन्, and the 2nd set (lg. f.) अवँ, इयँ, उग्रँ (with euph. व् and य्). In O. H. (Chand and Kabir), however, examples of the 1st set with a long vowel still occur; e. g., महिलान् of women, द्रव्यान of riches, गुरुन् to teachers (Bs. II, 219. 207. 282). In M., the 1st set is, just as in the sing., preserved in the dat. (= old gen.); thus M. देवता to Gods = Dk. देवापां, Skr. देवानाम्. In E. H. the 1st set forms the termin. of the ordinary obl. pl., with the sense of the gen.; e. g., loc. देवन् मे lit. in the midst of Gods = A. Mg. देवापा मक्ति, Skr. देवानां मध्ये. The 2nd set forms the termin. of the ordinary obl. pl. in M. and obl. sg. in E. H. ¹⁾, also retaining the sense of the gen.; e. g., loc. M. देवँ ठाईँ lit. in the place of Gods = Dk. देवाहँ ठापाहिं, Skr. देवानां स्थाने, or (lg. f.) M. देवयँ ठाईँ = Dk. देवयाहँ ठापाहिं, Skr. देवकानां स्थ^०; or (lg. f.) E. H. देववँ मे in a God = A. Mg. देवयाहँ मक्ति, Skr. देवकानां मध्ये. — 5) The masc. nouns in ईँ and ऊँ, mentioned in Nro. 3 as having an obl. sg. in ईँ and ऊँ for वा, जा, similarly have an obl. pl. in ईँ and ऊँ, which might be contractions of यँ and वँ, but more probably are Ap. forms (see Nro. 7). Thus हत्ती elephant has obl. pl. हत्तीँ (not हत्तयँ), विंचू scorpion has obl. pl. विंचवँ or विंचूँ. — 6) Deriv. of the S. type. The suff. of the gen. sg. are, in the Ap. Pr., हो and हे or, shortened, हु or हि (H. C. 4, 338. 336. 351 and 4, 350. 341. 352. K. I. 30. 34. 36. 35. 29 in Ls. 451. 462), which are added alike to bases in अ, इ, उ of whatever gender (see § 367). Thus there are two sets of Ap. termin.; viz. 1) अहो, इहो, उहो or अहु, इहु, उहु

one would expect ना to be used also in the sg., which is not the case. On the whole, I think it more probable, that the whole is one suff., to which, however, a mistaken popular etymology has given an anomalous final आ; the forms ought to be अन्न, ईन्न, ऊन्न.

1) This confusion of sg. and pl. forms may be also otherwise observed in Gd., see § 367, 5.

and 2) अहे, इहे, उहे or अहि, इहि, उहि or, with strong bases, 1) अग्रहो, इग्रहो, उग्रहो or अग्रहु, इग्रहु, उग्रहु and 2) अग्रहे, इग्रहे, उग्रहे or अग्रहि, इग्रहि, उग्रहि. In old Gd. (O. H., O. P.) the 1st set becomes अह, इह, उह or (dropping ह) अ, इ, उ, and the 2nd set अहि or ए (contr. for अहि = अइ), इहि, उहि, or in strong bases, 1) अग्रह, इग्रह, उग्रह or अग्रा (for अग्र), इग्र, उग्र, and 2) अग्रहि or अग्राय (for अग्रइ) or ऐ or ए, इग्रहि, उग्रहि. The 1st set (in ह) is still found in the O. W. H. of Chand, the 2nd set (in हि) in the O. P. of the Granth (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI), in the O. H. of Kabir, Tulsí Dás, etc. and in the O. B. of Vidyápati, etc., in their proper sense of the gen. sg.; e. g., गोचार परह चारै सु गोइ । *a herdsman tends the cattle of an other* (Chand 28, 62), or बोल बोलहु अविचारह । *you speak a speech of inconsiderateness* (Ch. 28, 50), or चहुवनह पास । *by the side of the Chahuván* (Ch. 28, 33). Again राम नाम लै वेराधारा स सो तै लै संसारहि पारा ॥ i. e., *so thou mayest reach the farther shore of the world* (Kabir Ram. 75, 3), or जीवहि मरन न होइ ॥ i. e., *of the soul there is no dying* (Kabir Ram. 22, 6). Again प्रणउँ पुर नर नारि बहोरो । ममता जिन पर प्रभुहि न थोरी ॥ i. e., *concerning which the pride of the Lord is not small* (Tulsí Dás, Bal. 10), or होइहि संतत पियहि पियारी ॥ *there will be offspring of the beloved one of the beloved* (T. Dás, Bal. 26), or को गुण दोषहि करै बिचार ॥ i. e., *who takes account of virtue and vice* (T. Dás, Bal. 30). In the sense of the dat. (= old gen.) हि is very common in O. H. ¹); thus रंगअवनि सब मुनिहि दिवाई ॥ i. e., *he showed all the decorations to the sage* (T. Dás. Bal.), or आपु जुवरातपद रामहि देउ ॥ i. e., *give the heir-apparentship to Rám* (T. Dás Ayodh. 5); also in O. B., e. g., आनहि to another (see Bs. II, 229). Both ह and हि also occur as the termin. of the obl. f.; e. g., कह्यौ सम पान ततारह । *he spoke with the Khán Tartár* (Chand 28, 58), or ततारह उपरह । *upon the Tartár* (Ch. 29, 19); or आदिहि ते सब कथा सुनाई *he narrated the whole story from the beginning* (T. Dás

1) Also often in the sense of the acc. (= dat. = old gen.); e. g., बहु विधि राम शिवहि समुकावा । परवती कर जन्म सुनावी ॥ i. e., *in many ways Rám admonished Shiva and narrated the story of the birth of Parvatí* (T. Dás, Bal. 26), etc. See also Kl. 65. 283. 286 and § 367, 3,

in Bs. II, 212). These examples contain also instances of the curtailed form of the gen.; thus राम नाम लै *taking the name of Rāma*, प्रवाउँ पुर नर नारि *I salute the men and women of the town*, पियारी संतत (for वियारिअ) *offspring of the beloved one*, etc. In modern Gd. both sets occur only in their curtailed forms (with one exception in N., see below): 1) अ, इ, उ and 2) ए or, in strong bases, 1) आ, इअ or ई, उअ or उ and 2) आय् or ऐ or ए. The 2nd set is still preserved in the B. and O. dat. (= old gen.; especially in words denoting inanimate objects; but generally in poetry and *theth bhāshā*; see S. Ch. 46, 2. 59, 4. 62. 63. Sn. 14. 15); thus B. and O. घरे *to a house* = O. Gd. घरहि, Ap. Pr. घरहे, Skr. गृहस्य; B. दोने *to the poor*, O. Gd. दोनहि, Ap. दीणहे, Skr. दीनस्य; B. तामाय् *to copper*, O. Gd. तामाहि or तामअहि, Ap. तम्वअहे, Skr. ताम्रकस्य, etc. But both sets are used in all Gds. (with the exceptions in Nros 1—5) as the ordinary termin. of the obl. sg., and as such retain their old gen. sense. They are distributed among the various Gds. in the following manner. The contracted weak form ए is confined to the gen. and loc. sg. and nom. pl. of B.; thus B. gen. sg. देवे-र lit. *done of God*, O. Gd. देवहि कर्, Ap. देवहे केह, Skr. देवस्य कृतः (see § 377); loc. sg. देवे ते *in God*; nom. pl. देवे-रा *Gods*, O. Gd. देवहि कर्, Ap. देवहे केरउ, Skr. देवस्य कृतकः scl. सङ्गः (see § 364, 2). N. has preserved even the full old form (in हे or ह्) in its nom. pl.; thus N. देवह-ह् or देवहे-ह् *Gods*, O. Gd. देवह कर्, Ap. देवहे or हो केह, Skr. देवस्य कृतः (scl. सङ्गः). The contr. st. f. आ occurs in B., O., Mw. and G.; E. H. has आ and ए, Br. आ and ऐ (i. e. आ in subst., ए or ऐ in adj.); P. and S. have ए; thus gen. sg., B., O. घोडा-र, Mw. घोडा-रो, E. H. घोरा कै, Br. घोडा को, G. घोडा नो, P. घोडे दा, S. घोडे तो *of a horse*, O. Gd. घोडअह or हो कर्, Ap. घोडअहो or हो केरउ, Skr. घोटकस्य कृतकः; again E. H. भले कै, Br. भलै को *of good*, O. H. भल्लअहि क, Ap. भल्लअहे क, Skr. भद्रकस्य क. The uncontr. st. f. इअ and उअ are possessed by S. only; the contr. ई and उ by all other Gds.; thus loc. sg., E. H. etc. हाथी मे, but S. हथिअ मे lit. *in the midst of the elephant*, O. Gd. हथिअह माँही, Ap. हथिअहो मन्कहि, Skr. हस्तिकस्य मध्ये; or E. II. etc. बिडू मे, but

S. विष्णु मे^० *in the midst of the scorpion*, O. Gd. विष्णुग्रह म^०, Ap. विष्णुग्रहो म^०, Skr. वृश्चिकस्य म^०, etc. The weak forms ग्र, इ, उ are common to all Gds; thus dat. sg., O. नर् कु, B., E. H. नर् के, Br. नर् कै, Mw. नर् नै, G. नर् ने, P. नर् नूँ, N. नर् लाई, S. नर् खे lit. *by the side of the man*, Skr. नरस्य कक्षे. — 7) The suff. of the gen. plur. are, in the Ap. Pr., हं, हूं and हिं (H. C. 4, 339. 340. 337. cf. 347. 351. K. I. 31. 32. 28 in Ls. 451), which are added indifferently to bases in ग्र, इ, उ of whatever gender (§ 367). Thus there are three sets of Ap. Pr. termin.: 1) ग्रहं, इहं, उहं, 2) ग्रहुं, इहुं, उहुं, 3) ग्रहिं, इहिं, उहिं or, with strong bases, 1) ग्रग्रहं, इग्रहं, उग्रहं, 2) ग्रग्रहुं, इग्रहुं, उग्रहुं, 3) ग्रग्रहिं, इग्रहिं, उग्रहिं. In O. H. the 3^d set is still found in the sense of the dat. (= old. gen.); thus मातृपितृहिं पुनि यह मत भावा *this counsel, again, pleased (her) parents* (T. Dās. in Kl. 286); or दीन्ह असोस सबहिं सुखमानी *he gave a blessing to all of happy import* (T. Dās, Bal.); or जो तुमहिं सुता पर नेहू। lit. *if to you there is love for your daughter or if there is love of you for your daughter*¹⁾. In modern Gd., ह is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted; thus 1) ग्रौ, ई, ऊ, 2) ग्रौ or ग्रौ, (इहुं *deest*), ऊ, 3) ऐ or ऐ, ई, (उहिं *deest*) or, in strong bases, 1) ग्रौ, इयौ or यौ, उग्रौ or वौ, 2) ग्रौ or ग्रौ, इयो or इयो or इयू, उग्रौ or उग्रौ or ऊ, 3) ऐ or ऐ, इऐ or ई, उऐ. Most of these forms serve as the termin. of the ordinary obl. plur., and, as such, retain their original gen. sense. They are distributed among the various Gds., as follows. The forms ग्रौ (wk. or st.), इयौ or यौ, उग्रौ or वौ occur in S., P. and Mw.; the forms ग्रौ or ग्रौ (wk. or st.), इयो or इयो, उग्रौ or उग्रौ in Br. and H. H.; the forms ऐ (wk. or st.), इऐ, उऐ in S., and the st. forms ई and ऊ in M. Thus loc. pl.; S., P., Mw. नरौ मे^० lit. *in the midst of men*, Ap. नरहं मन्त्रहिं, Skr. नराणां मध्ये; Br. नरौ मे^०, H. H. नरौ मे^०, Ap.

1) Also often in the sense of the acc. (= dat. = old gen.); e. g., तब रामहिं बिलोकि बैदेही *then Vaidehi having beheld Rāma* (T. Dās, Bal.); रामहिं is here the plur. majestatis; but the pl. हिं is often used for the sg. हि, see § 367, 5.

नृहुं म°; S. नरे° मे°, Ap. पारहिं म°; or in st. f., S., P., Mw. घोडाँ मे°
in the midst of horses, Ap. घोडग्रहं मङ्कहिं, Skr. घोटकानां मध्ये; Br.
 घोडाँ मे°, H. H. घोडाँ मे°, Ap. घोडग्रहुं म°; S. घोडाँ मे°, Ap. घोडग्रहिं म°,
 etc. Again M. dat. pl. हत्ती ला lit. *for the benefit of elephants*,
 Ap. हत्तिग्रहिं लाहि, Skr. हस्तिकानां लाभे, etc. The rest of the forms
 are used as termin. of the nom. pl.; see § 369¹). — 8) I add
 a few more examples to illustrate the preceding remarks: *Weak*
bases in अः masc. or neut., जल *water*; gen. sg., Skr. जलस्य, 1) Mg.
 Pr. (a) जलग्रश or (b) जलाह, M. (a) जलास् or (b) जला; 2) Ap. Pr.
 (c) जलहो or (d) जलहे, O. Gd. (c) जलह or (d) जलहि, M. Gd. (c)
 जल (in all) or (d) जले (in B. and O.). Fem. जिह्वा *tongue*, gen. sg.
 Skr. जिह्वायाः, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) जिम्भाए or जिम्भाइ or जिम्भाम् or जिम्भाय
 (with euph. य्), M. (a) जिमे; 2) Ap. Pr. (b) जिम्भहो or (c) जिम्भहे,
 O. Gd. (b) जीमह or (c) जीमहि, M. Gd. (b) जीम (in all) or (c) जीमे
 (in B., O.). *Gen. plur.*, Skr. जलानाम्, जिह्वानाम्, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) जलापां,
 जिम्भापां or (b) जलाहँ, जिम्भाहँ, M. (a) जलाँना, जिम्भाँना or (b) जलौँ,
 जिम्भौँ, E. II. (a) जलन्, जीमन्, Br. (a) जलन् or जलनि, जीमन् or जीमनि,
 S. (a) जलनि, जीमुनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) जलहं, जिम्भहं or (d) जलहुं, जिम्भहुं
 or (e) जलहिं, जिम्भहिं, O. H. (c) जलहिं, जिम्भहिं, S., P., Mw. (c) जलौँ,
 जिम्भौँ, Br. (d) जलोँ, जीमौँ, H. H. (d) जलोँ, जीमौँ, S. (d) जलेँ, जिमेँ. —
Strong bases in अः masc. or neut., ताम्रक *copper*; gen. sg., Skr.
 ताम्रकस्य, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) तम्रग्रश or (b) तम्रग्राह (with euph. य्); M.
 (a) ताँब्यास् or (b) ताँब्या, E. II. (lg. f.) (b) ताम्बा (with euph. व्);
 2) Ap. Pr. (c) तम्रग्रहो or (d) तम्रग्रहे, O. Gd. (c) ताँब्याह or (d) ताँब्याहि,
 O., E. II. (c) तामा, W. H., N., G. (c) ताँब्या, B. (c) तामा or (d)
 ताम्या, P., H. H. (d) ताँब्ये, S. (d) टामे. *Fem.*, see fem. strong bases in इ.
Gen. plur., Skr. ताम्रकानाम्, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) तम्रयापां or (b) तम्रयाहँ,
 M. (a) ताँब्याँना or (b) ताँब्याँ, E. II. (lg. f.) (a) तामबन् (with euph. व्)
 or (b) तामवौँ (but used in the sg.); E. II. has also the anomalous
 short form तामन्, Br. ताँबन् or ताँबनि, S. टामनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c)
 तम्रग्रहं or (d) तम्रग्रहुं or (e) तम्रग्रहिं, P., Mw. (c) ताँब्यौँ, S. (c) टामौँ,
 Br. (d) ताँब्यौँ, H. H. (d) ताँब्यौँ, S. (e) टामेँ. *Fem.*, see fem. strong

1) Some of them are also used to form the loc., instr. and abl. sg.
 or pl. in S., P. and M.; see §§ 367, 2. 376, 3. 378, 3.

bases in इ. — *Weak bases in इ*: masc. or neut., कवि *poet*; gen. sg., Skr. कवेः (lit. कविस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) कविश्च or (b) कवीह्, M. (a) कवीस् or (b) कवी; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) कविहो or (d) कविहे, O. Gd. (c) कविह् or (d) कविहि, M. Gd. (c) कवि (in all). *Fem.* भित्ति *wall*; gen. sg., Skr. भित्त्याः or भित्तेः (lit. भित्तिस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) भित्तिश्च or (b) भित्तीह्, M. (a) भौत्तीस् or (b) भौत्ती; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) भित्तिहो or (d) भित्तिहे, O. Gd. (c) भौतिह् or (d) भौतिहि. P., S. (c) भिति, B., O., E. H., W. H., G. भौत. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. कवीनाम्, भित्तीनाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) कवीणां, भित्तीणां or (b) कवीह्, भित्तीह्, M. (a) कवीन्ना, भौत्तीन्ना or (b) कवी, भौत्ती, E. H. (a) कविन्, भौतिन्, Br. कविन् or कविनि, भौतिन् or भौतिनि, S. कविनि, भित्तिनि or (lg. f.) भित्तिश्चनि or भित्तिडनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) कविह्, भित्तिह् or (d) कविहुं, भित्तिहुं or (e) कविहिं, भित्तिहिं, O. H. (c) कविहिं, भौतिहिं, in M. Gd.; only the long forms occur; viz. Ap. Pr. (c) कविश्चह्, भित्तिश्चह् or (d) कविश्चहुं, भित्तिश्चहुं or (e) कविश्चहिं, भित्तिश्चहिं, Mw., P., S. (c) कविषाँ, Br. (d) कवियौ, H. H. (d) कवियो, भौतियो, S. (e) कविर्ह, भित्तिर्ह. — *Strong bases in इ*: masc. or neut., मालिक *gardener*; gen. sg., Skr. मालिकस्य; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) मालिश्च or (b) मालिश्चह्, M. (a) माल्यास् or (b) माल्या, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) मलिया; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) मालिश्चहो or (d) मालिश्चहे, O. Gd. (c) मालिश्चह् or (d) मालिश्चहि, S. (c) मालिश्च, E. H. etc. (c) माली. *Fem.* घोटिका *mare*; gen. sg., Skr. घोटिकायाः, Ap. Pr. (a) घोडिश्चहो or (b) घोडिश्चहे, O. Gd. (a) घोडिश्चह् or (b) घोडिश्चहि, S. (a) घोडिश्च, E. H., M., etc. (a) घोडे. The Mg. forms exist only in M. monosyllabic words and E. H. long forms: as स्त्रिका *woman*; gen. sg., Skr. स्त्रिकायाः, Mg. *स्त्रियार् or *स्त्रियाड् or *स्त्रियाय, M. स्त्रिये, E. H. स्त्रिया (tats.); similarly E. H. (lg. f.) घोडिया. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. मालिकानाम्, घोटिकानाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) मालिश्चाणां, घोडिश्चाणां or (b) मालिश्चाह्, घोडिश्चाह्, M. (a) माल्यान्ना, घोड्यान्ना or (b) माल्याँ, घोड्याँ, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) मलियन्, घोडियन् or (b) मलियाँ, घोडियाँ (but used in the sing.); Br. (a) मालियनि, घोडियनि, S. (a) मालिश्चनि or माल्यनि or मालिडनि or माल्युनि, घोडिश्चनि or घोडिडनि, etc.; E. H. has also the anomalous short forms मालिन्, घोडिन्, Br. and S. मालिनि, घोडिनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) मालिश्चह्, घोडिश्चह् or (d) मालिश्चहुं, घोडिश्चहुं or (e) मालिश्चहिं, घोडिश्चहिं, S. (a) मालिश्चाँ or माल्याँ, घोडिश्चाँ or घोड्याँ, Mw. (a) माल्याँ, घोड्याँ, P. (a) मालीश्चाँ, घोडेश्चाँ

(with anomalous ई), Br. (d) मालियोँ, घोडियोँ, H. H. (d) मालियोँ, घोडियोँ, S. (e) मालिई, घोडिई. — *Weak bases in ३*: masc. or neut., गुरु teacher; gen. sg., Skr. गुरोः (lit. गुरुस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) गुलुग्रा or (b) गुलूह, M. (a) गुरुस् or (b) गुरुः; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) गुरुहो or (d) गुरुहे, O. Gd. (c) गुरुह or (d) गुरुहि, M. Gd. (c) गुरु (in all). *Fem.* like masc. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. गुरुत्पाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) गुलूपां or (b) गुलूहँ, M. (a) गुरुत्ना or (b) गुरुँ, E. H. (a) गुरुन्, Br. (a) गुरुन् or गुरुनि, S. (a) गुरुनि; 2) short forms *desunt* in Gd.; in their place the long forms are used: Ap. Pr. (c) गुरुग्रहं or (d) गुरुग्रहं or (c) गुरुग्रहिं, P. (c) गुरुग्रहँ, Mw. (c) गुरुग्रहँ, Br. (d) गुरुग्रहोँ, H. H. (d) गुरुग्रहोँ, O. H. (e) गुरुग्रहिं or गुरुग्रहिं. *Fem.* like masc. — *Strong bases in ३*: masc. or neut., वृश्चिक scorpion; gen. sg., Skr. वृश्चिकस्य; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) विच्छुग्रह or (b) विच्छुग्राह, M. (a) विच्छास् or (b) विच्छा, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) विच्छुग्रा or विच्छुवा; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) विच्छुग्रहो or (d) विच्छुग्रहे, O. Gd. (c) विच्छुग्रह or (d) विच्छुग्रहि, S. (c) विच्छुग्र, E. H. (c) विच्छु, M. (c) विच्छू. *Fem.* बालुका sand; gen. sg., Skr. बालुकायाः; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) बालुग्रा or बालुग्राइ or बालुग्राय, M. (a) बालू, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) बलुग्रा or बलुवा; 2) Ap. Pr. (b) बालुग्रहो or (c) बालुग्रहे, O. Gd. (b) बालुग्रह or (c) बालुग्रहि, S. (b) बालुग्र, E. H., etc. बालू. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. वृश्चिकानाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) विच्छुग्रापां or (b) विच्छुग्राहँ, M. (a) विच्छाँना or (b) विच्छाँ, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) विच्छुग्रन् or (b) विच्छुग्रँ (but used in the sing.), Br. विच्छुग्रन् or विच्छुग्रनि, S. विच्छुग्रनि; E. H. has also the anomalous short form विच्छुन्, Br. and S. विच्छुनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) विच्छुग्रहं or (d) विच्छुग्रहं or (e) विच्छुग्रहिं, P. and S. (c) विच्छुग्रहँ, Mw. (c) विच्छुग्रहँ, Br. (d) विच्छुग्रहोँ, H. H. (d) विच्छुग्रहोँ, S. (e) विच्छुग्रहँ. *Fem.* like masc. — G. is peculiar in dropping the final *anunásika* in the obl. plur. of masc. and fem. nouns; e. g., G. obl. pl. देवो Gods for *देवोँ, Ap. देवहुँ; fem. जीभो tongues for *जीभोँ, Ap. जिभहुँ; again in strong bases: G. masc. obl. pl. घोडाव or घोडाउ¹⁾

1) These forms are sometimes spelled with final ओ, as घोडाओ (so in Ed. 36. Bs. II, 189); the really correct spelling is with उ or व्, as written for me by a Pandit. But it is quite customary now in Gd., to spell the same final sound as उ or व् or ओ; thus in W. H. देउ or देव् or देओ god, चडाउ or चडाव् or चडाओ attack.

horses for *घोडाउँ, Ap. घोडाहुं; fem. पोयीउ *books*, Ap. पोथिग्रहु. According to H. C. 4, 351, even in the Ap. Pr., fem. nouns have no final anuswāra. But G. retains it in neut. nouns; e. g., G. obl. pl. सोनौँ or सोनौँउ, Ap. सोसग्रहुं. On the other hand, it adds it anomalously in the sg. neut.; as G. obl. sg. सोनौँ *gold* for *सोना, Ap. सोसग्रहो.

366. *Origin of the obl. form.* 1) The Gd. obl. f. is identical with the Skr. and Pr. gen. case. For a) it has been already shown (§ 365) that the suff. of the former can be phonetically traced back to those of the latter. b) It will be shown in §§ 375—378, that the Gd. case-affixes are, in reality, nouns (generally in the loc. case); as such they must be constructed with the gen. of the noun, which they govern; hence it follows that the obl. f., in which the latter is always put, when it takes a case-aff., must be the old gen.; e. g., E. H. नरन् मे वाटै *he is in the midst of men*, O. H. नरन्ह महि वाटै, Pr. नराणं मझि वट्टह, Skr. नराणां मध्ये वर्तते. c) Pr. Gramm. state expressly (H. C. 4, 422. T. V. 3, 3. 56) that the word केर, which is the same as the E. H. gen. aff. के or कर or O. H. केर, is constructed with the gen., whence it follows that the obl. form, with which those gen. aff. are constructed, is the old gen. d) It can be shown, that Pr. has a tendency to substitute the gen. in the place of all other obl. cases and to make it the *one, universal inflexion*. This proves that the obl. form, which is the one, universal inflexion in Gd., must be the old gen. In Pr. this is but an other instance of its general tendency to produce uniformity of grammatical forms. Two instances of this have been already noticed; the one in regard to roots (§ 347), the other referring to bases (§ 205). Here we have a third instance, affecting the *cases*. In Skr. there are, generally, seven cases or inflexions: the nom., acc., instr., dat., abl., gen., loc. In Pr. the dat. has (almost) entirely disappeared, and its place been taken by the gen. (Vr. 6, 64. H. C. 3, 131); but there is a tendency to substitute the gen. for the other obl. cases also, so as to leave only two inflexions, the nom. and gen. This is

expressly stated by Pr. Gramm. (H. C. 3, 134. T. V. 2, 3. 39). In the Ap. Pr. that process of substitution is especially marked. Its gen. suff. are expressly stated to form the abl. (compare H. C. 4, 336. 337. 341. 351 with 4, 338. 340) and the loc. (H. C. 4, 340) also¹). In Gd. there are only two inflexions left, the direct form or nomin., and the obl. form or gen. But in order to obviate the necessary ambiguity of this uniformity, Gd. adds different affixes to the obl. form, to indicate the particular case, in the sense of which the obl. form is to be understood. Thus the obl. form with **के** means the gen., with **से** the instr., with **मे** the loc., etc. In this way the original seven cases are re-established in Gd. — 2) It should be observed, however, that since there are in the Ap. Pr. several gen. suff. for the sing. (हो and हे) and the plur. (हं, हुं, हिं), several obl. forms are possible in the Gds. and do actually exist in most of them. In the latter case, one of them is used as the *general* obl. form and always constructed with case-aff.; but the other constitutes a *special* obl. form for one or, at most, two cases, and, as a rule, takes no affix. Thus there is in G. and Mw. the *general* obl. f. sg. in **आ** = Ap. gen. in **अहो**, and the *special* obl. f. sg. in **ऐ** or **ए** = Ap. gen. in **अहे**; e. g., G. instr. **घोडा पो** or **घोडे** *by a horse*; Mw. loc. **घोडा माँ** or **घोडे** *in a horse*. — 3) It is curious to observe that the levelling process noted just now, has a tendency, both in the Ap. and in Gd., to reduce the whole declension to *one inflexion*, by substituting (§ 369) the obl. form even for the dir. form or nom. case. The cause, possibly, was their similarity; thus in the Ap. the nom. sg. would be **देवमो** or **देवउ** *god* (Skr. देवः), the gen. sg. **देवहो** or **देवहु**; whence, by inserting an euph. **ह** in the nom., the two forms would be easily assimilated.

1) Exceptionally all these cases are preserved in Pr.; thus the dat. sg. in the sense of „for the sake of“ (H. C. 3, 132. 133), as **देवाय** *for the sake of god*; in the Ap. Pr., the abl. sg. in **आदु** or **आउ** (Ls. 461), and the loc. sg. in **इ** (H. C. 4, 334 = Skr. ए). The abl. sg. in **आउ** survives even in S. poetry (Tr. 118).

367. *Distribution of the Pr. gen. suff.* The ordinary Pr. suff. of the gen. sg. is स्स and of the pl. पां. There are also the suff., sg. ह, pl. हँ which are peculiar to Mg., and sg. हो or हे, pl. हँ, हुँ or हिं which are peculiar to Ap. 1) The ordinary Pr. suff. are derived from the Skr. sg. स्य, pl. नाम् (i. e. नृ + घाम्). In Skr., नाम् is added to all three kinds of bases in अ, इ and उ; but स्य is added only to अ-bases. In Pr. both पां and स्स, and similarly the special suff. ह, हँ, etc., are added to all three kinds. In Vr. 5, 8. H. C. 3, 10 स्स and पां are apparently limited to *a*-bases, but the succeeding rules Vr. 6, 60. H. C. 3, 124 extend them to *i*- and *u*-bases also; and this is born out by Pr. literature. Hence there can be no doubt, that the Mg. ह and हँ and the Ap. हो, though apparently limited by H. C. 4, 299. 300. 338 to *a*-bases, in reality belong to *i*- and *u*-bases also. This is born out by the evidence of modern Gd.; and, moreover, it is expressly affirmed by K. I. and Md. Thus H. C. 4, 336. 338 gives हो to the gen. and abl. of masc. (always incl. neut.) *a*-bases; and हे to the abl. of masc. *i*- and *u*-bases (4, 341)¹). Again K. I. (30. 34 in Ls. 451. 462) gives हो to the gen. of all masc. bases and to the abl. of masc. *i*- and *u*-bases; and हे (29. 36) to the abl. of all masc. bases and to the gen. of masc. *a*-bases. Again both H. C. (4, 350) and K. I. (35) give हे to the gen. and abl. of all fem. bases. Lastly Md. gives both हो and हे to the abl. of all masc. and fem. bases²). These conflicting statements really supplement each other, as shown by modern Gd. It should be remembered, 1) that the abl. and gen. are identical in Ap. Pr. (as, indeed, they ge-

1) H. C. 4, 336 gives हु as the abl. suff. of *a*-bases, but this is merely a shortening of हो, which is given by Md. (see next footnote). As to the gen. of *i*- and *u*-bases, H. C. is silent; which seems to indicate, that it may be हो by the analogy of *a*-bases, and हे by the usual identity of the gen. and abl. of cases.

2) Md. says: उरोस्तु हे हो च ॥ उरोः स्थाने हेहो च स्यातां ॥ रुक्खहे पडिदु । रुक्खहो ॥ (अग्निहे) । अग्निहो ॥ बालाहे । बालाहो ॥ i. e., the abl. sg. has हे or हो, as „he is fallen from a tree, from fire, from a girl“. On the gen., I cannot find any rule; which would seem to show that it is identical with the abl.

nerally are even in Skr.), and 2) that the Ap., no doubt, varied slightly in the localities of the different grammarians. The general result is, that in the Ap. Pr. both हो and हे were used to form both the gen. and abl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, whether masc., fem., or neut. — The case of the Ap. plur. suff. हं and हुं is similar. In H. C. 4, 339. 340 हं is ascribed to the gen. and हुं to the abl. (4, 337. 341) of all masc. bases, and हुं (4, 340) also to the gen. of masc. bases in *i* and *u*. Again K. I. (31. 32) gives हं to the gen. of all masc. bases and to the abl. (33) of masc. bases in *i* and *u*, and हुं to the abl. (28) of masc. bases in *a*. Lastly Mḍ. allows both हं and हुं to all masc., both in the gen. and abl.¹⁾ As regards the fem. bases, both K. I. and Mḍ. are silent, which really means, that their gen. and abl. do not differ from those of the masc. (and neut.). This is confirmed by H. C. 4, 351, who gives to the fem. gen. and abl. the suff. हु, which is either the same as the sg. gen. and abl. suff. हु or हो (H. C. 4, 336. 338), or identical with the pl. gen. and abl. suff. हुं dropping the anuswāra. The general result again is, that in the Ap. Pr. both हं and हुं are used to form both the gen. and abl. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, whether masc., fem., or neut. And this is born out by the state of the modern Gḍs. — 2) As to the Ap. pl. suff. हिं, both H. C. (4, 347) and Mḍ.²⁾ ascribe it to the loc. and instr. plur. K. I., by his silence (Ls. 463), probably implies the same thing; since हिं was already the instr. pl. suff. in the Mh. Pr. (Vr. 5, 18). But it appears to have been used also for the gen. plur. This is, perhaps, the true reading

1) Mḍ. says: हंहुं भ्यसः ॥ भ्यसो हंहुमो स्यातां ॥ रुक्महं पडिदु ॥ परहुं चलिदु ॥ बाहुत्यात् ॥ रुक्माहिंतो । परसुंतो ॥ सुपो वा । श्रामो वा । हंहुमो स्यातां ॥ वम्भपाहं । वम्भपाहुं । ब्राह्मणानामित्यर्थे । वम्भपापां ॥ i. e., the abl. pl. takes हं or हुं; as „it fell from the trees“, „he came from foreign (countries)“; also the loc. and gen. pl. take हं and हुं, as „of Brāhmanas“.

2) Mḍ. says: हिंभिस्त्रिसुपां ॥ त्रिषेपां हिं स्यात् । पुरिसहिं । वषाहिं । बहुहिं ॥ i. e., all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* take हिं in the loc. and instr. plur., as „in or by men, in or by forests, in or by wives“.

in K. I. 32 (Ls. 451. 464), where हे is given for the gen. plur. Again both H. C. (4, 340) and Md. (see footnote 1, p. 205) allow the gen. suff. हं and हुं to the loc. plur. also; vice versa, the loc. suff. हिं may have been allowed to the gen. At all events, in O. Gd., हिं is found as a suff. of the dat. (= old gen.); and in M. Gd. (S.) it appears as the obl. pl. suff. ऐ (contr. for अहिं); see examples in § 365, 7. Indeed the term. अहिं seems to occur in the contracted form ऐ even in the Ap. Pr.; though as a term. of the instr. sing. (see H. C. 4, 343. K. I. 23. 24). The examples in Md. are: वणऐ by a forest, बालाऐ by a girl, अगिऐ by fire, वाउऐ by wind; they would be equal to *वणअहिं, *बालाअहि, *अगिअहिं, *वाउअहिं. Here ऐ can hardly be = Skr. term. एन (as Ls. 461); for the latter would not be added to fem. bases in अ. Moreover, as will be shown in Nro. 3, the sing. term. अहि is similarly contracted to ऐ. It may, also, be added that the pl. term. अहिं is similarly used as a term. of the loc. sing. (see K. I. 26. 27. Ls. 451. 463), as घरहिं or घरे or घरि in a house. In Gd., this practise of using the pl. suff. for the sing. is sometimes extended to all plur. suff. हं, हुं, हिं; see Nro. 5. — 3) The Ap. sing. suff. हो is sometimes shortened to हु (H. C. 4, 336. 351); thus H. C. has रुक्खहु, but Md. (see footnote 2, p. 204) रुक्खहो from a tree or of a tree; sometimes even to ह, according to Ls' conjecture of K. I. 34 (Ls. 462); e. g., अगिहो or अगिह of fire; sometimes even ह is dropped (H. C. 4, 345). In the form हु it still occurs in the O. P. of the Granth (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI) and expresses the abl. In the form ह it is often found in the O. W. II. of Chand, and expresses the gen., abl., loc., act., acc.-dat.; thus gen. in गोचार परह चारै सु गोइ। i. e., the herdsman tends the cows of an other (28, 62), or सेन भीमह करि किनिय। i. e., he dispersed the Army of Bhima (38, 41), or चन्गो उदै क्रूरह बलिय। i. e., he marched at the rise of mighty Saturn (27, 47), or बन नूय मृग सिंहह रू गज। i. e., in the forest is plenty of deer, lions and elephants (27, 13); abl. in फूलह सुधार धर। having adorned the body with flowers (38, 37) or तब सुमंत परधानह पुझिय। i. e., then he asked good counsel of the Premier (28, 88);

loc. ज्ञाने कि अकासह मान दिन । *just as in the sky the measure of day*, i. e., *the sun* (26, 25), or न्याय तौ कलह न किञ्चै । i. e., *justice is not done in the Kali age* (28, 41); act. बीसलह राज कणि पुञ्ज कथ्य । i. e., *Viśala rāja told the whole story* (1, 82) or तप सु इञ्जि तुअह । i. e., *the Tuar has abandoned asceticism* (28, 55); acc. अनंगपालह बुलाइय । i. e., *he has called Anangpāla* (28, 9), or अनंगेसह लैआउ । i. e., *bring ye Anangesa* (28, 77). The form without ह is the common one in M. Gd.; see § 365, 6. — 4) The Ap. sg. suff. हे of the gen. and abl. is sometimes also used as a loc. suff., e. g., एताहे *now*, lit., *in that*, scl. *time* (H. C. 2, 134; the same एताहे is an abl. *from that*, II. C. 3, 82. 83), or एतहे *in this*, तेतहे *in that*, scl. *place* (II. C. 4, 436). But, as a rule, it is shortened to हि, when it expresses the loc. (H. C. 4, 341. 352), e. g., कलिहि *in the Kali age*; and after *a*-bases ह् may be elided, as पच्छइ *behind*, *after* (II. C. 4, 420 for *पच्छहि), अगइ *before* (II. C. 4, 391), एवइ *thus* (II. C. 4, 420), but commonly the term. अहि (or अइ) is contracted to ए (II. C. 4, 334), e. g., तले *below* for *तलइ or *तलहि¹). In this contracted form ए, it is also used in the Ap. Pr. to express the instr. sg. (of fem. nouns)²); see II. C. 4, 349. 333. K. I. 38 and Md. स्त्रियां च ए च स्यात् ॥ बुडिह । धेनुए । पाइए । बहुए । बालाए ॥ i. e., fem. bases also take ए (viz. besides ए, as बालाए), as *by intelligence*, *by a cow*, *by a river*, *by a wife*, *by a girl*; contr. for *बुडिअहि, *पाइअहि (Skr. नदिकायाम्). In the form हि it still occurs in the O. P. of the Granth, to express the gen., abl., dat. and acc. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXV); also in O. H., to express the gen., abl., loc., dat. and acc.; thus *gen.* in राजहि तुम पर प्रीति विशेषी *there is a special love of*

1) This ए is usually considered to be the Skr. and (Mh. Pr.) loc. suff. ए; but that old suff. is hardly likely to have survived so long; and has been, indeed, worn down to इ in Ap. (H. C. 4, 334); e. g., Ap. तले or तलि *below*; the former = Ap. तलहि, the latter = Skr. तले.

2) This cannot be the Mh. Pr. instr. suff. ए; for that suff. had already in the Mh. Pr. been (optionally) worn down to इ or अ, and, moreover, requires the lengthening of the final vowel of the base (Vr. 5, 22); thus the instr. sg. of नदी *river* is in Mh. Pr. पाइए or पाइइ or पाइअ, but in the Ap. पाइए.

the king for you (T. Dás in Kl. 286); *abl.* को किहि वंसहि उपजौ (Chand I, 167 in Bs. II, 211), or गुरुहि पूछ करि कुलिविधि राजा *the king having enquired from the Guru performed the family rites* (T. Dás in Kl. 65); *loc.* in किहि काज रिषि आयौ घरहि *for what cause, Rishi, hast thou come into the house* (Chand I, 45 in Bs. II, 211); *dat.* बहु विधि चेरिहि आदर देइ *in many ways he shows honor to the bond-maid* (T. Dás in Kl. 286); *acc.* मुनि रघुबरहि प्रसंस *the sage extolled Raghubar* (T. Dás in Kl. 283); see other examples in § 365, 6. The contr. form ए is used in B. and O., to express the *dat.-acc., loc. and instr.*; as घरे *to or in or by a house* (see S. Ch. 59, 4. 62. Sn. 15); and in B. even for the *nom.* (S. Ch. 56, see § 369). In G. and Mw. it is used to express the *instr. (or act.) and loc.*; thus G. घरे, Mw. घरै *by or in a house* (Kl. 66, a. Ed. 31, 87. 34, d); in H., P., S. it is used for the *loc.*; thus घरे *in the house* (Ld. 12, 37. 77, 133. Tr. 120, 7). — 5) The Ap. Pr. *gen. plur. suff.* are sometimes used in the *sing.* Thus in the Ap., the *suff. हिं* (or the term. अहिं), which commonly expresses the *loc. or instr. pl.* (H. C. 4, 347) is often used for the *loc. sg.*; see K. I. 26. 27 (in Is. 451. 462); e. g., सुरहिं or सुरे or सुरि *in a god*; and, in the contracted form एं, for the *instr. sg.* (H. C. 4, 343, see Nro. 2); e. g., अगिगं *by fire* for *अगिअहिं (Skr. अग्निकेन). In O. II. the *suff. हिं* is as often used for the *dat., acc. and loc. in the sing. as in the plur.*; thus *dat.* in कहु केहि रंकहिं करौ नरेसु, i. e., *say, what pauper shall I make a king* (T. Dás in Kl. 283); *loc.* in नित लोकहिं विरंच गये देखन्ह इहै सिखाइ i. e., *Brahmá, having taught this the gods, went to his own world* (T. Dás in Kl. 122); *acc.* in रामहिं प्रेम समेत लखि सखिन समीप बुलाइ i. e. *beholding Ráma with affection she called near her friends* (T. Dás in Bál.), etc. Similarly it occurs in M., in the contracted form ईं, both in the *loc. sg. and plur.* (Man. 17, 45. 27, 66. 28, 2); as घरौ *in a house or in houses* for *घरहिं; and, in the contracted form ऐं, in the *instr. sg.* (Man. 17, 45. 28, 66); e. g., घरै *by a house* for *घरहिं¹). Also E. H.

1) This explains why the M. *instr.* in ऐं is seldom used except with the postpositions करहन् or कहन् (Man. 28, note 1); for it is really a *gen.*

and W. H. occasionally have it, in the contr. form ऐ or ए, in the loc. sing.; as पाहै or पाहे *behind, after* for *पच्छहिं (see § 77, exc.). Again the suff. हुं (or term. ग्रहं) which in Ap. Pr. expresses the abl. and loc. plur. (H. C. 4, 340), is used in S. for the abl. sg. in the forms अउ or ओ or उ (Tr. 118), in P. for the abl. or, occasionally, loc. sg. in the form ओ (Ld. 12, 37), and in W. H. for the loc. sg. in the form उ; thus S. घरउ or ओ or घर, P. घर from a house, or P. पाहै, W. H. पाहू *behind, after*, for *ग्रहं, *पच्छहुं. Again the suff. हं (or termin. ग्रहं), which in the Ap. expresses the abl. and loc. plur. (see Nro. 2), is used in M. for the loc. both of the sing. and plur. in the contr. form अं (Man. 17, 45. 27, 66. 28, 2); e. g., घरं *in a house or in houses*, for *ग्रहं; also occasionally in E. H. and W. H.; e. g., E. H. इहाँ, W. H. यहाँ *here*, lit. *in this, scl. place*, for *एहं (Skr. ईदृशे); in S. it forms the abl. sing. (Tr. 117, 5); e. g., घर from a house, मंका from within, for *मन्कहिं. Lastly the Mg. Pr. gen. plur. suff. आहं (H. C. 4, 300) is used in E. H. for the obl. sing.; thus घोडा (कै of) a horse, for Mg. घोडाआहं; see § 365, 4. — 6) The gen. sg. suff. हो and हे are also used in Ap. Pr. and Gd. to express the nom. and voc. sg. or pl.; see § 369.

368. *Origin of the gen. or obl. suffixes.* 1) The Skr. gen. sg. suff. स्य becomes in Pr. स्स (Vr. 5, 8) according to the usual phonetic laws (Ls. 274. 275; see §§ 150. 137). But though स्स is the common form, yet in the pronouns Pr. already shows a tendency to reduce it to स and to lengthen the preceding vowel (see § 150, 2); e. g., gen. masc. कास = कस्स *of whom* (Vr. 6, 5. H. C. 3, 64); neut. कीस *why* = *किस्स (Ls. 326); fem. कीसे = *किस्से (Vr. 6, 6. H. C. 3, 64). In Gd. this process is extended to all gen., including those of nouns, as may be seen in M. (see § 365, 1); in Br. the two pronom. gen. त्रास *of which*, तास *of him* (Kl. 122. 133) are its only relics. Besides स्स (K. I. 30 in Ls. 451)

or obl. form, and as such naturally takes a postposition; see § 366, 1; if it were, as commonly supposed, identical with the old Skr. instr. in एन, the addition of the postpos. would be very superfluous and anomalous.

the Ap. Pr. has स्तु or सु; in the latter case with or without the lengthening of the preceding vowel (H. C. 4, 338. 358. K. I. 30); though it is not clear, how the final उ arose. Traces of this Ap. form have survived in the O. H. and Br. pronom. gen. तासु, त्रासु; e. g., तासु किन्नी चंद कहिय of *him the glory Chand has told* (Chand 1, 46 in Bs. II, 316, see Kl. 122. 133). The O. W. H. of Chand has occasionally nominal gen. in अस (perhaps = Ap. असु); e. g., पुत्री वरी उतेन दिसि । पहिले पंगस पुत्र ॥ i. e., *a daughter has married in Ujainland, first the son of Panga* (25, 22). The O. P. of the Granth appears to have a gen. in असि (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI). — 2) The Skr. स्य, however, also changes in Pr. to ह or हि, with the lengthening of the preceding vowel (cf. Ls. 398); the conj. स्य becoming ह, as in the fut. suff. हामि, हिह for स्यामि, स्यति (Vr. 7, 12. 13), and the vowel being lengthened by way of compensation. The form ह is limited to the Mg. Pr. (Vr. 11, 12), and हि to the abl. case (Vr. 5, 6), which is identical with the gen.¹⁾ Thus Pr. abl. वच्छाहि from a calf (lit. gen. of a calf), Mg. Pr. gen. वच्छाह of a calf, Pr. गिरीहि from a mountain, गुरुहि from a teacher (H. C. 3, 124). The Ap. Pr. gen. suff. हे is, probably, an other modification of the Skr. स्य (cf. Ls. 462), which, because of its final ए being heavy, does not lengthen the preceding vowel; as वच्छहे, गिरिहे, गुरुहे²⁾. In O. Gd. it is shortened to हि (as वच्छहि, गिरिहि, गुरुहि), the gen. character of which is shown by its being especially used for the dat. (= old gen., see examples in §§ 365, 6. 267, 4) or generally for the obl. in connexion with case-aff. which require the gen. (see § 366, 1. b). In that particular kind of Apabhrāṃṣa (probably Gujarātī or Marwārī) which is treated by H. C. 4, 350, this shortened obl. or gen. suff. हि was, in the case of masc. and neut. nouns, confined to the loc. sing., probably because the alternative gen. suff. हो or हु (see Nro. 3) were used in the gen.

1) It may be observed that even in Skr. the abl. takes the gen. suff. असु in the case of all bases, exc. those in अ.

2) Exceptionally the vowel is lengthened in Mh. Pr., e. g., एत्ताहे from *that* (H. C. 3, 82), but Ap. Pr. एत्तहे (H. C. 4, 420) = Skr. इतः or एततः.

(incl. dat. and abl.). — 3) There is an other Ap. Pr. gen. suff. हो or shortened हु (H. C. 4, 336. 338)¹⁾, which, however, has no connection with the Skr. स्य. Its origin is obscure. Ls. 462 identifies it with an assumed Skr. suff. स्त्र. It seems more probably to be identical with the Skr. abl. plur. suff. भ्यस्, which in Pr. would regularly change to ओ or हो (cf. Pr. त्रीहा or त्रिभा *tongue* in H. C. 2, 57 and § 120) and easily serve as a gen. suff. also. In the Ap. of H. C. 4, 351 हु actually occurs as an abl. and gen. plur. suff. The change of „number“ would be analogous to that in the case of the Pr. abl. pl. suff. हितो which is used in the sing. also (see H. C. 3, 8. 9, see also § 367, 5). — 4) The Skr. gen. plur. suff. नाम् becomes in Pr. णं or ण (Vr. 5, 4) with the lengthening of the preceding vowel; as Skr. वत्सानाम्, Pr. वच्चाणं of *calfs*. This form has survived in M., E. H., Br. and S., see § 365, 4. — 5) The Skr. gen. pl. suff. नाम्, however, also changes in Pr. to पंहं or पह, हं and हँ, the last with, the former two without the lengthening of the preceding vowel. The process is quite regular: a) Skr. न् is doubled, and the preceding long vowel shortened, as in Pr. लखू = Skr. स्याणुः, Pr. तुपिहक्को = Skr. तूपीकः, Pr. दुल्लो = Skr. स्मूलः, etc. (H. C. 2, 99, see Ls. 143. 276); b) the Pr. ण् is changed to पह (see § 161 and Ls. 271); c) Pr. पह *nha* is changed to हं *ham* (projecting the *anusvāra*, for *nha*), or to हँ, prolonging, in the latter case, the preceding vowel, to compensate for the loss of the *anusvāra* (see §§ 143. 149). Thus, e. g., Skr. °अनाम् is in Pr. *अणं = अणहं = अहं = अहँ. The form पंहं is added in Pr. to numerals only, as पंचपंहं of *five* = Skr. पञ्चानाम् (H. C. 3, 123), and exceptionally to pronouns, as कइपंहं of *how many* = Skr. कतीनाम् (H. C. 3, 123). The form हँ is added also to nouns, especially in Mg. Pr. (H. C. 4, 300). The form हं is used only in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 339). In Gd. all three forms are used

1) Observe that in the Ap. of H. C. the gen. suff. हो (H. C. 4, 338) becomes हु when used for the abl. (H. C. 4, 336); just as the gen. suff. हे (H. C. 4, 350) becomes हि when used for the loc. (H. C. 4, 352).

with nouns (see § 365, 4. 7); though ऋ or न is limited to E. H., Br. and S. — 6) There is also an Ap. Pr. gen. pl. suff. हुं (H. C. 4, 340), the origin of which is obscure. Ls. 463, 11 derives it from the Pr. abl. pl. suff. सुन्तो (Yr. 5, 7). It may possibly be identical with the Ap. Pr. gen. and abl. suff. हु (see Nro. 3), to which, being both plur. and sing., perhaps an inorganic *anusvāra* was added, to distinguish better its plur. character by making a pair हु, हुं analogous to the other two pairs of Ap. suff., sg. ह, pl. हं, and sg. हि, pl. हिं. — 7) There is, lastly, an Ap. plur. suff. हिं (H. C. 4, 347) or हे (K. I. 32 in Ls. 451). Ls. 310, 3 identifies it with the Skr. pl. instr. suff. भिस्. It is more probably identical with the Skr. abl. suff. भ्याम्¹), which would regularly change in Pr. to हे or हि (for षे or षि), and easily come to be used in the Ap. Pr. for the gen. (K. I. 32) and instr. or loc. (H. C. 4, 347) of the plur. Its gen. character is shown by its being still used in O. Gd. for the dat. (= old gen., see examples in §§ 365, 7. 367, 2. 5), and in S. for the act. (= old instr.) and obl. generally; thus O. II. dat. नरहिं to men, S. act. नरे by men or obl. नरे to men.

369. *Derivation of the direct terminations.* 1) A comparison of the various Gd. terminations of the obl. sing. and plur. with those of the dir. or nom. plur. will show at once that the latter are always identical with the former. Sometimes it is some obl. form of the sg., sometimes (apparently) of the pl.; again sometimes it is an obl. form of the same Gd., sometimes of an other, which is thus used for the nom. plur.; but in every case it is *some one* obl. form. To this rule the M. fem. and neut. nouns form the only exception. For example compare the following weak forms: a) *masc.*, the S. nom. pl. जन men with the S. obl. sg. जन man (nom. sg. जनु), and the E. H. nom. pl. जने (§ 361, exc.)

1) Even in Skr. the suff. भ्याम् is used for the instr. and dat. also, similarly the pl. abl. suff. भ्यस् for the dat. and, in the modified form भिस्, for the instr.; there is also a dat. sg. suff. भ्याम् in Skr., as तुभ्याम् to thee. — If हु be rightly identified with सुन्तो, हिं might be derived from the Pr. abl. pl. suff. हितो (Yr. 5, 7).

with the B. obl. sg. *ज्ञे*; b) *fem.*, the Br. nom. pl. *ज्ञीमै* or *ज्ञीमे* tongues with the S. obl. pl. *ज्ञीमे*; the Mw., P. and S. nom. pl. *ज्ञीमौ* or *ज्ञीमौ* with the S. obl. pl. *ज्ञीमौ*; the S. nom. pl. *ज्ञीमू* with the abl. sg. (really obl. pl., § 367, 5) *ज्ञीमू*; the W. H., P. nom. pl. *मित्रियाँ* walls with the S. obl. pl. *मित्रियाँ*; the S. nom. pl. *मित्रिङ्* with the S. abl. sg. (really obl. pl.) *मित्रिङ्* (or *मित्रू*), etc. Again strong forms: a) *masc.*, P., H. H., M. nom. pl. *घोडे* horses with the P., H. H., and S. obl. sg. *घोडे*; the B., O., E. H., W. H., S., G. nom. pl. *घोडा* horses with the B., O., E. H., W. H., G. obl. sg. *घोडा*; b) *neut.*, the G. nom. pl. *सोनौ* goldpieces with the G. obl. sg. *सोनौ*; c) *fem.*, the W. H. and P. nom. pl. *घोडियाँ* mares with the S. obl. pl. *घोडियाँ*; the S. nom. pl. *घोडिङ्* with the S. abl. sg. (really obl. pl.) *घोडिङ्*; the W. H. nom. pl. *पोथी* books (Kl. 64, 130) with the P. loc. pl. *पोथी* in books¹⁾; the W. H. and P. nom. pl. *सासुचाँ* mothers-in-law with the S. obl. pl. *सासुचाँ*, etc. It will be observed, that in the case of fem. nouns the dir. pl. is identical with the obl. pl., but in the case of masc. and neut. it is the same as the obl. sg. The difference, however, is probably in appearance only. For, no doubt, the pl. obl. forms when employed as dir. pl. are used as sing., just as in the S. abl. and M. loc. (see § 367, 5). There can be no doubt, that these so-called nom. plur. forms are *elliptic* phrases, which must be filled up by supplying some collective noun, as *लोग* people, *गन* troupe, etc. The E. H. practice of forming the plur. by the addition of such a collective noun, illustrates this theory (§ 361). Such nouns would require the principal word to be in the *gen.* case; and this explains the use of the obl. form, which is the same as the old *gen.* (§ 366). In B. it is actually the *gen. sg.* (not merely the obl. f.), which is used to form the plur.; e. g., B. obl. f. *देवे*, *gen. sg. देवे-रू* of a god, nom. pl. *देवे-रू* gods; here *रू* is merely the strong form of *रू*; see § 364, 2. Similarly in N. the plur. is an archaic form of the *gen. sg.*, composed of the

1) The form *पोथी*, both in the nom. and loc. pl., is a contraction for *पोथिर्* = Ap. *पोथिच्चिह्*.

gen.-affix *ह* (for *कह* or *केह*, § 377) and the O. Gd. gen. sg. in *हे* or *ह* (§ 365, 6). Thus O. Gd. gen. or obl. sg. *देवहे* or *देवह*, N. nom. pl. *देवहे-ह* or *देवह-ह* *gods*; see also § 364, 3. - Thus the H. H., P. or S. nom. pl. *घोडे* *horses* is really as much as Ap. Pr. *घोडघहे* scl. गणु = Skr. *घोटकस्य गणाः*, lit. *a troop of horse*. The nom. pl. of nouns in *इ*, *उ*, *ई*, *ऊ* is, of course, of the same character; though it does not come out so strikingly. — 2) The obl. sg. is sometimes even used to form the nom. sing. • Thus always in the long forms: e. g., E. H. nom. sg. *रमवा* or *रमव*, M. *राम्या* (for **रामया*) *Rāma* = obl. form E. H. *रमवा* or *रमव*, M. *राम्या* = A. Mg. or Dk. Pr. gen. sg. *रामवाह* or pl. *रामवाहँ* (see § 365, 1. 4) ¹). But sometimes also in masc. short forms; viz. in B. weak forms in *घा*, and B., P., Br. and H. H. strong forms in *घा*. Thus in B. the nom. sg. may be *देवे* *a god*, *घोगाय्* *a horse* (for the usual *देव*, *घोगा*), both obl. forms = O. Gd. gen. sg. *देवहि*, *घोडाहि* (§ 365, 6); see S. Ch. 56, where these nom. are described as loc. Again P. or Br. or H. H. nom. sg. *घोगा* *a horse* = O. Gd. gen. or obl. sg. *घोडाह* or *घोडघह*, Ap. Pr. *घोडघहो*. With these exceptions, the nom. sg. of short forms in all Gds. is simply a modified form of the Pr. nom. sg., as explained in §§ 40—54. Thus S., G., Mw. *घोडो*, Br. *घोडौ* = Ap. Pr. nom. sg. *घोडउ*, Pr. *घोडओ*; E. H., B., O., M. *घोडा* = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. *घोडअ* or *घोडइ* or *घोडए* (Vr. 11, 10) = Skr. *घोटकः*; again E. H., B., O., M. *देव* *a god* = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. *देव* or *देवि* or *देवे*; W. H., P., G., N. *देव* or S., O. W. H., O. P. *देवु* = Ap. Pr. nom. sg. *देवु*, Pr. *देवो*, Skr. *देवः*. — 3) The nom. pl. of fem. and neut. nouns in M. is identical with the old Pr. nom. pl. The suff. of the nom. pl. neut. is in Pr. *इं* (Vr. 5, 26 = Skr. *नि*), before which the final vowel of the base is lengthened; in the Ap. Pr. it is also *इं*, but without lengthening the preceding vowel (H. C. 4, 353). Hence the termin. are in Mh. Pr. *घाइं*, *ईइं*, *उइं*, in Ap. Pr. *घाइं*, *इइं*, *उइं*, or with strong bases *अघाइं*, *इअइं*, *उअइं*. These be-

1) Not = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. *रामए*; for *ए* could not well become *घा*; and it would not account for the final *anunāsika* in E. H.

come in M. एँ (इइं and उइं *desunt*) or, with strong bases, ऐँ or ईँ, वेँ, वेँ. Thus M. घरेँ *houses*, Ap. घरइं, Pr. घराइं, Skr. गृहाणि; M. ब्रौसरेँ *calves*, Ap. बच्छउअइं, Skr. बत्स^०; M. केलीँ *plantains*, Ap. केलअइं, Pr. कयलआइं (H. C. 1, 167), Skr. कदरुकाणि; M. मोत्येँ *pearls*, Ap. मोत्तिअइं, Pr. मोत्तिआइं, Skr. मौक्तिकानि; M. अंसुँ (or अंसवेँ), Ap. अंसुअइं, Pr. अंसुआइं, Skr. अश्रुकाणि. — 4) The suff. of the nom. plur. fem. is in Pr. ओ or उ or may be dropped altogether (Vr. 5, 19. 20); so also in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 344. 348). Thus M. जीभा *tongues* (nom. pl. of जीभ), Pr. तिब्भा or तिब्भाउ or तिब्भाओ, Skr. तिब्बाः; or M. घोड्या *mares*, Pr. घोडिआ or घोडिआउ or घोडिआओ, Skr. घोडिकाः; or M. सास्रा (or सासवा) *mothers-in-law*, Pr. सासुआ or सासुआउ or सासुआओ, Skr. श्रुश्रुकाः. — 5) The use of the gen. sg. (or obl. form) for the nom. sg. or pl. is expressly taught by Mḍ. for the Ap. Pr. As this is a point of some importance, I will quote his rules on the subject. They are: a) उत्सुमोः ॥ सुमोहृत् स्यात् ॥ चन्दु । राउ । अगिउ । महुउ, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 331), i. e., *a*-bases have *u* in the nom. and acc. sg., as *moon, king, fire, honey*; b) होच ॥ सुमोर् हो च स्यात् ॥ हकखहो ॥ i. e., they have also *ho* (gen. suff., see H. C. 4, 338) in the nom. and acc. sg., as *tree*; c) सो पुंस्य अत ओ कुचित् ॥ सप्यो ॥ i. e., masc. *a*-bases have sometimes *o* (cf. H. C. 4, 332), as *serpent*; d) तसो हे च ॥ हकखहे । वालाहे ॥ *a*-bases have also *हे* (gen. suff., see H. C. 4, 350) in the nom. plur., as *trees, girls*; e) स्त्रियाम् उच्च च त्रप्रसोः ॥ वालाउ ॥ चकाराद् वालाहे ॥ i. e., fem. *a*-bases have *u* (cf. H. C. 4, 348) or *हे* in the nom. and acc. plur., as *girls*; f) इं नपुंसके दीर्घो वा ॥ नपुंसके त्रप्रसोर् इं स्यात् ॥ प्राग् दीर्घो वा ॥ वणाइं । वणाइं ॥ मुहुइं । मुहुइं ॥ i. e., neut. bases have *im* in the nom. acc. pl., and the preceding vowel may be long, as *woods, honeys*. — 6) It may be further observed, that the voc. sg. and pl. throughout the Gds. is identical with some one Gḍ. form of the obl. sg. or nom. pl. Thus in *masc.*; E. H. obl. sg., voc. sg., nom. pl. alike घोडा (*of a horse, oh horse, or horses*); H. H. and P. obl. sg., voc. sg. and nom. pl. alike घोडे; voc. pl. H. H. घोडे, P. घोडिउ (= *घोड्यु or *घोडउ); S. nom. pl. and voc. sg. घोडा, voc. pl. घोडा or घोडउ or घोडो; G. obl. sg. and voc. sg. घोडा, nom. pl. and voc. pl. घोडाउ or घोडाव् (or घोडाओ); M. obl. sg. घोड्या,

nom. pl. घोडे, voc. sg. घोड्या or घोडे. So also in fem. nouns¹⁾. The identity of the voc. sg. and pl. with the obl. sg. and nom. pl. is expressly taught by Pr. Gramm., who ascribe the two suff. of the gen. sg. हो and हे to the voc. Thus Mđ. states: सम्बुद्धौ सौ हे च ॥ स्त्रियाम् इत् एव ॥ बालाहे । पाइहे ॥ चकारान् महाराष्ट्रीवच्च च ॥ i. e., the voc. sg. of fem. only takes *he*. The Mh. Pr. forms would be बाले, पाइ. The latter forms alone are enjoined by K. I. 17, 18 (in Ls. 450), who does not identify them with the Mh. Pr. forms. In this he is correct; for बाले is a mere contraction for बालहे or बालहि; and पाइ has dropped the suff. हे or ह, just as in the obl. or gen. sg. (cf. H. C. 4, 345). The form ए is preserved in P. fem. nouns; as जिभे *oh tongue*, मावे^० *oh mother*, पोए *oh daughter*; but also extended to masc. sg.; as घोडे *oh horse*, and to masc. pl., as देवे *oh gods*. Again Mđ. continues: त्रिषु हो तसः ॥ त्रिषु तसो हो स्यात् ॥ हक्त्वहो । वपाहो । पाइहो ॥ i. e., the voc. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* takes *ho*. So also H. C. 4, 346 and K. I. 29 (in Ls. 450). In M. Gđ. the suff. हो becomes उ (for हु) or अ (for ह), which are contracted with a preceding अ to ओ or आ respectively; e. g., P. voc. pl. घोडीउ *oh mares* = घोडिअहु (with ई for इअ) = Ap. घोडिअहो; or S. नरो or नरा *oh men* for *नरउ or *नराअ = *नरहु or *नरह, Ap. पारहो. Gđ. extends the contr. form आ even to the sing.; e. g., P. voc. sg. देवा *oh god*, but voc. pl. देवे *oh gods*; the former being derived from Ap. देवहो, the latter from Ap. देवहे. Indeed, as such it is noticed by K. I. 26 (in Ls. 450) as already occurring in the Ap. Pr. The general result seems to be, that in the Ap. Pr. both हे and हो or its modifications are used to form both the voc. sing. and the voc. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* whether masc., fem. or neut.

4. CASE.

370. There are seven cases, viz. nominative (incl. vocative), accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative.

¹⁾ Exceptionally, the voc. pl. is the same as the obl. pl.; e. g., Mw. nom. pl. and voc. pl. घोडाँ *oh horses* or (of) horses.

The nom. serves also as the voc., and in that case some interjection, as हे, रे or ओरे, is generally prefixed; e. g., nom. राम् *Rāma*, voc. हे राम् *oh! Rāma*; nom. बेटा, voc. ओरे बेटा *oh! son*; nom. दुर्गा, voc. रे दुर्गा *oh! Durgā*, etc. The E. H. has no (eighth) case of the „agent“, or (as I shall call it) *active case*.

371. *The active case.* The absence of the act. case in E. H. is a point of great importance, as it helps to determine its affiliation or position with regard to the other Gd. languages. This case is one of the main features that distinguish the W. and S. Gds. from the E. Gds. The latter are without it; the former possess it. E. H., therefore, as not having the act. case, belongs to the E. Gd. group, and is more nearly allied to B. and O., than to W. H. — The rationale of the act. case is as follows. The old organic past tenses active of the Skr., mostly very complicated forms, were in Pr. already disused (cf. Wb. Spt. 63) with a few fragmentary and rare exceptions (cf. Vr. 7, 23. 24. H. C. 3, 162. 163). The inconvenience of this want was obviated by the simple expedient of giving to the sentence the passive construction; thereby turning the subject or nom. case into the instr. case and the past tense act. into the past part. pass. This method of expressing the past act. was already much used in Skr.; and in Pr. it has become the common one; thus „they have not devoured that“ may be in Skr. ते एतद् न अचेहः or in pass. constr. तैर् एतद् अनाचीर्षम्; but in Pr. only the latter तेहिं एअं अणाइअं (cf. H. C. 3, 134). But there is yet a simpler way of using the pass. constr.; viz., by employing the past part. pass. in an *act. sense*, whereby the change of the nom. case into the instr. in the subj. becomes unnecessary. This practise may have originated from the use of the past part. pass. of intrans. verbs in an *act. sense*, which is very common in Skr.; as अहं गतः *I went* for अहं गताम्. In Pr. it is already found occasionally extended to trans. verbs (cf. Gl. in J. G. O. S. XXVII, 492), as *Setub. 6, 51* आढत्ता दीसिं पिसिअर्च्छाया *the shadows of the night-walkers began to be seen* (Skr. निशिचर्च्छाया दृष्टम् आरब्धाः), and intrans., *ibid. 8, 30* दीसिं पउन्नं



सेउब्रधस्स मुहुं *the head of the bridge began to be seen*, or *ibid.* 7, 71
 वेण्डिउं वउत्ता पवंग *the monkeys began to be taken*, etc. Now of these
 two methods of using the past part. pass. to supply the past
 tense act., the former, i. e., *the real pass. constr. with the subj. in*
the instr. case, was adopted by the W. and S. Gds., while the
 other, i. e., (what I may call) *the pass-act. constr. with the subj.*
in the nom. case, was chosen by the E. and N. Gds., and, of
 course, these latter make the past part. pass. to agree in number
 and gender with the subj. Thus „*they have not eaten that*“ is in
 E. H. ईलोग् उ न खैलेन्, in W. H. इन्हो ने वह न खायो. Here खैलेन्
 is the 3^d plur. masc. 2nd pret. (formed from the past part. pass.
 खैल् or खायल्, see § 307), agreeing with the nom. ईलोग् and
 governing the acc. उ; while खायो is the nom. sg. masc. (of the
 past part. pass. खायो) agreeing with वह् and governed by the
 instr. or rather act. इन्हो ने. — It has been stated already
 (§ 366, 1. d) that the tendency of the later Pr. was to substi-
 tute the gen. for every other case. Thus the example of the
 gen. in the place of the instr., given by H. C. 3, 134, is तेसिं
 एअं अणाइअं, where तेसिं is the gen. plur. (= Skr. तेषाम्) for the
 instr. तेहिं (= Skr. तेभिः)¹⁾. It has also been stated (*ibid.*) that
 this Pr. tendency has become in Gd. an absolute law, and also, that
 the Gd. so-called obl. form is identical with the old Pr. gen.
 Hence, as regards the W. Gd. and S. Gd., their method of ex-
 pressing the past tense act. by means of the *real pass. constr.*
with the subj. in the instr. case, may now be stated thus, that
 they express it by means of the *past part. pass. with the subj.*
in the obl. form (= old gen.-instr.). Now there is every reason
 to believe, that this was once the universal usage in the whole
 of the W. and S. Gd.; that is, that in the pass. constr. the
 mere obl. form was used without the addition of any affix (ने or

1) His other examples are: धपास्स लडो for धपोपा लडो *acquired with money*, or चिस्स मुक्का for चिरेपा मुक्का *long delivered*; here the gen.-instr. has not the sense of the act.

ने॑). Thus in the O. H. (of Chand, Kabir, Behári Lál, etc.) the aff. never or very rarely occurs¹). In O. S. it cannot have been used; for it does not exist even in the M. S. Nor was it used in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI); nor, as far as I can ascertain, in O. M. (see Man. 138) and O. G. Even in the modern S. (Tr. 113, 3) and Mw. (Kl. 66, 132. a) it is always omitted; also, as a rule, in G. (Ed. 87) and not, unfrequently, in Br. (Kl. 287, 543) and P. (Ld. 7, 22. 73, 119). Indeed, it may be said to be really confined to the literary forms of the Gd. languages and, therefore, to be comparatively modern. Such, at all events, is the case with Hindí, where it is confined to the H. H. (or Urdu) and originated at the same time with the literary cultivation of the language. The latter took place in the sixteenth century around the centre of the Moghul empire in Western Hindústán. In the low dialects of those parts the following dat. aff. are in use, G. ने॑, Mw. ने॑, P. ने॑; and it so happens that in G. the same aff. ने॑ is also used as an aff. of the act. case in the pass. constr. It may be concluded, therefore, that the founders of the H. H. adopted what they found current as a dat. aff. in their regions for the act. case also. It should be remembered, that the mere obl. f. which originally was the act. case was often outwardly not to be distinguished from the nom. This was too inconvenient for a literary language which necessarily aims at grammatical precision. Seeing, then, two dat. aff. current in different parts of their neighbourhood (viz., कौ॑ or को॑ in Br., ने॑ or ने॑ in Mw.) they assumed one (ने॑) for the act., while they reserved the other (को॑) for the dat.; and thus, as will be seen, any confusion between the act. and the dat. in H. H. was avoided. Possibly, the dat. aff. ने॑ was already employed, in some cases, by the common people (as in G.) to signify the act., and thus a precedent was

1) It must be remembered, that in many cases the obl. f. happens not to differ from the dir. or nom.; thus in Pr. R. 1, 49 (in Bs. II, 267) दु॒न and रा॒न are not nom., but obl. f., just as ति॒न and ति॒हि in the other cited verses.

afforded. The choice of the dat. aff. to supply an affix of the act. must have been felt to be natural; for it has merely the general sense of „referring to“. An affix, having such a vague and general meaning, might well be employed to express any relation in which a noun may stand in a sentence. — This theory of the identity of the act. aff. with that of the dat., with which I entirely agree, was, I believe, first propounded by Beames (II, 270). The common theory of its identity with the Skr. instr. termin. एन or न् can hardly be seriously maintained, and has been well refuted by the same writer (ibid. 266). — It should be mentioned, that G. and Mw. employ a special obl. f. in ए or ऐ for the act. case sing., their general obl. f. ending in ञ्, see § 366, 2; while S. uses its general obl. f. for the act. case also. — The various act. case-aff. are: H. H. ने, Br. ने, M. sg. ने or pl. नी, P. ने, G. ने or पो, N. ले. The aff. थो in G. and ही, सो or श्री in M. do not belong to the act., but to the instr. or abl., just as से in E. H. (see §§ 372. 376). — N. alone has the curious anomaly of using the act. case with ले together with the act.-pass. constr.; i. e., of constructing the subj. like the W. Gds., but the verb like the E. Gds. (see § 487).

Note: On the derivation of the act.-dat. affixes see § 375.

372. All cases, exc. the nom. and acc. (*proper*) are formed by adding to the obl. form of the noun certain affixes which are the same for both numbers. These are the following: instr. or abl. से *by, with or from*; dat. के *to*, gen. कै, के or करू, करे *of*, loc. मे *in*. The acc. proper is identical with the nom.; but commonly, as in all Gds., the dat. is substituted for the acc. See paradigms in § 379.

Note: The following aff. are also sometimes used: dat. कहं, abl. सो or सेन or ते or थो, loc. मे or म or माँ or माँक or माँहो.

373. For the gen., there are two sets of aff.: 1) कै and के, 2) करू and करे. Of these two sets, nouns (i. e., subst., adj., and numer.) may affix only the former (कै, के), while pron. may

take either pair at pleasure. Of the two members of each pair the former (कै, करू) are used when the governing word is in the nom. or acc. proper; the latter (के, करे) when it is in any obl. case. The number and gender of the governing word make no difference in this respect. Thus घरू कै सामी आवत् बा the master of the house is coming; घरू के सामी से कहह tell ye the master of the house; घरू कै लोग आवत् बाटै the people of the house are coming; घरू के तिरियालोगन् के बुलावह call ye the women of the house. Again ई ओकरू or ओकै घरू बाटै this is his house; उ ए करे or ए के घरू में बाटै he is in his house; उ ए करू or ए कै पोथी बाटै those are his books; उ एकरे or एके पोथी में पढ़ैला he reads in his book.

374. *Affinitics.* Besides the want of the act. case (§ 370), E. H. shows its affinity to E. Gd., as against W. Gd., also in the government of the gen. aff. In the W. Gd. the form of the aff. changes not only with the case, but also with the number and gender of the governing word; it is for the *nom. sg. masc.* Br. को, H. II. का, Kn. को, Mw. री, G. नो, P. दा, S. तो; *obl. sg. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा or रै, G. ना, P. दे, S. ते; *nom. sg. neut.* G. तूँ; *obl. sg. neut.* G. नाँ; *nom. sg. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नी, P. दी, S. तो; *obl. sg. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नी, P. दी, S. ते or तिन; *nom. pl. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा, G. ना or नाव, P. दे, S. ता; *obl. pl. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा, G. ना or नाव, P. दे or दिवाँ, S. ते or तनि; *nom. pl. neut.* G. नाँ or नाव, *obl. dto.*; *nom. pl. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नीउ, P. दीवाँ, S. डूँ or डिऊँ; *obl. pl. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नीउ, P. दीवाँ, S. ते or तनि or जुनि or तिननि or तिननि (see Ld. 7. Tr. 129). The S. Gd. and N. Gd. follow the W. Gd. practice; thus *nom. sg. masc.* M. चा, N. को, *obl. M. चे* or च्या, N. का; *nom. sg. neut.* M. चे, *obl. चे* or च्या; *nom. sg. fem.* M. चो, N. की, *obl. M. चे* or च्या, N. की; *nom. pl. masc.* M. चे, N. का, *obl. M. चे* or च्या, N. का; *nom. pl. neut.* M. ची, *obl. चे* or च्या; *nom. pl. fem.* M. चा, N. की, *obl. M. चे* or च्या, N. की (see M. 27. 41). On the other hand, in B. and O. the form of the *gen. aff.* never changes; not even, as in E. H., with

the case. — The case-aff. have a great variety of forms in the different Gds.; they are exhibited in the subjoined table.

	B.	O.	E. H.	H. H.	Br.	Mw.
dat. acc.	के	कु or कि	के	को	कौ	नै
abl. instr.	इते	हु, कह	से	से	सौ	सूँ
gen.	रु	रु, करू	कै, करू	का	कौ	रो
loc.	ते	रे, करे	मे	मे	मे	माँ
act.	—	—	—	ने	ने	obl.

	G.	P.	S.	M.	N.
dat. acc.	ने	नूँ	ले	ला	लार्ह
abl. instr.	थो	ते	खो, खौ	सी, ही, हूँ, ऊँ	संग
gen.	नो	दा	तो	चा	को
loc.	माँ	मै	मे	तू	मा
act.	obl. or ने	नै	obl.	ने	ले

Besides these affixes which are allotted to particular *cases*, there is a large number of others, which are used to modify the noun in various senses which may, in a general way, be referred to the dat., abl. or loc. These may be divided into two classes, according as they are or are not added to the obl. form of the noun by means of the gen. aff. In the former case, I shall call them *postpositions*, in the latter, *affixes*. Many of them, however, belong to both classes, sometimes in the same, sometimes in different languages; e. g., E. H. बदे is a postpos. in के करू बदे *what for*, but an aff. in केहू बदे *what for*; again लये or लिये is a postpos. in E. H., W. H. घरू के लये or लिये *for the sake of the house*, but an aff. in S. घरू लइ (Tr. 404). The following list contains most of these aff. or postpos.; their meanings (indicated by numbers) generally are; *for* or *to* 1, *till* or *up to* 2, *with* 3, *by* 4, *from* 5, *in* or *at* 6. Thus a) (Skr. लग्), B. लागत् or O. B. लागि, E. H. लग्, लगि 2, W. H. लागि 1, S. लगे or लगि 1, G. लगी 1, M. लागौ or लागुनि 1, N. लागी 1; b) (Skr. लब्ध), E. H. लिये 1, W. H.

लये or लए or लये^० or लौ^० or लो^० 2, P. लई 1, S. लाइ or लइ 1, G. लीधे 1, M. ला 1, N. लाई 1; c) (Skr. स्थान), B. ठाई^० 1, थेके 5, O. ठा-रे 1, ठा-रु or ठु^० or ठाउ^० 5, E. H. थो^० 5, W. H. थो^० 5, G. थो 5, P. थो^० or थो^० or O. P. थावहु or थो or थो^० 5, ठाइ or थानि 1, N. थाजि 5 or 6, M. ठाई^० 6; d) (Skr. कर्ण), W. H. कने or कनै or कानो or कणि 1, P. कनी 1, G. काने 1, S. काणे or काणि or कने or कनि 1, कना^० or कनो^० 5; e) (Skr. पक्ष), B. पक्षे or पाके, E. H. पाही^०, W. H. पै, P. पाहो^० 5; f) (Skr. कक्ष), B. काखे or के 1, O. कु or कि 1, E. H. के or कँह^० 1, Br. को^० 1, H. H. को 1, O. H. कहं or कुहं or कहुं or काहुं^० 1, O. P. कह or कहु or कउ or को or कू or कू^० 1, S. खे 1 or खौ^० or खो^० 5; g) (Skr. तर्जित?), B. तक् 2, ते 6, E. H. तक् 2, ते 5, W. H. तक् or तलक् or ताई^० or तई^० 2, ते or ते^० 5, P. ताई^० or तीकु or तीकुर or तेजे 2, ते or उतो^० or उता^० 5, S. ताई^० or तोई^० or तोजे or तोपो 2, ता^० or तो^० 5, ते 6; h) (Skr. वार्त), E. H. बाटे 1, S. वटे 1, वाटा^० 5, G. वते 1, N. बाट 5; i) (Skr. वरे), E. H. वरे 1, M. वरून 5; k) (Skr. कार्य), E. H. काज 1, O. H. काज 1; l) (Skr. कृत), S. करे or करि 1, M. करून 5, करिता^० 1; m) (Skr. अर्थ), M. आठी^०; n) (Skr. सङ्ग), B. सने 3, E. H. सन् or सने or सेन् or सेनी 3, W. H. सणि 1, P. सणे 1, S. सँगि or सँगो^० 1, सणु or साणु 5, N. सँग 5; o) (Skr. सदृश), Mw. सर- or सार- 1, S. सार- 1, G. सार- 1; p) (Skr. समाधा?), W. H. सुधी 2, S. सुधी^० 5; q) (Skr. भवन्तं), B. हइते 5, O. H. हुंतो or हुँतो 5, N. भन्दा 5; r) (Skr. कृत्वा), B. करिया 4, E. H. करू or करि 4, W. H. करि or करके 4, P. करके 4; s) (Skr. दत्त्वा), B. दिया 4; t) (Skr. पार्श्व), E. H., W. H. पास 6, P. पास 6, पासो^० 5, S. and G. पासे 6, M. पासो^० 6, पसुन् 5; u) (Skr. पर), B. परू or परे 6, E. H. परू or परि 6, W. H. परू or परि or पै 6, P. परू 6, परो^० 5, S. परे 6, परा^० or परो^० 5; v) (Skr. मध्य), B. मध्य or मध्ये or माके 6, E. H. माक् or माही^० or मे^० or मे or मा or म 6, W. H. मे^० or मो^० or मा^० or मायू or मई^० or माहै 6, O. H. मधि or मडि or मकि or माफ or मखं or माहै^० or माहो^० or माही or महि or मै^० 6, O. P. मै or माहि 6, S. मंके or मे^० 6, मा^० or मो^० 5, G. मा^० 6, O. M. माजी 6, M. मध्ये^० 6; w) (Skr. अभ्यन्तर), B. भितरू or भितरे 6, E. H. and W. H. भीतरू 6; x) (Skr. कउ), M. कडे 6, कडून् 5; y) (Skr. मस्त), S. मये 6, G. माटे 1, N. माथि 6; z) (Skr. सिस्), P. सिरू 6, S. सिरे 6; aa) (Skr. वृत्त्य), W. H. बीच् 6, P. बिच् 6, O. P. बिचि 6, S. बिचे 6; and others.

375. *Derivation of the dat. affixes.* 1) In B. there is a dat. postpos. काहे (S. Ch. 62, 215) meaning lit. *near*; and the O. H. has a dat. aff. कहँ or कहुँ or कहूँ or काहूँ, which often also means *near, by the side of*; e. g., ऋषि सिधि संपत्ति नदी सुहार्इँ । उमि अवध वंजुधि कहं गार्इँ ॥ i. e., *fair rivers of prosperity, success, wealth, overflowing came near to the sea of Avadh* (see Bs. II, 253 where some more examples will be found). This points to the Skr. loc. कने at the side of as their source. In the Ap. Pr. it would be कच्चे (as in B.), or *कक्खे or *कक्खहुं (see § 378) or probably *कहे or *कहि or *कहहुं (or *काहहुं, see § 116). The latter would contract in O. H. to कहूँ (or काहूँ), and in M. W. II. to कोँ or (with the loss of *anunāsika*) in H. II. को. The former, कहि, contracts in E. H. and B. to के (see S. Ch. 49) and is shortened in O. to कि (Sn. 13). Similarly the O. कु (Sn. 13) is a shortened form of the H. H. को (= कहूँ). The S. ले has arisen from कहे or कहि by the metathesis of ह्, just as in मैस् buffalo for वहिस or महिस, गधा donkey for गद्दा (Pr. गद्दह H. C. 2, 37). — 2) Again the G. has the dat. postpos. लीधे for (Ed. 115) and W. H. लये or लयेँ or लए (Kl. 273, 508), H. H. लिये, S. लाइ or लइ (Tr. 404), P. लई. These are identical with the past part. G. लीधो, W. H. लयो, H. H. लिया (see § 307) = Skr. लब्धः obtained, benefited. This points to the Skr. loc. लब्धे lit. for the benefit of (lat. *commodo*) as their source. In the Ap. Pr. it would be *लहिए or *लहियहिं or (eliding ह) लइए or लइयहिं, whence contr. W. H. लये or लयेँ or P. लई, and still more contr. ले or *लैँ. The form ले exists in N. as an act. aff. (§ 371); but लैँ and ले further change to Mw. नैँ and G. ने, which latter is used in W. H. as an act. aff. (§ 371). The change of ल् to न् occurs also in the B. नेउन् (S. Ch. 189) and O. नेबा (Sn. 36) to obtain = H. H. लेना, E. H. लेब. The contraction of लये to ले is like that of the Br. भये or हये to भे or हे they were (Kl. 225, 438. 201). Another Ap. loc. would be *लहियहुं or *लइयहुं (see §§ 307. 378, 3) which would contract to *लयूँ or लौँ or लोँ. The last two forms exist in W. H. in the sense of *up to, until*. From लोँ arises the P. dat. aff. लूँ. Those forms of this dat. aff.

which have *आ*, as N. लाई, S. लाइ, M. ला, are probably to be referred to the Ap. Pr. loc. लाहि or लाहे, Skr. लाभे lit. *for the benefit of*. — 3) There is another set of dat. postpos. which has been much confused with the preceding one, though it is of an entirely different origin; viz. E. H. लग् or लगि, W. H. लागि, S. लगे or लगि, G. लगो, N. लागो, M. लागी, H. H. लग्. It means *up to, until, or on account of, for*, and is derived from the Skr. loc. लग्ने lit. *in contact with*. In the Ap. Pr. it is लगे or लगि, whence the Gd. लगे or लगि or लग् or लागि; or Ap. Pr. लगहि, whence the Gd. लागी or लागो or लगो¹⁾. P. has also the abl. postpos. लागो and S. लाक् (Tr. 401, ?लागू?) *from up* = Ap. Pr. abl. लगहु. — 4) The dat. postpos., B. ठाई and O. ठा-रे, are clearly the same as the Ap. Pr. loc. ठाणि or ठाणे, Skr. स्थाने *in the place of*; B. also uses the tats. स्थाने itself. — 5) The M. आठी (in the so-called postpos. साठी, see § 365, 1) is = Ap. Pr. loc. अट्टहि, Skr. अर्थे lit. *in the interest of*. — 5) The B. पाके (for पाके, see § 145, note), E. H. and W. H. पाही or पै, P. पाह् (Ld. 74) are = Ap. loc. *पक्खे or *पाहे or *पाहहि, Skr. पक्षे lit. *at the side of* (see § 116); B. also uses the tats. पक्षे; and P. has also an abl. postpos. पाहो (Ld. 74) = Ap. *पाहु. — 6) The set, W. H. कणि (Km., see Kl. 69) or कने (Br.) or कनै or कानी (Mw.), P. कनी, S. कने or कनि or काने or कानि (Tr. 401. 407), G. काने, which is also used in the lit. sense of *at the side of*, is = Ap. loc. कखे or कखहि and probably (as Tr. 401) = Skr. कर्णे or कार्णे (lit. *at the ear or belonging to the ear*, i. e., *side*). — 7) The forms, B., E. H., W. H. तक् or तलक्, W. H. तई or ताई, P. ताई or तोकु or तोकुर or तेगे (Ld. 76. 126), S. ताई or तोई or तोगे or तोणी (Tr. 399) meaning *up to, till, to*, I believe, form one set, together with the abl. aff., W. H. ते, ते, P. ते, उतो, उता (Ld. 77), S. ताँ, तो (Tr. 400), meaning *from up to*, and the loc. aff., B., P., S. ते

1) The O. M. लगुनि or लगोनि is the conj. part. of the same verb, = Pr. लगिगुण; so also might be the G. लगो = Pr. लगिगु; but not (as Bs. II, 260. 261) the M. लागी, on account of the final *anundāsika*.

on, upon (S. Ch. 49. Ld. 77. Tr. 400). I am inclined to connect them with the Skr. past. part. तरित (or उत्तरित, of the R. तृ) *passed to*, hence *up-to, upon, from-upon*. The loc. तरिते would become Ap. तरिए or *तइए (see § 124) and contract to Gd. ते, just as Gd. ले arises from लहिए, etc. (see above Nro. 2). The elements क, कु I take to be the dat. aff. कि, कु (as in O.), and the elements जी, णी to be pleon. suff. (see § 209). — 8) The set, Mw. सार or सार, S. सार, G. सार, which mean lit. *conformable to* (Tr. 400) and thence *for the sake of*, I connect with the Skr. सदृश *like*, Ap. obl. (or loc.) सरिहहु or सरिछहु (cf. § 292). — 9) The dat. aff., W. H. सणि (Km., see Kl. 69), S. सणि (Tr. 407), meaning *on account of, for*, together with the abl. aff., E. H. सन् or सेने or सेन् or सेनी *with, from*, P. सणो *with* (Ld. 74), S. साणु or सेणु *with* (Tr. 401), N. सणि *from*, S. सणि on account of (Tr. 407), I connect with the Skr. सङ्गे, which may mean *in company with* (from R. सम् + गम्) or *in attachment to* (from R. सम्). The conj. च् would readily pass into छ् or न्, cf. पक्ष for पञ्च (H. C. 2, 43. Wb. Bh. 403, see also p. 21). — 10) The W. H. सूधी (Kl. 69) *up-to, till* and S. सूधी *along with* (Tr. 401), the former a loc., the latter an abl., I would connect with some derivative of the R. समाधा (Ap. *सवड or *सडड), meaning *collected, adjusted*, whence *with or up-to*. — 11) The dat. aff., E. H. बाटे, S. वटे (Tr. 402), G. वटे (Ed. 115), meaning *for or instead*, and the abl. aff., N. बाट, S. वट from (Tr. 402), I connect with the Skr. वार्त्त (or वर्त्त or वृत्त) *welfare*, Pr. वट् or वत्त (cf. H. C. 2, 29. 30), loc. वार्त्ते lit. *in favor of, for*, whence *in place of, instead*. — 12) The dat. aff. E. H. वरे and the abl. aff. M. वरन् are derived from the Skr. वर *boon, advantage*. — 13) The E. H. कात् is the Pr. loc. कज्जे, Skr. कार्ये *for the work or sake of*. — 14) The S. करे or करि is contracted for *करिए = Skr. कृते *for the sake of*, and the corresponding abl. aff. is the M. करन्; similar is the M. dat. aff. करितौ which is apparently a loc. sg. of the pres. part. (see §§ 300. 307). — 15) As to the relics, in M., of the organic dat. in चास्, ईस्, उस् sg. and जाना, ईना, उना plur., see § 365, 1. 4.

Note: I think the identification of the S. खे with *कहे more consonant with Gd. analogy (see § 132, note) than Trumpp's theory that खे = Skr. कृते, by the loss of र and consequent aspiration of क (i. e., कृते = कृते = खिए = खे Tr. 115). For this process there is, I believe, no analogy in Gd. The examples, to which Tr. refers (मिथुं *tabor*, हिर्धे *heart*, for Skr. मृदङ्ग *a drum*, हृदय *heart* Tr. V.), are not analogous. For 1) र has *not* disappeared, and 2) it has aspirated the *following*, not the preceding cons.; whereas, in the case of खे, it is the preceding cons., and र has disappeared. According to the adduced analogy, Skr. कृते would become किये, not खे. There is *one* really analogous case in Pr. in the adverbial suff. त्र, for which Pr. has त्य (e. g., Pr. एत्य or एत्यु *here* = Skr. यत्र), but the case is unique, and the identification of त्य with त्र (Ls. 251) is, to my mind, doubtful, see § 469. — Beames' remarks on my theory (II, 258) are founded on a misunderstanding. I hold that both the W. H. को and the B. काहे are the same words, in as much as both are various modifications of the same Skr. words; and that the H. form represents a later phase of phonetic development than the B. form, in as much as B. has preserved the aspirate cons. of the Pr., while H. has worn it down to the simple aspirate ह् (in कहुँ) and even dropped it altogether (in को, को); but not, that the one is actually derived from the other. The H. form comes after the B. *phonetically*, though not *historically*; only in this sense can one be said to be *derived from* the other.

376. *Derivation of the abl. and instr. affixes.* 1) Pr. has the instr. suff. हितो and जुतो (Vr. 5, 7), both in the plur. (H. C. 3, 7), but हितो also in the sing. (H. C. 3, 8). Of these the former contracts to M. हो, the latter to E. H., W. H. सो, Mw. सू, G. सू; similarly as the 3. pl. pres. termin. Skr. अन्ति, Pr. अन्ति contracts in Gd. रै or रे or ई (see § 497, 2 f.). In the Ap. Pr., there is an abl. aff. होतओ or होतउ (H. C. 4, 355), which appears in O. H. (Chand) as हुंतो or हुंत¹). These forms

1) हुंत is a wk. f. = Ap. Pr. होतु or हुंतु.

are really part. pres. of the verb *भू to be* (cf. H. C. 3, 180). The modern B. has still an abl. aff. *हस्ते*, and N. *भंदा*, which are part. pres. (cf. S. Ch. 148, and see § 300), representing the Pr. forms *हवन्तं* and *भवन्त* or *भन्त* (cf. H. C. 4, 60 *हवन्ति* and H. C. 4, 365 *भन्ति* = Skr. *भवन्ति* *they are*). The rationale of this usage may be explained (as Bs. II, 237) „by supposing the idea to be that of having previously been at a place, but not being there now, which involves ‘the idea of having come away from it’; thus Ap. *तहाँ होतउ आगदो* (H. C. 4, 355), O. H. *तहाँ हुंतो आयो*, N. *ताँहाँ भंदा आयो*, B. *ओया हस्ते आइल् from there* (lit. *being there*) *he has come*. The Ap. and O. H. forms are *direct*, i. e., *he who is there* (lit. *the there being*) *has come*; the B. and N. forms are *oblique* and may be taken as loc., i. e., *in being there he has come*. Possibly the ordinary Pr. suff. *हंतो* and *सुंतो* may be also pres. part. of the Rs. *भू bē* and *अस् be* respectively, slightly modified for *हंतो* (cf. H. C. 4, 406 *हन्ति*)¹⁾ and *संतो* (cf. H. C. 1, 37). Just as *हंतो* or *हुंतो* (H. C. 4, 61) have become *हंतो*, so *संतो* or *सुंतो* may become *संतो*; and this form appears to exist in the N. *सित्*²⁾, and in the S. *से* (Tr. 401), E. H. and H. H. *से*, G. *ग्रे* and M. *सी* or *ग्री*³⁾. The S. *सँ* (Tr. 401) I would similarly derive from *संतो* which is still used by S., in the form *संदो*, as a gen. aff. (Tr. 129), or from *संते* which is still used in E. H. as an adv. part. *on being* (see § 488, note). — The Pr. suff. *हंतो* and *सुंतो* are used for the

1) Pr. has a tendency to change *अ* to *इ* in the suff. *अन्ति* of the 3. pl. and *अन्तं* of the part. pres., see Wb. Bh. 404. 428, and B. has *इते* in the pres. part. for E. H. *अते* (§ 300).

2) With *त्* for *न्त्*, as in the M. 3. pl. pres. *अत्* for Pr. *अन्ति*, and in the E. H. pres. part. in *अत्*, B. *इत्* for Pr. *अन्तो* (§ 300).

3) The M. *सी* or *ग्री* cannot be divided (as Bs. II, 272) into *सृ + ई*, the former being the termin. of the (Pr.) gen. sg., the latter the Pr. instr. plur. suff. *हिं*; thus M. *देवासी* = *देवासृ* or *देवस्स* + *हिं*. No doubt, modern M. case aff. (like *ने* in *त्याच्या ने* *by him*) may be added to a gen.; for they are relics of what were formerly full nouns. But *ई* is not an aff., but the relic of an old suff.; see at the end of this paragraph.

instr. only, but the Ap. aff. होतउ for the abl. also; similarly श्री and हो are confined, in M., to the instr., but in the other Gds. the corresponding aff. express both the instr. and abl. Thus instr. in E. H. ओह से कइल गइल *done by him or with it*, but abl. in तहाँ से आइल *come from there*. They never have in E. H. strictly the sense of „in company with“; thus *gone with him* is not ओह से गइल but ओह के संग गइल; but they appear to be used so occasionally in S. (Tr. 403), e. g., वरु पुनहू से पलकु *return with Punahū a moment*; and, of course, the instr. easily admits of this sense. — The Pr. हितो (H. C. 3, 7. 8) and the Ap. होतउ (H. C. 4, 372. 373) are used both in the sing. and plur.; but हितो was in Pr. originally confined to the plur. (Vr. 5, 6. 7), and the M. हो is so still; on the other hand, both M. and all other Gds. extend सो, से, etc. to the sing. also, while the corresponding Pr. सुतो is limited to the plur. — The M. abl. aff. हुन् or, curtailed, उन् can not well be derived from the Pr. हितो (as Ls. 311. Bs. II, 234. 236); though it may be (like the O. H. हुन्) traced to the Ap. होतउ (or rather the wk. f. होतु) by the change of न् to न्, as in the S. suff. अन्ति of the 3. plur. pres. for Pr. अन्ति. Indeed this derivation would hardly admit of a doubt, but for the fact, that in O. M. the aff. is हुनि or हुनियी, which points to its being a conj. part., the suff. of which is in O. M. उनियी or उनि and in M. M. उन् (see § 491). Accordingly it would be equal to होऊन *having been*. Similarly N. uses the conj. part. देखि *having seen* as an abl. aff.; e. g., ताँहाँ देखि निस्क्यो *he came out from there*, माँक् देखि *from the midst*. But very possibly (as Bs. II, 236 suggests) some confusion may have taken place between the abl. aff. हुन् and the conj. part. होऊन; and, on the whole, the identification of हुन् with हुंतो seems most to commend itself¹). — 2) As regards the other groups of abl. and instr. aff. or postpos., the B. ठाँइ

1) With Bs.' identification (II, 272) of the M. हो with Pr. हिं and of the H. सो or से with Skr. समं (II, 274) and with Ls.' derivation (310) of हितो from हिं + तस् I cannot agree.

(S. Ch. 229) and O. ठा-ह or ठाडँ or ठुँ (Sn. 13) are derivatives of Skr. स्थान, ठाँह or ठा (ह is the abl. aff.) being = Ap. loc. ठाणि, and ठाडँ or ठुँ = Ap. abl. ठापाहु. Identical with these, only substituting थ् for ट् (cf. H. C. 4, 16) is the other set: N. थाजि, P., E. H., W. H. थोँ (Ld. 77), G. थो (Ed. 115), all = Ap. loc. थाणि; and O. P. थावहु or थोँ or थो, M. P. थोँ = Ap. abl. थापाहु; in the B. थेके (S. Ch. 62. 230) and G. थकी the aff. के and की are super-added. — 3) The explanation of the set of instr. aff., E. H. सन्, सने, सेन्, सेनी, S. साणु or सेणु *with*, and of the abl. aff., E. H. ते, तेँ, P. उतोँ, S. तौँ or तोँ, has been given in § 375. So also that of the M. abl. aff. करन् and वरन्, and of the N. ब्राह, S. ब्राँ. Others, as M. पासन्, P. पासोँ, and P. परोँ, S. पराँ or परोँ, and S. माँ or मोँ or मकाँ and S. मथाँ, will be explained in § 378. — 4) There are also some relics of the old organic instr. or abl. Thus M. has an instr. sing. suff. ऐँ (Man. 17), which is the Ap. instr. sg. suff. ऐँ (H. C. 4, 342), probably contracted for अहिँ (see § 367, 5); e. g., M. देवेँ *by a god*, Ap. देवेँ, for *देवहिँ. Again M. has an instr. pl. suff. ईँ, which is contracted from the Ap. instr. pl. suff. अहिँ (H. C. 4, 347); e. g., M. देवीँ *by gods* = Ap. देवहिँ. Again there are the abl. sg. suff. अँ and अउँ or अोँ or उँ in S. (Tr. 117, 5) or अोँ in P. (Ld. 12) which are the same as the Ap. abl. plur. suff. अहँ and अहुँ (H. C. 4, 337. 339, see § 367, 5); e. g., S. घरँ *from a house* = Ap. Pr. घरहँ, or S. घरउँ or घरोँ or घरँ, P. घरोँ = Ap. घरहुँ.

377. *Derivation of the gen. affixes.* The O. H. possesses a gen. aff., which in the weak form, dir. and obl., sing. and pl., is कर m., केरि f., and in the strong form, masc., dir. sg. केरा (E. H.) or केरो, केरो (W. H.), obl. sg. and dir. pl. केरे (E. H. and Br.) or केरा (Mw.); fem., dir. and obl., sg. and pl. केरी. The same forms exist also in O. P. (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI) and in O. G., which latter adds the st. form neut. sg. केहँ, pl. केराँ (see Bs. II, 283). Thus masc. sg. केर in सो सुयीव केर लघु धावन, i. e., *it is Sugriva's little messenger* (T. Dás, Lanká) or मिटे न जीवन्ह केर कलेसा *the pain of the creatures is not removed* (T. Dás in Kl. 72); fem. sg. केरि in सीता केरि करहु

रखवारी, i. e., *keep a watch of Sītā* (T. Dās in Kl. 72); masc. sg. dir. केरा in एक नारि ब्रत रघुपति केरा, i. e., *to have one wife is the rule of Raghupati* (T. Dās, Lanka), or केरो in को तेरा पुत्र पिता तूँ काको मिथ्य भ्रम जग केरो, i. e., *who is thy son, whose father art thou, (such questioning) is a delusion and error of the world* (Kabir, Suravali 12), or केरौ in दौरे गज ग्रंथ चाहुवान केरौ *blindly ran the elephant of the Chāhuvān* (Chand 20, 141); masc. sg. obl. केरे in बाखर केरे खत मेँ बंदे किस का करीगे दीदार् *at the time of the end, oh friend, to whom will you look up?* (in Kabir's Rekhtās); masc. pl. dir. केरे in ये किरिट दशकंधर केरे *these are the diadems of Ravana* (T. Dās, Lankā), or केरा in जगन्ही केरा तरंग ततो ने तट माँ जाइ कूप खादे रे *having left the waves of Ganges he goes on to the bank and drinks from a well* (Narsingh, Kāvyaḍ. 2, 4 in Bs. II, 283); fem. sg. dir. केरी in सुनि कठोर बाणी कपि केरी *having heard the stern voice of the monkey* (T. Dās, Lankā), etc. Some more examples will be found in my Essay I. in J. B. A. S. XLI, 127. 128. Bs. II, 281—284. Kl. 72. On referring to the rules for the treatment of adj. (§§ 381. 384. 386) it will be seen, that these gen. aff. केरू etc., are treated exactly like adj. This remark applies also to the other sets of gen. affixes. The O. H., namely, possesses also another set, which is merely a slightly modified form of the former. It consists of the weak forms, dir. and obl., sg. and plur., करू m., करौ f. Thus masc. dir. sg. करू in कौन रंग है जीव को ता करू करहु विवेक *what is the pleasure of life, of that make investigation* (Kabir, Ramaini 24), or जत्रि ज्ञाति करू रोष *the wrath of the warrior-caste* (T. Dās, Lankā); or plur. सब करू घातु सुकृत फल बीता *to day the fruit of the good deeds of all has passed away* (T. Dās Ayodhyā 343 in Bs. II, 279); fem. sg. dir. करि in सु भट सीसन बिन किनिय । ह्य किनिय बिन नरनि । सेन भीमह करि किनिय ॥ *lit. the warriors without heads he made, the horses he made without men, the army of Bhima he dispersed* (Chand, Soma-badha 41). For some more examples, see again my Ess. I, Bs. and Kl. *ibidem*. This set is preserved in E. H., which adds the corresponding strong forms, masc. dir. sg. करू, obl. sg. and nom. pl. करे, fem. sg. and pl., dir. and obl. करौ. They are confined,

however, to the pronouns (see § 439). They occur also in O., but are limited to the plur., in connection with the plur. sign मान् (obl. f. of माने § 363, 2); thus gen. देव-मान्-कर of gods, where कर is both masc. and fem., sing. and plur.; again loc. or dat. देव-मान्-करे to gods and abl. देव-मान्-कह from gods, where करे and कह are the regular O. dat. and abl. of कर (cf. O. हाते to or in a hand, हातु from a hand of हात् hand, see Sn. 15). In the sing., O. curtails कर, करे, कह into र, रे, ह respectively, e. g., जन-र of a man, but जन-मान्-कर of men; जन-रे to a man, जन-ह from a man. Again B., N. and Mw. possess only these curtailed forms, viz., B. the wk. f. र in the gen. (e. g., sg. जने-र of a man, pl. जन-दे-र of men; sg. चेला-र of a disciple, pl. चेला-दे-र of disciples, see § 364, 2), and the st. f. रा in the nom. pl. (e. g., जने-रा men, lit. (multitude) of man; चेला-रा disciples, see § 369); N. the weak f. ह in the nom. pl. (e. g., जनहे-ह or जनह-ह men, चेलाहे-ह or चेलाह-ह disciples, see § 364, 3); Mw. the st. f. रो m., रो f. (e. g., जन-रो घर the house of a man, जन-रै घर in the house of a man, जन-रा घर-नै to the house of a man, जन-रा घर the houses of a man, जन-री बात or बातें the word or words of a man). Similarly in Mw. and E. R., the conj. part. कर is curtailed to र (e. g., मर-र having died = H. H. मर कर, see § 491)¹). On the other hand, र may be elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted; whence arise the st. forms का or को or कौ m., की f., के or का obl., for करा or करो, etc., and the weak forms कै or के or shortened कि or क comm. gen. for करि or कर. Thus masc. dir. sg. in प्रान इन-कै दुष मुकै his life departs from pain (Chand 26, 2); fem. dir. sg. in सुनु विभीषण प्रभु-कै रोती। hear, o Vibhúshan, the lord's custom (T. Dás, Sundara 298 in Bs. II, 278); masc. dir. sg. क in प्रेम-क गुण कह्य सब कोइ every one will say (it is) the quality of love (Vidyapati, Pad. in Bs. II, 281); fem. dir. sg. in पितु वायसु सब धर्म-क टीका (to obey) a father's command is the crown of all virtue (T. Dás, Ayodhya 334 in Bs. II, 283); masc.

1) Similarly और and is shortened in E. H. to अर and curtailed in N. to र; e. g., थिया र and they were.

obl. sg. क in हरिषु उठै दिन-क महि *Hari can save in an instant* (Chand 1, 60 in Bs. II, 283) or फुटल बाँधुलि कमल-क संग *the bāndhuli has flowered with the lotus* (Vidyapati in Bs. Ind. Antiq. Febr. 1873). In the E. H., as a rule, the weak forms कै and के only are used. The former, however, is now constructed only with dir., the latter with obl. forms (e. g., जन कै घर *the house of a man*, but जन के घर मे *in the house of a man*); perhaps by way of assimilation to the W. H. obl. के, if the E. H. obl. के is not actually identical with it. The st. forms का or को sometimes occur already in O. Gd.; thus को in कंठसोभ बर हंद को । नाम कह्यो परवान ॥ *the name of this verse is truly called Kanṭasobha* (Chand 27, 31); fem. की in कया मंड चहुअन की कहि *they well told the story of Chahuān* (Chand 27, 22); obl. के in सूकर खान के जन्मै धरई । तो गुरु केरी निंदा करई, i. e., *he will take the births of a swine and dog who causes the disgrace of his teacher* (in Kabir's *Rekhtās*). They are the ordinary gen. aff. in W. H. (exc. Mw.) and H. H. Lastly there is an example of a fem. st. f. किय in कया जंपि ससीवृत्त किय । अब कहत कया विस्तार किय । तो राजन दूतन करिय ॥ *narrating the story of Sasivritta, he now tells the story in detail, which the messengers of the kings had told* (Chand 25, 41); and the corresponding masc. occurs, e. g., in the O. P. abl. aff. किछु (Tr. A. Gr. CXXV) which is a regular Ap. Pr. abl. of किछो¹). There can hardly be a doubt, *prima facie*, that all these various sets of gen. aff. are merely different modifications of the same original form. Turning to Pr., we find the 1st set not unfrequently occurring in the following forms: 1) in the wk. f. sg. केरो or केह m., केरी f., केरं or केह n.; st. f. sg. केरओ m., केरिआ f., केरअं or केरउं n., or (specially in Mg. Pr.) केरको etc. or केलके etc. They are treated in every way like adj., i. e., they are fully declined in conformity with the governing subst. Thus masc. केरो in H. C. 2, 147. 148; n. केरं in H. C. 2, 99. 148; masc. केरओ in एसो कखु अलंकारओ अजन्मा केरओ *this surely*

1) It is quite analogous to the above mentioned O. abl. aff. कह, which is a curtailed form of the Ap. abl. करहु or करो.

is the ornament of the lady (Mrchh. act. 4. Skr. नारायणः शलङ्कारः); fem. in मम केलिका वधवालिखा my turn of slaughter (Mrchh. act. 10. Skr. मम शठपारी); neut. in कस्स केरुं एदं पवहणं whose is this conveyance (Mrchh. act. 6. Skr. कस्य प्रवहणम्) or तुम्हं केरुं धणु your wealth (H. C. 4, 373. Skr. युष्माकं धनं); masc. instr. sg. in जसु केरुं हुंकारउरं मुहहुं पंति तणाइं on account of whose (the lion's) roaring the grass falls from the mouths (of the deer) (H. C. 4, 422. Skr. यस्य हुंकारेण¹). It will be observed, that केरु is here used in Pr. as a gen. aff. precisely as in Gd. For 1) it takes its dependent noun in the gen. (= Gd. obl. form) and agrees with its governing noun as an adj.; thus compare T. Dās' जीवन्ह केरु कलेसा the pain of the creatures or Chand's भीमह करि सेन the army of Bhima with H. C.'s तुम्हं केरुं धणु the wealth of you; 2) it is pleonastic, i. e., it has no meaning of its own and might be omitted from the passage without affecting the sense; thus तम्हं धणु and तुम्हं केरुं धणु²) or कस्स पवहणं and कस्स केरुं पवहणं are absolutely identical in meaning, just as जीवन्ह कलेसा or भीमह सेन would be in Gd.; 3) it is added merely to distinguish or emphasise the gen. or, in other words, simply as a gen. aff.; just as in Gd., where it is added only to distinguish the obl. f. in its gen. sense from its other senses; this, indeed, is expressly affirmed by H. C. 4, 422 संबन्धिनः केरुतसौ i. e. सम्ब^० परे केरु^० भवतः after (or in addition to) the gen. kera and tana are used; and then follows the example जसु केरुं etc. (see above). It cannot be doubted, then, but that the Pr. केरु, etc. are identical with the Gd. केरु, etc. and therefore, *prima facie*, with the other Gd. sets of gen. aff. Now, according to old Indian tradition, the Pr. केरु is the same as the Skr. past part. कृत done, made, of the R. कृ do. I believe, this tradition can be shown to be correct both on intrinsic and phonetic grounds. In the first place, the phrase done by most easily lends itself to express the gen. sense „of“; thus in H. C.'s example

1) More exam^r will be found in my Essay I. in J. B. A. S. XLI. 129. 180, and in an article by Pischel in the Ind. Antiq. April 1873. p. 121. 122.

2) H. C. 4, 373. 380 expressly states that तुम्हं by itself is the gen. plur.

the phrase तसु केरं हुंकारउरं lit. *through the roaring made by whom* is equivalent to *through whose roaring*. It may be remarked here, that in the literary Pr. the word केर is usually not added to the gen., but compounded with its dependent noun; the gen. construction being confined, as a rule, to the Ap. and the lower Mg. dialects; thus Mh. Pr. रायकेरं *royal*, पारकेरं *foreign* (H. C. 2, 146) or अम्हकेरो *ours*, तुम्हकेरो *yours* (H. C. 2, 147. 1, 246. 2, 99), but Ap. Pr. अम्हं केरउ *ours*, तुम्हं केरउ *yours* (H. C. 4, 373. 359) or Mg. Pr. कश्य केलके *whose* (Mrchhh. 96, 22), तविप्रपणोए केलका *of an ascetic* (Mrchhh. 152, 6), etc. Originally केर cannot have been pleonastic, but must have had a meaning of its own, and supposing the latter to have been the past part. „done“, केर would naturally be first used in the compounding construction; thus Mh. रायकेरं = Skr. राजकृतं lit. *done by a king*, Mh. अम्हकेरं or अम्हकेरौ (H. C. 2, 99) = Skr. अस्मकृतं *done by us*¹). But the original meaning was soon lost sight of, and केर looked upon as a mere possessive (gen.) suff. and used in the compound constr., or even as a gen. aff. and, in this case, appended pleonastically to the gen. The former usage is expressly taught by H. C. in his rules on the Mh. Pr. इदमस्य केरः i. e., *kera is used as a possessive suff.* (H. C. 2, 147) and परराज्या क्कडिक्कौ च i. e., *kka, ikka and kera are used as possessive suff. after para and rāja* (H. C. 2, 148), i. e., like the Skr. possessive suff. इय and कौय. The latter usage is taught by him in his rule on the Ap. Pr. (quoted above) संबन्धिनः केरतपौ (H. C. 4, 422)²). — The identification (by Psch. in the

1) E. g., Pr. रायकेरं वचनं = Skr. राजकृतं वचनं lit. *speech made by a king*, i. e., *a king's speech*.

2) The comp. usage probably preceded the pleon. one; accordingly we find the comp. form Mh. Pr. तुम्हकेरो *yours* contracted in the later Ap. Pr. to तुम्हारा (H. C. 4, 434) which occurs in the Ap. beside the pleon. form तुम्हं केरउ (H. C. 4, 357). Probably the Ap. तुम्हारा is really = *तम्हकरियो, see § 73. — The curtailment of कर, करो to र, रो in B., O. and Mw. may perhaps be traced back to the original compounding usage. — The Skr. suff. कौय itself may well be derived from the past part. कृत.

Ind. Ant. Dec. 1873, p. 368 and Ls. 118. Wb. Spt. 38. 66) of केर with the Skr. part. fut. pass. कार्य is untenable. For 1) the meaning of कार्य *what is to be done* would not produce a gen. without a violent wrench (so rightly Bs. II, 286), and 2) phonetically, all Pr. analogies are (not, as Ls. thinks for, but) *against* it. In all the examples mentioned by the Pr. gramm., it is a *short* कृ which absorbs a following इ; thus Pr. सेज्ञा, वेज्ञी, पेज्ञतो or पेज्ञो, सुदेरो; अच्चेरो, बम्हच्चेरो are = Skr. प्राया, वलिः, पर्यन्तः, सौन्दर्यः, आश्चर्यः, बम्हचर्यः (Vr. 1, 5. H. C. 1, 57. 58. 59)¹). On the other hand Skr. °आर्य° becomes in Pr. °अज्ञ° or °आरिञ्च° (Vr. 3, 17. 10, 8. H. C. 2, 24. 4, 314); e. g., Pr. भज्ञा or भारिञ्चा = Skr. भार्या *wife*; Pr. कज्ञं or कारिञ्चं = Skr. कार्यम् *to be done*²). — *Secondly*, the identification of केर with कृत् is supported by Pr. and Gd. phonetic analogies. Skr. roots in कृ, as कृ, धृ, मृ, स्तृ, etc., become in Pr. कर, धर, मर, सर, etc. (Vr. 8, 12. H. C. 4, 234) and form their past part. by means of the connecting vowel इ (Ls. 363), as करिञ्चो, धरिञ्चो (H. C. 1, 36), मरिञ्चो, सरिञ्चो (H. C. 4, 355 पसरिञ्चउं = Skr. प्रसृतकम्), etc. By the transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, करिञ्चो and the

1) H. C. 1, 78 gives Pr. मेज्ञं for Skr. ग्राह्यं; but even this single case is no real exception; for Skr. has both गृह्यं and ग्राह्यं; and the Pr. मेज्ञं is clearly the former; just as Skr. गृह्णाति is in Pr. मेपह्नु (H. C. 4, 209); that is, Skr. गृह्यं = *ग्रह्यं = Pr. मेज्ञं. — The Pr. मेन्न or मेत्य for Skr. मात्र is not an exception; for no इ has been absorbed; besides the derivation from मात्र is doubtful; Ls. 128 suggests an original मित्र.

2) Ml. 19, 4 allows to the Ps. Pr. °आरिञ्च° also, but not °एर°; viz. र्यस्य रिञ्चः प्राप्नुस्वो वा । र्यस्य रिञ्चः स्यात् । प्राक् इत्स्वश्च वा स्यात् ॥ भारिञ्चा । भारिञ्चा ॥ कार्ये कच्च च दृश्यते । कच्चं । चकारात् कारिञ्चं । करिञ्चं च ॥ i. e., „ry becomes *ria* and the preceding vowel may be short or long“. — Skr. कार्य never becomes कार् in Pr. (as Psch. ibidem); the Skr. कार् is a different word, with an active sense, *doing*, while कार्य is passive, *what is to be done*. The B. gen. आपनकार्, आनिकार्, कलकार् do not contain a gen. aff. कार्; there is no such B. aff.; but the forms are regular gen. of आपना *own*, आनिका *of to-day*, कलका *of yesterday* (gen. आपनकार्, etc.), which words exist in H. also and may be declined through all cases, both in H. and B.; see S. Ch. 115.

st. f. करिञ्चो become करो and केञ्चो, just as Skr. *साद्यर्यम्* *wonderful* becomes in Pr. *अच्छरिञ्च* or *अच्छेर* (Vr. 1, 5. H. C. 1, 58). Similarly Pr. उक्केरो *a heap* and देरं *a door* are, in all probability, modified from the past part. pass. Pr. उक्करिञ्चो *heaped up* and दरिञ्च *split*, of the Rs. उत्कृ and दृ resp.¹⁾. The modified part. forms करो and केञ्चो are never used in Pr. or Gd. but as gen. aff., while the unmodified forms करिञ्चो and करिञ्चो serve both as proper part. and as gen. aff. No examples, indeed, I believe, of the latter two forms in either usage have been found as yet in Pr. literature. But notwithstanding this, their existence would be but in accordance with the general rule of the Pr. gramm. (Vr. 8, 12. H. C. 4, 234) that the conjugational base is कर् (not कृ). And what is more, they do actually exist in Gd. as the *ordinary past part.* of the verb कर् *to do*; see § 307; which §, moreover, will show, that in Gd. the part. forms of कर् are the same as the gen. aff. Thus the gen. aff. करा or कर् म., करी or करि f. occur identically as part. in O. H. (T. Dās) and Bs. and, in the slightly modified form करो म., in Kn., कर्यो म. in Mw. and कर्यो म. in Br., करी f. in all (see Kl. 205, 3. 207, 390. 213, 405. 216, 414. 223, 431). The O. H. gen. aff. किय or O. P. abl. aff. किञ्हु occur as the ordinary H. H. part. किया म., किई f. *done*. The contr. gen. aff. का or क do not, I believe, occur as part., but quite analogous contractions are the part. गा or ग for गया or गिया *gone*, भा or भ for भया *been*, पा for पाया *found* in Bs. (see Kl. 225, 438. 230, 449) and O. H.; e. g., तमसि तमसि सामंत सब । रोस भरि ग प्रथिराज ॥ i. e., *in great passion were all the chiefs, with wrath was filled Prathirāj* (= H. H. भू गया). The E. H. part. कइल्, M. केला, B.

1) Pr. gramm. (H. C. 1, 58. 79) identify them with the Skr. उत्कर् and दूर्, which, of course, can be true as to the meaning only. Ls. 118 derives उक्केरो from a supposed vulgar form उत्कर्य, which shows that he himself felt, that Pr. analogy requires a *short अ* before र् to produce ए; for according to rule (Pan. 3, 1. 120. 124) the part. fut. pass. ought to be उत्कार्य. — The common Skr. past part. is उत्कीर्ण; but Pr. would form, as usual, उत्करित.

करिल^० presuppose an original form करिद or करित (§§ 109.307). The st. form 'कयतै m. (= Ap. करिअउ) is found frequently in the O. H. of Chand; thus बिंद ललाट प्रसेद । कयौ संकर गतराजं ॥ *of the drops of perspiration made a chain the elephant* (Revatāṭa 3); or तिहि उपर चाँमंड । कयौ हुसैन शान सति ॥ *upon this Chāmand made Hussain Khān ready* (Revatāṭa 58); and the st. form करिय f. (= Ap. करिइअ) in करिय अरत उमराउ *the nobles made petition* (Revatāṭa 96), or सब मिलि सु ताहि पुता करिय *all assembling made adoration of him* (Adiparv. 96); again the wk. form करि f. in करि सलाह संमेल करि *they (made) took counsel having made an assembly* (Revatāṭa 96), etc. — Thus the gen. aff. of W. H., E. H., N., B. and O. form a group by themselves, all being derivatives of the past part. कृत. — 2) To this group I would also affiliate the M. aff. चा m., चो f., चे^० n. In the O. M. the forms चिया m., चिये^० n. (Man. 138) occur, from which the modern forms are contracted, just as M. H. का from O. H. किय. In M. the initial क् has been palatalised by the influence of the succeeding palatal इ; just as in Pr. चिलादो for Skr. किरातः (Vr. 2, 33) and in Pr. अम्हेचयं *ours*, तुम्हेचयं *yours* (H. C. 2, 149) beside Pr. अम्हक्करं and तुम्हक्करं (H. C. 2, 99. 2, 147). In fact, in the two last examples we have, in a slightly modified form, the O. M. gen. aff. चिया (cf. E. H. गय, but B. गिया *gone*). According to Pr. gramm. (H. C. 2, 147. 149) अम्हेचयं is but an other form of अम्हक्करं, which shows that it is = *अम्हक्कयं = *अम्हक्कइयं = *अम्हक्करिअं, the इ having been transferred into the preceding syllable अक्क and having palatalised it into एच्. — The M. चा is sometimes identified with the Skr. suff. त्व (as Bs. II, 289. Man. 132, 3). This theory assumes, that an old suff. has in comparatively modern times changed into an aff.; for the M. चा is not added to the base (as the Skr. suff.) but to the obl. form, i. e., to the old gen. Such a change would be, as far as I know, altogether unique, without any analogy or evidence to support it. The word केर (unlike त्व) was never a real suff., though sometimes it is practically used like one in Pr.; but it is a real noun with a meaning of its own, viz. *made* or *done*; and this accounts

for its peculiar use as an aff. constructed with the obl. f. On the other hand, the change of क् to च् through a following इ is supported by the examples above quoted, to which may be added the S. neut. interrog. pron. *क्वा* *what* (i. e., *chhā* = *khā* = *kihā*) corresponding to the P. क्वा and W. H. क्या for *किहा (cf. P. obl. किह् दा of *whom*); also the G. शो m., शो f., शुं n. *who* for *क्षो, *क्षो, *क्षु (see § 438, 5)¹. — 3) The P., S. and possibly G. and Konkanī gen. aff., I believe, form a distinct group. The P. gen. aff. are: दा m., दो f. The same aff. occurs in B. as a component part of the plur. sign, viz. दे or दि in देरू, दिगे (see § 364, 2), and as the instr. aff. दिया with which may be compared the P. obl. plur. masc. दिष्ठा, see § 374. I believe them to be identical with the past part. दिया *given* of the verb दे *to give* (see § 307), and their origin to be precisely analogous to that of the preceding groups. The past part. *given*, just like the part. *made*, would easily produce the gen. sense „of“; e. g., the P. तंत्र दो वाणी lit. *the sound given by an instrument* is the same as *the sound of an instrument*. — The S. gen. aff. are शो m., शो f. Here the original initial द् has been palatalised by the following palatal इ. Other examples of the same change are the P. अत्तिहा or अत्तेहा of *such sort* (Ld. 19) and the S. इको *this* (Tr. 198, for *idhio* = *idiho*, see § 132, note) for Skr. ईदृशः; the S. उको *that* (Tr. 202) = Skr. *एवदृशः; the Ap. Pr. एत्ताहो (Ls. 455, for *एदिआहो = *एदाइहो) = Skr. एतादृशः; the S. कुत्ताडो *what* (cf. H. कुत्ता *where*) for Skr. *केवदृशः (see § 438, 4). — The O. P. has a gen. aff. डा (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI), where the initial द् has been cerebralised, as in the M. S. डिन्नु *to give* (Tr. 276. H. H. देना). The modern G. gen. aff. नो m., नो f., नुं n. I am inclined to count with this set by the not uncommon change of द् or ड् to ण् or न् (§ 106). They might be, however, as Bs. II, 287 suggests, curtailed forms of the gen. aff. तपो, तपी, तपुं, which occur in

1) In the Romance languages the change of the guttural into the palatal is very common, even before the vowel *a*; e. g., lat. *camera*, french *chambre*, engl. *chamber*; lat. *caminus*, fr. *cheminée*, engl. *chimney*, etc.

O. G. and still earlier in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 422, e. g., *अम्मा अम्माहं तपा* *that is the fortune of us*). They still occur occasionally in Br. (तनौ) and Mw. तपा or तपाँ m., तपा f., तपाँ plur. (see Kl. 68, 73). — The Mewári gen. aff. को m., की f., का or कै obl. (Kl. 68) and Konkaní लो, etc. (Bs. II, 287) I am also inclined to refer to this group, on account of the cerebral ऋ, which appears to be a modification of the ॠ in the O. P. उा. They might be, however, identified with the Mw. रौ, etc. (as Bs. II, 287), which occur also in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI). And I may add here, that the aff. का, केरा, चा of the other groups and the S. ञा occur in O. P. also (see Tr. ibidem). — 4) There is one more peculiar group of gen. aff.; viz. in Mw. (poetry) हंदो m., हंदी f. (Kl. 68. 73); in S. sg. dir. संदो m., संदी f., obl. संदे m., संदिअ f., plur. dir. संदा m., संदिअँ f., obl. संदे or संदनि m., संदिनि or संदिअनि or संदिउनि f.; in Ksh., with a sg. noun, sg. संदू m., संदू f., pl. संदि m., संदू f., with a plur. noun, sg. हिंदू m., हिंदू f., pl. हिंदि m., हिंदि f. (see Bs. II, 290)¹). Bs. (II, 291) identifies them with the Pr. pres. part. हंतो and संतो *being* of the Rs. भू and अस् *to be*. This is quite possible. But perhaps an other derivation may be suggested. They may be divided into सं-दो, हं-दो or हिं-दो; the first parts स and हं or हिं being the Pr. gen. termin. of the sing. and plur. resp. (§ 365, 1. 7), and दो the gen. aff. as in P. Thus Mw. जनहंदो or Ksh. जनहिंदू *of men* being really जनहं or जनहिं + दो or दू; S. जनसंदो and Ksh. जनसंदू *of a man* being जनस-दो for the Pr. gen. sg. तपास्स. This would explain the singular difference in Ksh. between the sing. and plur. aff. On the other hand, one would have to assume that S. has lost the plur. and Mw. the sing. forms. But these curious gen. aff. are at present too little known, to allow of any satisfactory theory being propounded.

1) Bs. transliterates سنڙ by संतङ्, which is hardly correct. The final ङ is merely a mater lectionis, to indicate that the word in which it is used ends in a short or, sometimes, long a; e. g., نَع = न *not*, بِ = ब *with*, بند = बंदा *servant*, etc. Hence either संत sañja or संता sañjá; probably the former.

378. *Derivation of the locative affixes.* 1) The original of the aff. मे etc. is the Skr. loc. मध्ये *in the midst of*, which in Ap. Pr. becomes मङ्के or मङ्कि or मङ्कहिं. From these Ap. forms arise two Gd. sets, one retaining क्, the other changing it to ह् (see § 117). To the first set belong the B. माके, S. मङ्के for Ap. मङ्के; the O. H. मकि or माँक, E. H. माँक् for Ap. मङ्कि, and the O. M. माती (or माती), for Ap. मङ्कहिं; also the S. abl. aff. मङ्को or मङ्काँ *from-within* for Ap. मङ्कहुं or मङ्कह्. To the second set belong the O. H. महि for Ap. मकि, and the O. H. माँहे or माँही or माँही, E. H. and Br. माँही, Mw. माहे or माई or मई (for *मही) for Ap. मङ्कहिं; also the E. H. मे contracted from महि, W. H. मे contr. from *मही, E. H., W. H., G. माँ, N. मा similarly contr. from *महाँ = मकाँ (cf. S. abl. aff.) = Ap. मङ्कह्; and W. H. मो for *महो = मको (cf. S. abl. aff.) = Ap. मङ्कहुं. Both, माँ and मो, occur in S. also as abl. aff. — 2) Other groups of loc. aff. or postpositions are: a) the M. ठाई = Ap. ठापाहिं, and the N. गाजि = Ap. गापि, for Skr. स्थाने *in the place of*; b) the N. माधि and S. मथे *upon* = Ap. Pr. मत्वि or मथे for Skr. मस्ते *on the head or top of*, and the corresponding S. abl. aff. मयाँ *from-upon*; similar to these are: S. सिरे, P. सिरू *upon* = Ap. सिरे for Skr. सिरसि *on the head of*; c) the B. भितरू or भितरे, E. H., W. H. भीतरू *within* (see § 172); d) in all Gds. परू or परि or पर् *upon*, Ap. Pr. परि (H. C. 4, 438), Skr. परे *beyond*; and the corresponding abl. aff. S. पराँ and S. or P. परोँ *from-upon*; e) the S. and G. पासे, P. and W. H. पासू = Ap. पासि or पासे, and M. पासोँ = Ap. पासहिं, for Skr. पार्श्वे *by the side of*; f) the S. विचे, P. विच्, O. P. विचि, W. H. वीच् *within* = Ap. विचे or विचि, perhaps for Skr. वृत्ते lit. *surrounded by*; cf. H. C. 4, 421, where the Ap. विच् is said to be a substitute for Skr. वर्तमान; g) the M. त् म्, as in घरात् *in a house*, कवीत् *in a poet*, मधुत् *in honey* (Man. 30. 31), is probably a curtailment of the Pr. अंतो or अंते (H. C. 1, 14. 60) for Skr. अन्तरू *within*; and related to it, in all Gds., अंतर् = Ap. अंतर् (H. C. 4, 350), for Skr. अन्तरम् *within*. — 3) There are also some relics of the old organic loc.: a) loc. sg. in इ in most Gds.,

for Ap. इ, Skr. ए; b) loc. sg. in ऐ or ए in most Gds., or ई in N., P., G., for Ap. ए or अइ or अहि; c) loc. sg. in ऐ or ए in E. H., ई in P., or loc. sg. and pl. in ई in M., for Ap. sg. and pl. अहि; d) loc. sg. in अ in E. H., W. H., or loc. sg. and pl. in अ in M., for Ap. pl. अह; e) loc. sg. in ओ or उ in W. H., for Ap. pl. अहु. Examples see §§ 367, 5. 375, 1. 2. 77. 78.

5. DECLENSION.

379. There is only *one* declension. All subst. are declined exactly alike; and the base never changes, exc. in the obl. cases of the plur., where अन्, इन्, उन् are added (see § 362). One example, therefore, of a subst. fully declined will be sufficient. But as a matter of convenience, I shall add a list of nom. and gen. of a subst. of every form, gender and termin., leaving it to the student to supply the remainder.

1. Masculines in अ.

a) Short form: राम् *Rām*.

Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. राम्	राम्	रामन्लोग् or रामन्लोग्
acc. राम् or र ^० के	राम् or रामन् के	रामन्लोग् or गन् के or रामन्लोग् or र ^० के
instr. राम् से	रामन् से	रामन्लोगन् से or रामन्लोग् से
dat. राम् के	रामन् के	रामन्लोगन् के or रामन्लोग् के
abl. राम् से	रामन् से	रामन्लोगन् से or रामन्लोग् से
gen. राम् कै, ^० के	रामन् कै, ^० के	रामन्लोगन् कै, ^० के or रामन्लोग् कै, ^० के
loc. राम् मे	रामन् मे	रामन्लोगन् मे or रामन्लोग् मे
voc. हे राम्	हे राम्	हे रामन्लोग् or हे रामन्लोग्

b) Long form: रमन्वा or रमन्वाँ.

nom. रमन्वा	रमन्वा	रमन्वालोग्	or रमन्वन्लोग्
acc. रमन्वा or र ^० के	रमन्वा or रमन्वन् के	रमन्वालोग् or गन् के	or रमन्वन्लोग् or र ^० के
instr. रमन्वा से	रमन्वन् से	रमन्वालोगन् से	or रमन्वन्लोग् से
dat. रमन्वा के	रमन्वन् के	रमन्वालोगन् के	or रमन्वन्लोग् के
abl. रमन्वा से	रमन्वन् से	रमन्वालोगन् से	or रमन्वन्लोग् से
gen. रमन्वा कै, ^० के	रमन्वन् कै, ^० के	रमन्वालोगन् कै, ^० के	or रमन्वन्लोग् कै, ^० के

Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
रमन्वा मे	रमन्वन् मे	रमन्वालोमन् मे or रमन्वन्लोमन् मे
हे रमन्वा	हे रमन्वा	हे रमन्वालोमन् or हे रमन्वन्लोमन्

c) Redundant form: रमौवा or रमौवा or रमौवाँ or रमौवाँ.

nom. रमौवा	रमौवा	रमौवालोमन्	or रमौवन्लोमन्
gen. रमौवा or र ^० के	रमौवा or र ^० वन् के	रमौवालोमन् or र ^० गन् के	or रमौवन्लोमन् or र ^० के
str. रमौवा से	रमौवन् से	रमौवालोमन् से	or रमौवन्लोमन् से
it. रमौवा के	रमौवन् के	रमौवालोमन् के	-or रमौवन्लोमन् के
il. रमौवा से	रमौवन् से	रमौवालोमन् से	or रमौवन्लोमन् से
in. रमौवा कै, ^० के	रमौवन् कै, ^० के	रमौवालोमन् कै, ^० के	or रमौवन्लोमन् कै, ^० के
a. रमौवा मे	रमौवन् मे	रमौवालोमन् मे	or रमौवन्लोमन् मे
c. हे रमौवा	हे रमौवा	हे रमौवालोमन्	or हे रमौवन्लोमन्

Note: The long and redundant forms in *आ* may be pronounced with a final *anunāsika* (see §§ 195. 365, 4); thus gen. रमन्वाँ कै or रमौवाँ कै, etc. — Subst. which do not denote *rational* beings, can not form the comp. pl. (see § 361); thus gen. घरन् कै of houses, बाघन् कै of tigers, not घरलोमन् कै, बाघलोमन् कै.

2. Masculines in *आ*.

a) Short form: बेटा son.

Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. बेटा	बेटा	बेटालोमन् or बेटन्लोमन्
gen. बेटा कै, ^० के, etc.	बेटन् कै, ^० के, etc.	बेटालोमन् कै, ^० के or बेटन्लोमन् कै, ^० के, etc.

b) Long form: बेटन्वा or बेटन्वाँ.

nom. बेटन्वा	बेटन्वा	बेटन्वालोमन्	or बेटन्वन्लोमन्
gen. बेटन्वा कै, ^० के, etc.	बेटन्वन् कै, ^० के, etc.	बेटन्वालोमन् कै, ^० के	or बेटन्वन्लोमन् कै, ^० के, etc.

c) Redundant form: बेटौवा or बेटौवाँ, etc.

nom. बेटौवा	बेटौवा	बेटौवालोमन्	or बेटौवन्लोमन्
gen. बेटौवा कै, ^० के, etc.	बेटौवन् कै, ^० के, etc.	बेटौवालोमन् कै, ^० के	or बेटौवन्लोमन् कै, ^० के, etc.

3. Masculines in *इ*.

a) Short form: रिषि *rikhi patriarch*.

nom. रिषि	रिषि	रिषिलोमन्	or रिषिन्लोमन्
gen. रिषि कै, ^० के, etc.	रिषिन् कै, ^० के, etc.	रिषिलोमन् कै, ^० के, etc.	or रिषिन्लोमन् कै, ^० के, etc.

b) Long form : रिषिया or रिषियाँ.

Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. रिषिया	रिषिया	रिषियालोग् or रिषियन्लोग्
gen. रिषिया कै, °के, etc.	रिषियन् कै, °के, etc.	रिषियालोगन् कै, °के or रिषियन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form : रिषियवा or रिषियवाँ.

nom. रिषियवा	रिषियवा	रिषियवालोग् or रिषियवन्लोग्
gen. रिषियवा कै, °के, etc.	रिषियवन् कै, °के, etc.	रिषियवालोगन् कै, °के or रिषियवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

4. Masculines in ई.

a) Short form : भाई brother.

nom. भाई	भाई	भाईलोग् or भाइन्लोग्
gen. भाई कै, °के, etc.	भाइन् कै, °के, etc.	भाईलोगन् कै, °के or भाइन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form : भैया or भैया or भैयाँ or भैयाँ.

nom. भैया	भैया	भैयालोग् or भैयन्लोग्
gen. भैया कै, °के, etc.	भैयन् कै, °के, etc.	भैयालोगन् कै, °के or भैयन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form : भैयवा or भैयवाँ.

nom. भैयवा	भैयवा	भैयवालोग् or भैयवन्लोग्
gen. भैयवा कै, °के, etc.	भैयवन् कै, °के, etc.	भैयवालोगन् कै, °के or भैयवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

5. Masculines in उ.

a) Short form : तहू tree.

nom. तहू	तहू	deest.
gen. तहू कै, °के, etc.	तहून् कै, °के, etc.	

b) Long form : तहूवा or तहूवा or तहूवाँ or तहूवाँ.

nom. तहूवा	तहूवा	deest.
gen. तहूवा कै, °के, etc.	तहूवन् कै, °के, etc.	

c) Redundant form : तहूववा or तहूववाँ.

nom. तहूववा	तहूववा	deest.
gen. तहूववा कै, °के, etc.	तहूववन् कै, °के, etc.	

6. Masculines in उ.

a) Short form : नाउ barber.

nom. नाउ	नाउ	नाउलोग् or नाउन्लोग्
gen. नाउ कै, °के, etc.	नाउन् कै, °के, etc.	नाउलोगन् कै, °के or नाउन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: नउञ्चा or नौञ्चा or नौवा or नउञ्चाँ etc.

Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. नौवा	नौवा	नौवालोग् or नौवन्लोग्
gen. नौवा कै, °के, etc.	नौवन् कै, °के, etc.	नौवालोगन् कै, °के or नौवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: नउञ्चवा or नौञ्चवा or नौञ्चवाँ, etc.

nom. नौञ्चवा	नौञ्चवा	नौञ्चवालोग् or नौञ्चवन्लोग्
gen. नौञ्चवा कै, °के, etc.	नौञ्चवन् कै, °के, etc.	नौञ्चवालोगन् कै, °के or नौञ्चवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

7. Feminines in ञ.

a) Short form: ब्यत् *word, thing, event.*

nom. ब्यत्	ब्यत्	deest.
gen. ब्यत् कै, °के, etc.	ब्यत् कै, °के, etc.	

b) Long form: ब्यतिया or ब्यतियाँ.

nom. ब्यतिया	ब्यतिया	deest.
gen. ब्यतिया कै, °के, etc.	ब्यतियन् कै, °के, etc.	

c) Redundant form: ब्यतियवा or ब्यतियवाँ.

nom. ब्यतियवा	ब्यतियवा	deest.
gen. ब्यतियवा कै, °के, etc.	ब्यतियवन् कै, °के, etc.	

8. Feminines in ञा.

a) Short form: दुर्गा *Durgā.*

nom. दुर्गा	दुर्गा	दुर्गालोग् or दुर्गन्लोग्
gen. दुर्गा कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गालोगन् कै, °के or दुर्गन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: दुर्गिया or दुर्गियाँ.

nom. दुर्गिया	दुर्गिया	दुर्गियालोग् or दुर्गियन्लोग्
gen. दुर्गिया कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियालोगन् कै, °के or दुर्गियन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: दुर्गियवा or दुर्गियवाँ.

nom. दुर्गियवा	दुर्गियवा	दुर्गियवालोग् or दुर्गियवन्लोग्
gen. दुर्गियवा कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियवन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियवालोगन् कै, °के or दुर्गियवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

9. Feminines in इ.

a) Short form: अग्नि *fire.*

nom. अग्नि	अग्नि	deest.
gen. अग्नि कै, °के, etc.	अग्निन् कै, °के, etc.	

b) Long form: अगिया or अगियाँ.

Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. अगिया	अगिया	
gen. अगिया कै, ०के, etc.	अगियन् कै, ०के, etc.	deest.

c) Redundant form: अगियवा or अगियवाँ.

nom. अगियवा	अगियवा	
gen. अगियवा कै, ०के, etc.	अगियवन् कै, ०के, etc.	deest.

10. Feminines in ई.

a) Short Form: लाठी staff.

nom. लाठी	लाठी	
gen. लाठी कै, ०के, etc.	deest (§ 362, exc.)	deest.

b) Long form: लठिया or लठियाँ.

nom. लठिया	लठिया	
gen. लठिया कै, ०के, etc.	लठियन् कै, ०के, etc.	deest.

c) Redundant form: लठियवा or लठियवाँ.

nom. लठियवा	लठियवा	
gen. लठियवा कै, ०के, etc.	लठियवन् कै, ०के, etc.	deest.

11. Feminines in ऊ.

a) Short form: बहू daughter-in-law.

nom. बहू	बहू	बहूलोग्	or	बहुनलोग्
gen. बहू कै, ०के, etc.	बहुन् कै, ०के, etc.	बहूलोग्न् कै, ०के	or	बहुनलोग् कै, ०के, etc.

b) Long form: बहुवा or बहुआ or बहुआँ, etc.

nom. बहुआ	बहुआ	बहुआलोग्	or	बहुआनलोग्
gen. बहुआ कै, ०के, etc.	बहुआन् कै, ०के, etc.	बहुआलोग्न् कै, ०के	or	बहुआनलोग् कै, ०के, etc.

c) Redundant form: बहुअवा or बहुअवाँ.

nom. बहुअवा	बहुअवा	बहुअवालोग्	or	बहुअवानलोग्
gen. बहुअवा कै, ०के, etc.	बहुअवन् कै, ०के, etc.	बहुअवालोग्न् कै, ०के	or	बहुअवानलोग् कै, ०के, etc.

SECOND CHAPTER. THE ADJECTIVE.

1. FORMS OF THE ADJECTIVE.

380. Every adj. admits of three forms: the short, long and redundant. The short is the primary form, which is given in the dictionaries and by which it is generally known. The other two are more or less vulgar. The latter are made by adding to the weak form (see § 381) the pleon. suff. of the second, third and fifth sets of the first group, as explained in §§ 198. 199. Thus, *masc.*, sh. f. मोट् *thick*, lg. f. मोटक्का or मोटका, red. f. मोटक्कवा or मोटकवा; *fem.*, sh. f. मोट्, lg. f. मोटक्की or मोटकी, red. f. मोटक्किया or मोटकिया; *masc.*, sh. f. बड़ great, lg. f. बड़क्का or बड़का, red. f. बड़क्कवा or बड़कवा; *fem.*, sh. f. बड़ी, lg. f. बड़क्की or बड़की, red. f. बड़क्किया or बड़किया; *com. gen.*, sh. f. भारी *heavy*, lg. f. *masc.* भरिक्का or भरिका, *fem.* भरिक्की or भरिकी, red. f. *masc.* भरिक्कवा or भरिकवा, *fem.* भरिक्किया or भरिकिया; *com. gen.*, sh. f. गर heavy, lg. f. *masc.* गरक्का or गरका, *fem.* गरक्की or गरकी, red. f. *masc.* गरक्कवा or गरकवा, *fem.* गरक्किया or गरकिया, etc.

381. All adj. of the short form in अ admit of two forms, a weak and a strong. The weak form ends in अ and is the original one; the strong form is made by adding to this the pleon. suff., आ m., ई f., of the first set of the first group, as explained in § 196. Thus, *masc.*, wk. f. लाम् *long*, st. f. लामा; *fem.*, wk. f. लाम्, st. f. लामी; or wk. f., *com. gen.*, उच् *high*, st. f. *masc.* उचा, *fem.* उची, etc. Adj. in ई and उ exist only in the strong form; their weak forms in इ and उ are obsolete. Thus st. f., *com. gen.*, भारी *heavy*, हल् *light*; the wk. f. भारि, हर or हल् occur in O. H. (Tulsí Dás).

382. The adj. of the strong form in ई admit of two forms, the contracted and uncontracted. The latter is made by adding the pleon. suff. इउँ to the former, see § 197. Thus भारी or भरिउँ *heavy*. Of the uncontracted a long form भरिउँका m., भरिउँकी f., may be made, but no redundant form.

383. When adj. are used as subst. or parts of proper names, their long and redundant forms are made exactly like those of real subst. Thus सेठन्वा (not सेठन्का), lg. f. of सेठ् a name of a caste (lit. *best*, Skr. श्रेष्ठ); or मिठवा ग्राम् the name of a species of mangoe, but मिठका ग्राम् any sweet mangoe.

2. GENDER.

384. Adj., like subst., have only two genders, masc. and fem. Strong and long adj. change, in the fem., the final वा to ई, and redundant adj. अवा to इया (see §§ 258 ff.). In other adj. the two genders are identical in form. Thus the wk. f. मीठ् *sweet*, छोड़् *small*, etc., and the st. f. भारी *heavy*, हल् *light*, etc. are *gen. com.*; but st. f. *masc.* मोठा, छोटा, *fem.* मोठी, छोटी, etc., and lg. f. *masc.* मिठका or मिठका, *fem.* मिठकी or मिठकी, etc., and red. f. *masc.* मिठकवा, *fem.* मिठकिया, etc.

385. *Affinities and Derivation.* All other Gds. have, like the E. H., a fem. in ई for their strong forms in वा (E. and S. Gd. and P.) or ओ or ओ (W. and N. Gd.). Thus *masc.* B., O., W. H. काला, E. H. कार् black, M., P. काळा, G. काळो, S. कार्; *fem.* B., O., W. H. काली, M., P., G. काळी, E. H., S. कार्, etc. But the B. and O., as a rule, and even the E. H. not unfrequently, dispense with the use of strong adj. in वा. In S. the weak forms in उ (corresp. to अ in the other Gds.) have a fem. in इ or अ (Tr. 99. 152); in all other Gds. the fem. ends in अ; thus S. अर्ध *half*, *fem.* अर्ध or अर्धि, but E. H., B., O., G. *masc.* or *fem.* आध्. In E. H., however, the fem. wk. f. in इ is preserved in the part., when the latter are used to form participial tenses. (see §§ 502 ff.); thus *fem.* कर्त्ति, of *masc.* कर्त् doing, in the 2. sg. pret. conj. कर्त्तिस् *if thou didst (fem.)*; or कर्त्ति *fem.*, of कर्त्, in the 2. sg. pret. ind. कर्त्तिस् *thou didst*; कर्त्ति *fem.*, of कर्त्, in the 2. sg. fut. ind. कर्त्तिस् *thou wilt do*, etc. In H. H. the weak fem. in अ and इ cannot properly be used. In Skr., adj. in अ generally form their fem. in अ; but in Pr. they may optionally have a fem. in वा or ई (Vr. 5, 24. H. C. 3, 32), which become अ or इ in Gd.

(see §§ 42. 43). As to the derivation of the fem. term. ई and इया see § 262.

3. DECLENSION.

386. Adj. are declined precisely like subst., with the following exceptions: 1) strong adj. in आ change it to ए in the obl. form sg. and pl. — 2) long adj. in का or क्का change आ to ऊ in the voc. sg., and also throughout the plur., if the adj. is used in a derisive sense (i. e. परिहस्ये). Thus, *dir. form, nom. sg.* ई मीठा आम्र खाटै *this is a sweet mangoe*; *obl. form, acc. sg.* ऊ मोटे आम्र के खैलेस् *he ate a sweet mangoe*; *dir. f., nom. sg.* ऊ मिठका आम्र खाटै *that is a sweet mangoe*; *obl. f., acc. sg.* ऊ मिठके आम्र के खैलेस् *he ate a sweet mangoe*; *dir. f., nom. sg.* ओकरू अच्छा घोड़ा खाटै *his is a good horse*; *obl. f., loc. sg.* ऊ अछे घोड़ा पर चढ़ल् खाटै *he is mounted on a good horse*. Again, *dir. f., nom. pl.* ई मोठा आम्र खाटै *these are sweet mangoes*; *obl. f., acc. pl.* ऊ मोटे आम्र के खैलेस् *he ate sweet mangoes*; *dir. f., nom. pl.* ऊ मिठका आम्र खाटै *those are sweet mangoes*; *obl. f., acc. pl.* ऊ मिठके आम्र के खैलेस् *he ate sweet mangoes*; *dir. f., nom. pl.* ओकरू अच्छा घोड़ा खाटै *his are good horses*; *obl. f., loc. pl.* ऊ अछे घोड़े पर चढ़ल् खाटै *they are mounted on good horses*.

387. *Affinities.* The M. and Br. agree with the E. H. in inflecting, in the sing., their strong adj. in आ differently from their strong subst. in आ. While the termination of the obl. sing. of subst. is आ in E. H. and Br. and या in M., that of the obl. form of adj. is ए in all three. In the other Gds. the adj. does not differ from the subst. in the obl. sg. Thus, gen. sg., E. H. बडे घोड़ा कै *of a big horse*, Br. बडे घोडा कौ, M. बडे घोड़ा चा; but Mw. बडा घोडा रो, G. बडा घोडा नो, P. बडे घोडे दा, S. बडे घोडे जो, B. बडा घोडा-रू, etc. In all Gds. the obl. form of adj. is the same in both plur. and sing., except in S., where their obl. f. pl. may be optionally like that of the subst. (Tr. 145); thus, gen. pl., E. H. बडे घोड़न् कै *of big horses*, Br. बडे घोडै कौ, M. बडे घोड़न् चा, Mw. बडा घोडाँ रो, G. बडा घोडाव् नो, P. बडे घोडिआँ दा, S. बडे घोडेँ जो

or बड़े घोड़े जो, etc. It must, of course, be understood, that if an adj. is used substantively, and not attributively, it is declined in every respect like a real subst.; and that in all Gds.

4. COMPARISON.

388. The degrees of comparison cannot be indicated by any change in the (positive) form. The comparative is expressed by putting the object with which another is compared in the abl. (made with the aff. से), and the superlative by prefixing to the adj. either the adj. itself or the pron. सब् all in the abl. case; e. g., ओकरे मोरू बर्दा से मोरू बर्दा म्हा बाटै *my bullock is better than his fat bullock*; ओह से बडा *greater than he*; ई सब् से मिठका आम बाटै *this is the sweetest mangoe*, lit., this is a mangoe sweet (compared) with all (others); अच्छी स अच्छी तरकारी *the best vegetable*; अच्छे से अच्छे चाउरू के भात *the best (cooked) rice*. Sometimes, however, the comp. is expressed by the long form of the adj. (see § 198), as it emphasizes its meaning. Thus के बडका बाटै *which is the elder one*; उ होटका बाटै *that is the younger one*.

389. *Affinities*. In all Gds. the comp. and superlat. degrees are formed precisely as in E. H.; see S. Ch. 83. Sn. 21. Man. 40, 78. note 1. Ld. 15. Ed. 45, 97. 98. Tr. 156. Thus, comparative, E. H. ओह से बडा *greater than he*, B. ताहा हइते बड, O. ताहा-रु बड, M. त्याहून् बडा, Br. वा सो बडो, Mw. उण् सँ बडो, G. आ थो बडो, P. उह ते बडा, S. हुन जाँ बडो; and superlat., E. H. सब् से बडा *greatest*, B. सकल हइते ब°, O. सकल-रु ब°, M. सर्वाहून् ब°, Br. सब् सो ब°, Mw. सब् सँ ब°, G. सब थो ब°, P. सब ते ब°, S. सब जाँ ब°.

THIRD CHAPTER. THE NUMERAL.

390. There are various kinds of numerals in E. H., as cardinals, ordinals, multiplicatives, collectives, reduplicatives, fractionals, beside which there are some others, as proportionals, subtractives, distributives, indefinitives, which are expressed by various modes of paraphrase.

1. CARDINALS.

391. Their forms from *one* to *hundred* are the following:

1. एक	21. ऐकइस्	41. ऐकतालिस्	61. ऐकसठि	81. ऐक्यासी
2. दुइ	22. बाइस्	42. ब्यालिस्	62. बासठि	82. ब्यासी
3. तीनि	23. तेइस्	43. तैतालिस्	63. तिरसठि	83. तिरासी
4. चारि	24. चौबिस्	44. चौवालिस्	64. चौसठि	84. चौरासी
5. पाँच	25. पचीस्	45. पैतालिस्	65. पैसठि	85. पचासी
6. छ	26. छबिस्	46. छियालिस्	66. छासठि	86. छियासी
7. सात्	27. सताइस्	47. सैतालिस्	67. सार्सठि	87. सत्तासी
8. अठ	28. अठाइस्	48. अठतालिस्	68. अठसठि	88. अठ्ठासी
9. नौ	29. ओनतिस्	49. ओनचास्	69. ओनहत्तर	89. नवासी
10. दस्	30. तीस्	50. पचास्	70. सत्तर	90. नब्बे
11. ऐग्यारह्	31. ऐकतिस्	51. ऐक्यावन्	71. ऐखत्तर	91. ऐक्यानबे
12. बारह्	32. बतिस्	52. बावन्	72. बहत्तर	92. बानबे
13. तेरह्	33. तैतिस्	53. तिरपन्	73. तिहत्तर	93. तिरानबे
14. चौदह्	34. चौतिस्	54. चौवन्	74. चौहत्तर	94. चौरानबे
15. पन्तरह्	35. पैतिस्	55. पंचावन्	75. पछत्तर	95. पंचानबे
16. सोरह्	36. छत्तिस्	56. छप्पन्	76. छिहत्तर	96. छानबे
17. सत्तरह्	37. सैतिस्	57. सत्तावन्	77. सयत्तर	97. सत्तानबे
18. अठारह्	38. अगतिस्	58. अठ्ठावन्	78. अठत्तर	98. अठ्ठानबे
19. ओनइस्	39. ओनतालिस्	59. ओनसठि	79. ओनसी	99. निनानबे
20. बीस्	40. चालिस्	60. साठि	80. अस्सी	100. सौ

392. Some of the cardinal numbers admit one or more slightly different forms; but those marked with an asterisk are used only in the multiplication table, and those marked with two asterisks, only in the formation of cardinals above a *hundred*; thus:

1. यक्	5. पच्* or	11. इग्यारह् or	38. अरतिस् or	54. चौषन् or
2. दो*	पाच्	ग्यारह्	अठतिस्	चउअन् ,
3. तिन्* or	6. छह्* or	15. पन्तरह्	44. चवालिस् or	55. पचपन्
तीन्	छ्व्	24. चवबिस् or	चउआलिस्	67. सउसठि or
4. चर्* or	7. सत्*	चउबिस्	48. अरतालिस् or	सतसठि
चार	8. अठ	30. तिस्*	अठतालिस्	68. अरसठि

71. ऐकहत्तर	78. अठहत्तर or	95. पनचानबे	100. सै** or
75. पचहत्तर	अठनुत्तर*	99. निनानबे or	सो** or
77. सतहत्तर	84. चवरासी	निन्यानबे	सल्

The final syllables °बिस्, °तिस्, °लिस् may, optionally, be spelled °बोस्, °तोस्, °लोस्; thus 24 चौबिस् or चौबोस्, 33 तै°तिस् or तै°तोस्, 40 चालिस् or चालोस्; but 21 ऐकइस्, not ऐकईस्; 23 only तेइस्, not तेईस्. Again all numbers of the seventh decade may drop the final इ; thus 60 साठि or साठ्, 66 षाठि or षाठ्, etc. Again the initial syllable ओन्° may also be spelled वन्°; thus 19 ओनइस् or वनइस्, 79 ओनासी or वनासी.

393. All cardinals above *a hundred* are formed by subjoining the lower number to the higher without any intervening conjunction; thus:

101. एक सै एक	103. एक सै तीन	105. एक सै पाँच	210. दुइ सै दस
102. एक सै दुइ	104. एक सै चार	200. दुइ सै	220. दुइ सै बीस
	300. तीन सै	1000. सहस्र	
	400. चार सै	100,000. लाख	
		10,000,000. कोटि	

1874. एक सहस्र आठ सै चौदह
2,154,210. एकइस् लाख चावन् सहस्र दुइ सै दस, etc.

394. The cardinals between *one hundred* and *two hundred* are differently formed, when employed in the multiplication table (पहाज). Namely up to 120 the higher number is subjoined to the lower one with which it is compounded by means of उत्तर above, the initial उ of the latter combining with the final अ of the preceding word to ओ (ओत्तर); thus 108 is अठोत्तरसो, i. e., अठ + उत्तर + सो *eight-above-hundred*. From 120 and optionally from 110 up to 160 and optionally up to 170, the connecting vowel आ is interposed, instead of उत्तर, except in the fifth decade where चालिस् *forty* is curtailed to चाल्. In the rest the original form remains unchanged. Moreover, in the second, third and fourth decade the penultimate short vowel is lengthened. The accent is always on the antepenultimate of the whole compound;

e. g., 161 *eksātthāso*, 152 *bavānnāso*, 112 *barāhāso*, etc. Thus the forms of these cardinals are the following :

101. ऐकोत्तरसो	117. सतराहासो	140. चालसो	170. सत्तरसो
102. दिलोत्तरसो	118. अठराहासो	141. ऐकतालसो, etc.	171. एखत्तरसो
103. तिलोत्तरसो	119. ओनैसासो	149. ओनचासासो	179. ओनासासो
104. चलोत्तरसो	120. बीसासो	150. डेडसो	180. अस्सीसो
105. पिचोत्तरसो	121. ऐकैसासो	151. ऐकवन्नासो	181. ऐक्यासीसो
106. झिलोत्तरसो	122. बइसासो	152. बवन्नासो	189. नवासीसो
107. सतलोत्तरसो	123. तेइसासो	153. तिरपन्नासो	190. नब्बेसो
108. अठोत्तरसो	124. चौबीसासो	154. चीवन्नासो	191. ऐक्यानबेसो
109. निगरोत्तरसो	125. पचीसासो	155. पनचीनासो	192. ब्रानबेसो
110. दहोत्तरसो	126. इन्धवीसासो	156. इपन्नासो	193. तिरानबेसो
111. ऐगरोत्तरसो	127. सतैसासो	157. सतवन्नासो	194. चोरानबेसो
112. अरहोत्तरसो	128. अठैसासो	158. अठवन्नासो	195. पनचानबेसो
113. तेरहोत्तरसो	129. ओनतीसासो	159. ओनसट्टासो	196. झानबेसो, etc.
114. चौदहोत्तरसो	130. तीसासो	160. साठसो	199. निनानबेसो
115. पनराहासो	131. ऐकतीसासो, etc.	161. ऐकसट्टासो, etc.	200. दुइ सो
116. सोराहासो	139. ओनतालसो	169. ओनहत्तरसो	

395. The following are alternative forms of some of the preceding cardinals :

101. इकोत्तरसो	113. तेराहासो	119. ओनइसासो	163. तिरसठसो
102. दिघोत्तरसो	114. चौदाहासो	121. ऐकइसासो	164. चौसठसो
106. झिघोत्तरसो	115. पन्दरहोत्तरसो	155. पचपन्नासो	165. पैसठसो
108. अठोत्तरसो	116. सोरहोत्तरसो	159. ओनसाठसो	166. डाइठसो
111. इगरोत्तरसो	117. सतरहोत्तरसो	161. ऐकसठसो	170. सत्तरिसो
112. बराहासो	118. अठरहोत्तरसो	162. बासठसो	

396. *Affinities*. On the whole the numeral forms are very much alike in all Gds. There are, however, three main points of difference. In the first two the E. Gd. differs from the W. and S. Gd., in the third the W. Gd. from the E. and S. Gd. — Firstly; in E. Gd. the final syllable of the second, third, fourth and fifth decades is short (viz. अइ, इस् or अिस्, तिस्, लिस्) but in W. Gd. it is long (viz. अँ or अइँ, ईस् or बीस्, तीस्, लीस्), G. only being a partial exception; thus :

	O.	B.	E. H.	W. H.	P.
13.	तेर	तेर	तेरह	तेरा	तेराँ
14.	चौद	चौद	चौदह	चौदा	चौदाँ
23.	तेइश्	तेइश्	तेइस्	तेईस्	तेई
24.	चव्विश्	चव्विश्	चौबिस्	चौबीस्	चौबी
32.	बत्रिश्	बत्रिश्	बतिस्	बतीस्	बती
46.	पइँचालिश्	पयँतालिश्	पैँतालिस्	पैँतालीस्	पैँताली
	S.	M.	G.	H. H.	
13.	तेरहँ	तेरा	तेर	तेरह	
14.	चोउहँ	चौदा	चउद	चौदह	
23.	देवीह	तेवीस	त्रेवीश्	तेईस्	
24.	चोवीह	चौबीस्	चोवीश्	चौबीस्	
32.	बट्टीह	बन्नीस्	बत्रिश्	बतीस्	
46.	पंजेतालीह	पंचेचालीस्	पशतालीश्	पैँतालीस्	

Secondly; in E. Gd. a final short इ is retained, while in W. Gd. it is dropped, S. only being a partial exception; thus:

	O.	B.	E. H.	W. H.	P.	M.	G.	S.	H. H.
2.	दुइ	दुइ	दुइ	दो	दो	दोन्	बे	ब	दो
3.	तिनि	तिनि	तीनि	तीन्	तिन	तीन्	त्रण्	ट्रे	तीन्
4.	चारि	चारि	चारि	चार	चार	चार	चार	चारि	चार
60.	षाठि	षाठि	साठि	साह	सठ	साह	सठि	साह	साह

With regard to सत्र् seven alone, all Gd. languages agree in dropping the final इ, excepting O. and S. which have सत्रोरि and सत्ररि respectively; and E. H. optionally in सत्ररि सै *seven hundred*. — Thirdly; in W. Gd. the syllable च, but in the E. and S. Gd. either the conjunct च् or the whole increment च् of the Pr. चत्तालीस *forty* is always elided in the fifth decade. In this case E. H. occupies an intermediate position; thus:

	M.	O.	B.	E. H.	P.	S.	G.
41.	एकेचालीस्	एकचालिश्	एकचलिश्	एकतालिस्	एकताली	एकेतालीह	एकतलीश्
42.	बेचालीस्	बयालिश्	बेयालिश्	बयालिस्	बैताली	बाएतालीह	बेतालीश्
43.	त्रेचालीस्	तेयालिश्	तेतालिश्	तेँतालिस्	तैताली	ट्रेतालीह	तेँतालीश्
44.	चव्वेचालीस्	चौचालिश्	चोयालिश्	चौबालिस्	चौताली	चोएतालीह	चुमालीश्

	M.	O.	B.	E. H.	P.	S.	G.
45.	पंचेचालीस्	पङ्चालिष्	पयंतालिष्	पैतलिस्	पैताली	पंजतालीह्	पञ्जतालीष्
46.	शेचालीस्	क्ष्यालिष्	क्षचलिष्	क्ष्यालिस्	क्षिताली	क्षएतालीह्	क्षतालीष्
47.	सत्तेचालीस्	सतचालिष्	सतचलिष्	सैतलिस्	सैताली	सतेतालीह्	शुउतालीष्
48.	अष्टेचालीस्	अठचालिष्	अठचलिष्	अष्ठतालिस्	अठताली	अठेतालीस	अउतालीष्

Some minor differences are the following: 1) S. and P. change the final स् of ओस्, तीस्, लीस्, ज्ञास् into ह्, which is generally afterwards dropped by P.; thus S., P. वीह् 20, P. तीह् or त्रीह्, S. द्रीह् 30, S. देवीह् 23, वद्रीह् 32, P. तेई or त्रेई, बती or बत्री, S. चालीह्, P. चाली 40, S., P. पंजाह् 50, S. वावंताह्, P. ववंता 52, etc. Similarly these two languages alone change the initial स् of साह् 60 into ह्; e. g., 61 P. इकाह्, S. एकह्, while P. also changes ह् to ह् (see § 145, exc. 2). With regard to सत्र 70, again, all Gds. agree in changing the initial स् to ह्, except O.; thus 71 B. एकात्र (= *एकयत्र = एकहत्र), E. H. एवत्र or एकहत्र, W. H. एकहत्र, P. इकहत्र, S. एकहत्रि, M. एकाहत्र, but O. एकसुरि (= *एकसुरि). — 2) M., G. and S. alone retain the initial व् of वीस् or वीह् 20 in compounds; see § 123, note. — 3) G., S., B. and optionally P. retain र् in त्रिष् or त्रीह् 30 and its compounds; as 31 B., G. एकत्रिष्, P. इकत्री or इकत्री, S. एकद्रीह्, 30 B., G. त्रिष्, P. तीह् or त्रीह्, S. द्रीह्, etc. — 4) B. alone doubles ल् in चलिष् 40 and its compounds, as एकचलिष् 41, etc. — 5) M. alone preserves the semitats. सष्ट 60 in compounds, as एकसष्ट 61, बासष्ट 62, etc.; but साह् 60 (see Man. 43). — 6) P. alone forms optionally नभे for नवे 90 in compounds, as इकानवे or इकानभे 91, etc.; but नव्वे or नब्बे 90 (see Ld. 85). — 7) S. alone preserves the full termination अह्, while the others contract it to अँ or अ or shorten it to अह् or अ; thus 12 S. बारह्, but P. बारँ (= *बारँ = *बारह्), M. बारा, W. H. बारा, or E. H. बारह्, B., O., G. बार.

397. *Derivation.* 1. एक् regularly for Pr. एक्को (Vr. 3, 58. § 143); as to the forms यक्, ऐक् and इक् see §§ 170. 171. Pr. has also the forms एगो (H. C. 1, 176) and एगो (H. C. 2, 99); the latter does not occur in E. H., but the former in compounds; e. g., ऐगरोतरसो 111 or shortened इग्, e. g., इगरोतरसो 111. —

2. दुइ regularly for Pr. दुए (Ls. 318, see § 45) or दुवे (Vr. 6, 57); the Mg. Pr. has दुवे or दो or दोन्नि (Wb. Bh. 424. see H. C. 3, 130); the first is preserved in E. H., B., O. दुइ, the second in E. H. दो (§ 392), the third in M. दोन् and S. डूँ (Tr. 158); Pr. has also the form छे (H. C. 3, 120) which is preserved in the G. छे and S. छ; the P. and W. H. have दो. — 3. तीनि regularly for Pr. तिणि (Vr. 6, 56. cf. §§ 143. 147). — 4. चारि see § 153. — Pr. दुवे or दोषि, तिणि, चत्तारि are gen. comm. (Vr. 3, 56. 57. 58); but they appear to have arisen from the Skr. neut. द्वे or *द्वानि, त्रीणि, चत्वारि respectively (see Ls. 318. 319). The Skr. masc. द्वौ is perhaps represented by the Pr. and Gd. दो. Mg. Pr. has a masc. तन्नो (Wb. Bh. 475) = Skr. त्रयः *three*, but it has not survived in Gd. Pr. has also the masc. चत्तारो (Skr. चत्वारः nom.) and चउरो (= Skr. चतुर्ः acc., see M. M. 124) H. C. 3, 122. Wb. Bh. 425, but they do not occur in Gd.; the latter, however, survives in the Ksh. चोर *tsor* (Bs. II, 132). — 5. पाँच् or पाच्, 7 सात्, 8 आट् regularly for Pr. पंच, सत्त, अट् = Skr. पञ्च, सप्त, अष्ट (see §§ 143. 147); S. and P. have पंत्त, P. सत्त, अट्, S. सत्त, अठ, B. आट. — 6. इ, also Pr. इ (Wb. Bh. 425. Ls. 319) for Skr. षट्, eliding final ट् (Vr. 4, 6) and changing ष् to इ (Vr. 2, 41); also W. H., S. and G. इ; E. H. has a form इह which occurs also in S. इह, M. सहा and Ksh. शिह (Bs. II, 132) and which represents perhaps the Skr. form षष्, Pr. *इस or *इह with final श (cf. Ls. 220. H. C. 1, 19. cf. M. दहा 10). E. H. has also a form इक् corresponding to B. इय्, O. इय, W. H. and P. इे, with euphonic व् or य् for elided इ; Pr. has also इय see Ls. 320. — 9. नौ or नउ regularly for Pr. नव, Pr. has also नअ (Ls. 320) which does not occur in E. H., but in O. नअ and B. नय; P. नोँ and S. नँँ add an *anunásika*. — 10. दस् regularly for Mg. Pr. दस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 1, 262), Skr. दश; Pr. has also दह (Vr. 2, 44) which is only preserved in P. दह (also दस्), S. उह, M. दहा, Ksh. दह (Bs. II, 133). — As the latter part of the compound numerals of the second decade, Skr. दश becomes in Pr. दह or उह or रह (H. C. 1, 219), in Gd. दह or लह or रह. Thus 11 Skr. एकादश, Pr. *एगारह,

E. H. ऐग्यार्ह or इग्यार्ह or ग्यार्ह. As to its euphonic *य्*, see § 135; it is more properly W. Gd.; for B. एगार्, O. एगार्, M. अकरा have it not; while W. H. ग्यार्ह, P. गिग्यार्ह, G. अगिग्यार् have it. The other P. form एग्यार्ह (Vr. 2, 44) occurs only in S. ग्यार्ह. The Pr. has also दस, रस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 3, 123), which have not survived in Gd. — 12. Skr. द्वादश, Pr. वार्ह (Vr. 2, 44), E. H. बार्ह, B., O., G. बार्, M., W. H. बार्, P. बार्ह, S. बार्ह. — 13. Skr. त्रयोदश, Pr. तेर्ह (i. e. त्रयोदश for त्रयः + दश cf. H. C. 1, 165)¹), E. H. तेर्ह; other Gds. see § 396. — 14. Skr. चतुर्दश, Pr. चउर्ह (Vr. 2, 14. H. C. 1, 171), E. H. चौर्ह; other Gds. see § 396. — 15. Skr. पञ्चदश, Pr. पसरह (H. C. 2, 43, but पसरहो Vr. 3, 44), E. H. पनर्ह (§ 392 and in पनराहासो 115, see § 394); so also B. पनेर् (perhaps rather for the Pr. form पसारह, see Ls. 320. Cw. 24, note); the usual Gd. form, however, inserts an euphonic *द्व* (§ 135), as E. H. पंदर्ह, O. पंदर्, W. H. पंदरा, P. पंदरह, S. पंदरह or पंध्र, M. पंधरा, G. पंदर्. — 16, see § 105, note, E. H. सोर्ह, B. सोल, O. सोह्ल (with a strange metathesis), W. H. सोला, M. सोळा, P. सोलह, S. सोर्ह, G. सोळ. — 17. Skr. सप्तदश, Pr. सत्तर्ह (T. V. 1, 3. 42), E. H. सत्तर्ह; other Gds. see § 396. — 18. Skr. अष्टादश, Pr. अट्टार्ह (T. V. 1, 3. 42. cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H. अठार्ह, G. अठार्, S. अडह (cf. 38. 48 below); other Gds., as in § 396. — 19. Skr. उनविंशतिः, Mg. उनवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. ओनइस्, W. H. उनीस्, B. उनिष्, O. उणाइष्; Skr. has also एकोनविंशतिः, Mg. एकूनवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), only preserved in M. एकुणीस्, O. H. अगुनीस् and गुनीस्, G. ओगणीस्; the P. has उन्नीह and S. उणीह or उणिवीह with *ह्* for *स्* (see § 396). — As to 21 एकइस्, etc. see §§ 123. 129. The (apparently anomalous) अ in सत्ताइस् is probably (as Bs. I, 291) caused by the ancient accent of the oxytone *saptá*. Of all dissyl-

1) The Pr. form तेर्ह is explained in H. C. 1, 165 as containing a change of the first अ together with the following cons. and vowel to ए; that is, in Skr. त्रयोदश the first अ together with the following syllable यो (i. e. cons. *य्* + vow. *ओ*) becomes ए; hence तेर्ह. Cowell's view, therefore, (Cw. 121, note) as to the Pr. Gramm. theory is more correct than Beames' (II, 135).

labic numerals only *saptā* and *aṣṭā* are oxytone, all others are barytone, *ēka*, *pāñcha*, *nava*, *dāśa*, etc.; now Gd. has *आ* in *सप्ताइस्*, *अष्टाइस्*, but *अ* or *ई* (for *अइ*) in *एकइस्* (W. H. *एकीस्*) and *पचीस्* (for *पचइस्*, M. *पंचवीस्*). In Skr. the influence of the accent is seen in *अष्टादश*, *अष्टाविंशति*, *अष्टात्रिंशत्*, etc.; but not in *सप्तदश*, *सप्तत्रिंशत्*; in Pr. and Gd. both sets show it in the third decade, but neither set in all other decades; e. g., 37 *सै॒तिस्*, 38 *अ॒ष्टतिस्*, 47 *सै॒तालिस्*, 48 *अ॒ष्टतालिस्*, and in Skr., too, the accent of *अष्ट* only optionally influences the form after the first four decades; e. g., 48 *अष्टचत्वारिंशत्* or *अष्टाचत्वारिंशत्*, etc. — 20 *बीस्* regularly for Pr. *वीसा* (H. C. 1, 28) or *वीसई* (Md. 4, 3. Ls. 320), Skr. *विंशति*. — 30 *तीस्* regularly for Pr. *तीसा* (H. C. 1, 28) or *तीसआ* (Md. 4, 3. Ls. 320), Skr. *त्रिंशत्*. — 32 *ब॒तिस्* regularly for Pr. *व॒न्नीसा* (T. V. 1, 4. 79), with *अ* on account of the following double *न्*, Skr. *द्वात्रिंशत्*. — 33 *तै॒तिस्* regularly for Pr. *ते॒न्नीसा* (H. C. 1, 165, see § 149), Skr. *त्रयस्त्रिंशत्*; M. has *ते॒हतीस्* (Man. 43) beside the regular *तेतीस्*. — 35 *वै॒तिस्* see § 156, W. H. *वै॒तीस्*, P. *वै॒ती*, G. *वै॒त्रिण्*; but M. *प॒स्तीस्* (Man. 43, for *प॒सतीस्* with *स्* for *च्*, cf. § 11) and S. *प॒न्तद्रीह्*. — 37 *सै॒तिस्* see § 153, also W. H. *सै॒तीस्*, P. *सै॒ती*, B. *साँइत्रिण्*; but M. *स॒दतीस्* or *स॒ततीस्*, G. *सा॒उत्रिण्*, S. *स॒तद्रीह्*. — 38. Skr. *अष्टात्रिंशत्*, Pr. *अ॒दूतीसा* (Wb. Bh. 426), O. *अ॒ठतिण्*, B. *आ॒ठत्रिण्*, S. *अ॒ठद्रीह्*, P. *अ॒ठती*, M. *अ॒ठतीस्* or *अ॒उतीस्*, E. H. *अ॒ठतिस्* (§ 113) or *अ॒उतिस्* or *अ॒रुतिस्* (§ 145, exc. 2), G. *आ॒उत्रिण्*. — 40. E. H. *चा॒लिस्* see § 153. — 41. Skr. *एकचत्वारिंशत्*, Pr. *ए॒क्कच॒त्तालीसा* or (eliding *च*) **ए॒कअ॒न्नालीसा* and (contracted according to Vr. 4, 1), E. H. *ए॒कता॒लिस्*; this derivation is proved by the S. *ए॒कता॒लीह्*, which is contracted from *ए॒कय॒तालीह्* with euph. *य्*. The usual explanation, identifying *०तालिस्* with *०चालिस्*, assumes a change of *च्* to *त्*; thus Pr. *ए॒कच॒त्तालीसा* = *ए॒कच॒त्तालीसा* = *ए॒कचा॒लीस्* = *ए॒कता॒लिस्*; but such a change of *च्* to *त्* is not only intrinsically improbable, but also lacks all evidence. Similarly are formed 43 *ते॒तालिस्* (see § 152), 49 *ओ॒नता॒लिस्*, 45 *वै॒तालिस्* (see § 156), 47 *सै॒तालिस्*, 48 *अ॒ष्टता॒लिस्* (see § 145, exc. 2). The latter is in Pr. also *अ॒उया॒ले* (Wb. Bh. 412); here both the syllable *च cha* and the conjunct *न् tt* are elided; so also in

the Gd. forms: 42 वयालिस्, 44 चौवालिस्, 46 द्वियालिस् (see §§ 152, 153); as to the other Gds. see § 396, 3; Pr. has 42 वायालीसं (Wb. Bh. 412). — 50. Skr. पञ्चाशत्, Pr. *पंचासा, E. H. पचास् (see §§ 143, 146), also W. H. पचास्, G., O. पचाशू, but the nasal is preserved in B. पंचास्, P. पंताह् and S. पंताह्. The common Pr. form is पञ्चासा (Vr. 3, 44. H. C. 2, 43); it is preserved in the M. पन्नास् 50 and in the curtailed form पन् or वन् of the compound numerals of the 6th decade of all Gds., exc. P. and S.; thus वन् in 52 E. H. बावन्, W. H., G. dto., O. बाअन्, B. बाउन्, M. बावन्, Pr. बावसं (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. द्वापञ्चाशत्; 57. E. H., O., W. H., G. सतावन्, M. सत्तावन्, Pr. *सत्तावसा or °सं, Skr. सप्तपञ्चाशत्; 58. E. H., O., W. H., G. अठावन्, M. अट्ठावन्, Pr. *अट्ठवसं, Skr. अष्टापञ्चाशत्; 55. E. H., O., G. पंचावन्, M. पंचावन्, Pr. पंचावसा (H. C. 2, 174), Skr. पञ्चपञ्चाशत्; B. contracts सातान् 57, आठान् 58, पंचान् 55. The other E. H. form पचपन्, which is also H. H., presupposes a Pr. form *पंचप्पसा. There is another Pr. form पपावसा (H. C. 2, 174) or पपावन् (Wb. Bh. 426), but it has left no trace in Gd. Again पन् in 56 E. H., W. H. इपन्, O., G. इपन्, B. इवान्, M. इपन्, Pr. *इप्पसा, Skr. षट्पञ्चाशत्; 53. E. H. तिरपन्, W. H. तिरपन् or त्रेपन्, G. त्रेपन, M. त्रेपन्, O. तेपन्, B. तिप्पान् presuppose a Ap. Pr. form *त्रिप्पसा (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. त्रिपञ्चाशत्; the common Pr. form तेवसा (H. C. 2, 174) does not occur in Gd.; 54. W. H., G. चोपन्, M. चोपन् or चौपन्, regularly for Pr. *चउप्पसा, Skr. चतुःपञ्चाशत्; but in E. H. चौअन् or चउअन् or (with euph. व्) चौवन्, O. चउवन्, B. चोयान् the conjunct प् has been elided (see § 154). The unusual Pr. form पंचासा 50 is preserved in E. H. 49 ओनचास्, with the syllable प pa elided, precisely as च cha in ओनतालिस् 39 (see above); thus Skr. उनपञ्चाशत्, Pr. उपावंचासा or उपापंचासा, whence B. उनपंचास्, G. ओपापापचाशू, S. उपिवांताह्, P. उपावंता or उपांता, O. उनंचाशू, E. H. ओनचास्; but M. regularly एकुपापन्नास्. Moreover it is used throughout in P. and S., thus S. द्वेवंताह्, P. तिवंता or तिरवंता 53; S. चोवंताह्, P. चोवंता or चुवंता 54; S. पंतवंताह्, P. पंचवंता 55; S. द्ववंताह्, P. द्विपंता or द्विवंता 56, etc. — 60. Skr. षष्टिः, Pr. सट्ठी (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. साठि, B. साठि, M., G., W. H. साह्, P. सट्ठ, S. सठि; the O. साठिए adds a pleonastic ए.

In the compounds, M. has सष्ट, S. हठि and P. हट, see § 396. Otherwise they differ little. But 61 is in P. इकाहट, 62 in O. बाआसठि with आ; 63. O., B. तेसठि, G. तेसाठ, W. H. त्रेसठ् or तिरसठ्, M. त्रेसष्ट, P. तेहट् or त्रेहट्, S. ट्रेहठि; 65. B. पयँसठि, M. पयँसष्ट, W. H. पैँसठ्, P. पैँहट्, but O. पंचसठि, G. पंचसाठ्, S. पंनहठि; 66. O. इअसठि, M. सासष्ट, S. झाहठि, W. H. झियासठ्, P. झिआहट्, B. इसठि; 67. E. H. सतसठि or सठसठि or सरसठि, M. सतसष्ट or सदसष्ट, W. H. सरसठ्, see § 107; the others retain त्, O. सतसठि, B. सातसठि, P. सवाहट्; 68. E. H. अउसठि or अरसठि, see § 145, exc. 2, M. अउसष्ट् or अउसष्ट्, W. H. अउसठ् or अरसठ्, see § 145, exc. 2; but O. अठसठि, S. अठहठि, P. अठाहट्, B. अठसठि; 69. B. उनसत्ररू, all others regularly °हत्ररू, see § 396. — In the Bh. the following curtailed forms occur, 62 वावट्ठि, 64 चोयट्ठि (but also चउसट्ठि), 66 झावट्ठि, and even 61 एगट्ठि, 67 सन्नट्ठि (Wb. Bh. 426), which (if trustworthy) may be explained by the intermediate change of स् to ह् (as in P. and S.) and subsequent elision of ह्. — 70. E. H. सत्ररू see § 108; so also in the other Gds. see § 396. In the compounds there is little difference, but 72 is in O. बाआसतुरि, B. बाहात्ररू, S. बाहत्ररि, M. बाहत्ररू; 73. M. त्रेहत्ररू or त्राहत्ररू, B. तेहात्ररू, O. तेस्तुरि; 74. M. चौयँहत्ररू; 75. M. पंचेहत्ररू; 76. O. इअस्तुरि, B. झेयात्ररू, S. झाहत्ररि, M. प्राहत्ररू or श्रेहत्ररू (see § 55); 77. B. सातात्ररू, M. सत्याहत्ररू or सत्तेहत्ररू, P. सतत्ररू; 78. B. आठात्ररू, P. अठत्ररू, M. अट्याहत्ररू or अठेहत्ररू. — 80. Skr. अशीतिः, but Pr. आसीई with आ (Wb. Bh. 426), and so in B. आशी; but E. H., W. H., P. अस्ती with double स्, which explains the आ of B.; in S. असी and O. अशी one स् has been elided; as to M. ऐँशी and G. ऐँसी, see § 148. In the compounds, which differ very little has all Gds. have आसी, exc. M., which आयँशी; thus 81. E. H. एक्वासी, M. एक्वायँशी; on the euph. य् see § 135. — 82. B. बियाशी, M. ब्यायँशी, P., S. बिआसी, O. ब्याशी, B., E. H., W. H. ब्यासी. — 86. O. झ्याशी, M. प्रायँशी, S. इहासी; 83. M. आयँशी, G. तेआसी or तासी; 84. Pr. चउरासी (Wb. Bh. 426), M. चौयँशी; 87. M. सत्यायँशी; 88. M. अट्यायँशी; 89. M. नव्यायँशी, E. H., W. H. नवासी are Skr. नवाशीतिः; but M. has also एकुपानव्वट्ठ, B. उननव्वट्ठ, O. उपानउ, P. उपानवे, S. उपानवे = Skr. एकोननवतिः. — 90. Skr. नवतिः, Pr. नउए (Wb. Bh.

426), E. H. नब्बे, O. नबे, B. नब्बद्, M. नब्बद्, W. H. नब्बे, S. नबे, P. नब्बे or नब्बे; these Gd. forms seem to presuppose a Pr. form *नब्बए; the origin of the final ए is obscure; so also is that of the connecting vowel अ which occurs in all the compounds of नबे, and is especially marked in S. and M.; e. g., 92. S. विन्नानवे, M. व्यासव; 93. S. दिन्नानवे, M. व्यासव; 94. E. H. चौरानवे, S. चौरानवे, M. चौर्यासव, etc.; it occurs already in Pr. सत्तानउए 97 (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. सतानवे, S. सतानवे, M. सत्यासव. — 99 is in S. नवानवे, B. निवानवुद्, M. नव्यासव (with euph. वृ see § 135) for Skr. नवनवति; the E. H. and W. H. निनानवे or न्यानवे apparently exchange न् for व्, though it might be also a modification of उ in the P. नडिन्ने^० or नडिन्ने^० (see § 396, 6) which are probably connected with the other S. forms नथानवे or वथानवे; for these as well as for the P. forms I know no satisfactory explanation. O. alone has अनेशत्, perhaps for Skr. उन्नशतम्. — 100. E. H., W. H., S., G., P. सौ or सो is the Ap. Pr. सउ (cf. H. C. 4, 331), Skr. शतम्, and E. H., P. सै, B. श, O. शये, M. शै^० is the Mg. Pr. सञ्च or सयं (Wb. Bh. 426); as to E. H. सल् see § 109. — The compounds above 100, formed with उत्तर, occur also in M. (Man. 44) and S. (Tr. 165); in the latter they may be formed up to 200; they are also found in Pr. (see Wb. Bh. 427); in the Bh. the original ओ is reduced to उ, but Gd. preserves it; e. g., 107 सन्नुत्तरं सयं (Bh. 15^a), S. सतोत्तरसौ; or Ap. Pr. पंचोत्तरसउ, S. पंजोत्तरसौ, E. H. पिचोत्तरसो (§ 55); 106. S. द्वोत्तरसौ, E. H. द्वियोत्तरसो or द्विलोत्तरसो (see § 55); the latter as well as 104 E. H. चलोत्तरसौ (for चुलो^०, cf. Pr. चुलसीत 84 in Wb. Bh. 425), S. चोरोत्तरसौ, 103 E. H. तिलोत्तरसो or तियो^०, S. दिरोत्तरसौ, 102 E. H. हिलोत्तरसो or हियो^० (see § 69), S. बिरोत्तरसौ, M. दुवोत्तरशे^० are formed anomalously; the Skr. would be षुत्तरशतं, चतुर्वत्तरं, श्रुत्तरं, द्युत्तरं. Very anomalous are the E. H. सतलोत्तरसौ 107 (for *सतोत्तरसौ) and निगरोत्तरसो 119; there seems to be here some confusion with the forms of 111 and 117. — The other compounds formed with the connecting vowel अ occur also in S., which has ओ; e. g., 112. E. H. बराहासो, S. बरहो सौ; 115. E. H. पन्नाहासो, S. पन्दराहो सौ, etc. E. H. shortens the first अ by § 25, and lengthens

the second त्र, probably, for the sake of euphony. The first part of these compounds is probably a collective or aggregate numeral; see §§ 404. 405; e. g., E. H. तीसा, S. तीहो *a sum of thirty*, whence E. H. तीसा सो, S. तीहो सौ 130, i. e., *100 plus the sum of 30*, or E. H. तेरहँ, S. तेरहो *sum of thirteen*, whence E. H. तेराहासो, S. तेरहो सौ 113, etc.

398. *Declension.* All cardinals can be declined, when used as subst., in which case they are inflected like them; thus gen. pl. पाँचनूँ कै of five, etc. But दुइ two and तीन three have a special form in these circumstances; viz. दूनो or दुन्हुन् or दुनहुन् two and तीनो three; thus gen. pl. दूनो कै or दुन्हुन् कै or दुनहुन् कै of two, तीनो कै of three. When they are used as adj., they are not inflected; thus पाँच जननूँ कै of five men, दुइ जननूँ कै of two men, तीन जननूँ कै of three men.

399. *Affinities and Derivation.* M. has special obl. forms दोहो, तिहो, चोहो for दोनू two, तीनू three and चारू four (Man. 46). When used adjectively with persons, they are changed to दोघे m., दोघी f., दोघे न. two; similarly तिघे, तिघी, तिघे three, चौघे, चौघी, चौघे four (Man. 46). Otherwise the declension is regular; thus gen. एका चा of one, दोहो चा or दोघाँ चा of two. — S. has the obl. forms बिनि or बी, दिनि or दी, चरनि or चर for ब two, दे three, चारि four; otherwise the declension is regular; thus gen. बिनि तो of two, पंजनि तो of five, etc. (Tr. 169. 171). S. inflects the cardinals, when they are used adjectively (Tr. 171); as दहनि बैरिनि खे or दहे बैरिँ खे to ten enemies; बिनि or बी बैरिनि खे बी बैरिँ खे to two enemies. — In the E. H. form दुन्हुन् the conjunct न्ह has been dissolved (see § 138). The second उ of दुन्हुन् is probably euphonic, for *दुन्हन्. In this and the other E. H. and M. special obl. forms the plur. suff. has been apparently reduplicated. The Pr. gen. pl. is दोपहं or बेपहं of two (H. C. 3, 119), तिपहं of three (H. C. 3, 118), which are contr. in S. to बी, दी or slightly modified बिनि, दिनि; but E. H. दूनो or दुन्हुन्, M. दोहो would presuppose the Pr. form *दोपहहुं or *दोपहपह, etc.

2. ORDINALS.

400. The formation of the ordinals from the cardinals has been explained in §§ 263—266. They are treated in every respect like adj., i. e., they admit of a weak and strong form (§ 381), and the latter has a fem. in ई or ईँ (§ 384) and an obl. masc. ए or एँ (§ 386). The following are the first seven ordinals of which some are formed peculiarly: *First*, wk. f. पहिल् or पहेल् c. g., or st. f. पहिला or पहेला or लका m., ली or लकी f.; *second*, wk. f. दूसर् or दुसरब् c. g., or st. f. दुसरा or दुसरवाँ or दुसरका m., री or रईँ or रकी f.; *third*, wk. f. तीसर् or तिसरब् c. g., or st. f. तिसरा or तिसरवाँ or तिसरका m., री or रईँ or रकी f.; *fourth*, wk. f. चउथ् or चौथब् c. g., or st. f. चौथा or चौथवाँ or चौथरका m., थो or थईँ or रकी f.; *sixth*, wk. f. ढुब् c. g., or st. f. ढरा or ढरवाँ m., ढरी or ढरईँ f.; *fifth*, wk. f. पंचब् c. g., or st. f. पचा or पंचवाँ m., पची or पंचईँ f.; *seventh*, wk. f. सातब् c. g., or st. f. सत्ता or सत्तवाँ m., सत्री or सत्तईँ f. The rest are formed exactly like the forms of the *fifth* and *seventh*. Their obl. forms are, e. g., gen. sg. or pl., masc. पहिले कै of the first, दसवेँ कै of the tenth; fem. पहिली कै, दसईँ कै, etc. When they are used as subst., they are inflected like them; thus gen. sg. पहिला कै of the first one, pl. पहिलन् कै of the first ones; but पहिले तन् कै of the first man, पहिले तनन् कै of the first men, etc.

401. *Affinities and Derivation.* For the derivation of पहिल् see §§ 118. 213. B. and O. पहेला or पहिला (§. Ch. 105. Bs. II, 142), M. पहिला, W. H. पहलौ or पहिलौ or लो, P. पहिला, G. पेहेलो, S. पेहेरो or पेहेरो or पहर्यो. The first ए of the G. and S. forms is merely euphonic (see § 57). — The deriv. and affin. of दूसर् and तीसर् see in §§ 270. 271, and for the deriv. of चौथ्, see § 78. B. and O. have चौथ (chauthō) or चौथा (§. Ch. 105), M. चवथा, W. H. चौथौ (Br.) or चौथो (Mw.), P. चौथा, G. चौथो, S. चौथो. — The E. H. ढरा, B. and O. deest, W. H. ढरौ or ढरो, G. ढरो are derived from Pr. ढरुधो, st. f. of Pr. ढरो (H. C. 1, 265), Skr. षड्, the M. सहावा, P. हेवाँ, S. इहो are formed anomalously (as if Skr. *षषम:) from the Gd. cardinals M. सहा, P. हे, S. इह. The E. H.

forms इठवाँ, दुसरख् or दुसरवाँ anomalously contain the suff. ख् or खवाँ, see § 264. The forms पहिलका, दुसरका, तिसरका contain the pleon. suff. अका (see § 198). The form चौथरका is formed anomalously after the analogy of दुसरका, तिसरका. As to the deriv. and affin. of the rest, see §§ 265. 266.

3. MULTIPLICATIVES.

402. The multiplicatives denote how many times a number is multiplied. They are formed from the cardinals by adding the suff. खा or खाँ or खाँई, excepting the first six which are made in a peculiar way. They are used only in the multiplication table.

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. ऐकं or ऐकै or के or कं | 6. इक् or इक्का or इक्के or इक्क |
| 2. दूनी | 7. सते |
| 3. तियाँ or त्रिका or तिरिका | 8. अठे or आठ |
| or त्रिके or तिरिके or ति | 9. नवाँ or नवाँई |
| 4. चौक् or चौका | 10. दहाँ or दहाँई, etc. |
| 5. पचा or पचे or पुरे | |

403. The forms ऐकं and ऐकै are only used in the phrase ऐकं एक् or ऐकै एक् *once one is one*; and पचा only in पचा पचीस् *five times five are twenty five*. The form पुरे is used only when the product contains the words पच् or पै *five*, i. e., when it is fifty or an odd multiple of five (excepting, however, पाँच् *five*, पंदरह *fifteen* and पचीस् *twenty five*). As to the other alternative forms, no strict rule can be given; the practice varies according to local or individual fancy. In general it may be said, that the shorter forms, as ति, आठ, इक् or इक्क, are used when the product is polysyllabic. The multiplicative always takes the middle place in the sentence. The following tables are given as examples:

10 × 1 is 10, etc.

3 × 1 is 3, etc.

दस् के दस्	दस् इके साठि	तीन् के तीन्	तीन् इक्क अठारह
दस् दूनी बीस्	दस् सते सत्तर	तीन् दूती इ	तीन् सते एकइस्
दस् तियाँ तीस्	दस् अठे अस्सी	तीन् त्रिका नी	तीन् अठे चौबिस्
दस् चौक् चालिस्	दस् नवाँ नब्बे	तीन् चौक् बारह	तीन् नवाँ सताइस्
दस् पुरे पचास्	दस् दहाँ सौ	तीन् पचे पंदरह	तीन् दहाँई तीस्

13 × 1 is 13, etc.

तेरह के तेरह	तेरह द्वाक् अठन्नत्त
तेरह दूनी इब्बिस्	तेरह सते ऐकानब्बे
तेरह ति वनतालिस	तेरह आठ चलोतरसो
तेरह चौका बावन्	तेरह नवौं सतराहाँसो
तेरह पुरे पैँसठि	तेरह दहाँई तीसासो

The table of one is formed in a peculiar manner; thus:

ऐकै एक	चर के चार	सत् के सात्	दहाँई दस्
दु के दुइ	पच् के पाँच्	अठ के आठ	
तिन् के तीन्	इ के इह	नवौँई नौ	

The multiples of five are formed thus:

पच् के पाँच्	चार पचे बीस्	सात् पुरे पैँतिस	दस् पुरे पचास्
दो पचे दस्	पचा पचीस्	आठ पचे चालिस्	इग्यारह पुरे पंचावन्
तीन् पचे पंदरह	इ पचे तीस्	नौ पुरे पैँतालिस	बाराह पचे साठि, etc.

404. *Affinities and Derivation.* The forms in ए are probably obl. forms or nom. plur. of the resp. nom. sing. in अ, as सते of सता, अठे of अठा, etc. For the rest see § 407. The multiplicatives are identical with the collectives or aggregates; thus तीन् अठे चौबिस् means lit. *three sums-of-eight are twenty-four*.

4. COLLECTIVES.

405. The following words are used to express some aggregate sums: जोरा or जोरी *a pair*, चौकरा or ोरी or गंडा *a four*, गाही *a five*, कोड़ी *a score*, सैकरा *a hundred*, सहस्र *a thousand*, लाख *a hundred thousand*, कोरा or करो *ten millions*. Collectives may also be formed by adding अ or अँ to the cardinals, so especially बीसा *a score*, तीसा *a thirty*, चलीसा *a forty*, also एका *a one*, पंचा *a five*, सता *a seven*, अठा *a eight*, नवौं *a nine*, दहाँ *a ten*, etc. The multiplicatives दूनी, तियाँ or त्रिका, चौक् or चौका, द्वाक् or द्वाका may be used as collectives.

406. All collectives are subst.; those in अ (*quiescent*) or अ are masc.; those in ई fem.; they are declined precisely like all other subst.

407. *Affinities.* These numerals probably occur in all Gds., though they are not noticed by all Gd. grammarians. As to S. see Tr. 178—181 (§§ 26. 27); thus एको or हिको 1, बिको 2, दिको 3, चउको or चउकु or चउकडी 4, पंतो 5, इको 6, सतो 7, अठो 8, नाँग्रो 9, उहो or उहाको 10, बीहो or बीहारो or बिहारो or कोडी 20, दीहो or दीहारो or दिहारो 30, चालीहो or चाल्यारो (for *चालीहारो) 40, पंताहो or पंताही 50, साठीको 60, सवियो or सौकिडो 100, सहासु or हतार 1000 (Tr. 168), लाख 100000, कोरु or किरोटि 10000000. As to P., see Ld. 85. 86, thus काउ or काउँ 1, टूणी 2, तिआउँ or तिआउँ 3, चौका 4, पाँता 5, इका 6, साता 7, अठा 8, नाइयाँ 9, दाहा or दहाका 10, कोडी or बीहडो or बीहा 20, पंताहा 50, सैकडा 100, सहस्र or हतार 1000, लकख 100000, करोड 10000000, etc. As to W. H., see Kl. 105—107; they do not much differ from E. H.; एकाई 1, टूना or टूनी or त्रोगा or त्रोगे 2, ती or तोन् 3, पंता 5, नम् or नम्मा 9, दहाम् or दहाई 10, कोडी or बीसा 20, सैकडा 100, सहस्र or हतार 1000, करोड 10000000; some collectives are formed by adding the fem. suff. ई (for masc. अ), as बत्तीसी a *thirty two*, पचीसी a *fifty*, etc. In M. सहस्र or हतार 1000, लाख 10000, कोट or कोट् 10000000.

408. *Derivation.* Collectives are derived in Skr. by means of the suff. क, whence the Gd. forms arise regularly. Thus *unit*, Skr. एककम्, Pr. एककं, E. H. एका; *triad*, Skr. त्रिकम्, Pr. त्रिकं, W. H. ती, E. H. ति; *score*, Skr. विंशकम्, Pr. बीसकं, E. H. बीसा; *hexad*, Skr. षट्कम्, Pr. इक्कं, E. H. इक्; *quaternion*, Skr. चतुष्कम्, Pr. चउक्कं, E. H. चौक्; *pentad*, Skr. पञ्चकम्, Pr. पंचकं, E. H. पंचा, etc. Sometimes the pleon. suff. क (see § 195) is added; thus *triad*, E. H. तियाँ or त्रिका, Pr. त्रिककं, Ap. Pr. त्रिककं, Skr. त्रिककम्; *quaternion*, E. H. चौका, Pr. चउक्ककं, Skr. चतुष्ककम्; *hexad*, E. H. इक्का, Pr. इक्ककं, Skr. षट्ककम्; *ten millions*, E. H. कोर्रा or कोरग, Pr. कोडिक्कं, Skr. कोटिकम् (or *कोटकम्); sometimes the pleon. suff. रा (or ग, see § 209) is superadded; as *four*, E. H. चौकरा, W. H. चौकगे, Ap. Pr. चउक्कउड, Skr. चतुष्क; *hundred*, E. H. सैकरा, W. H. सैकगे, Ap. Pr. सयक्कउड, Skr. शतक, etc.; perhaps also E. H. त्रोगा, W. H. त्रोगे, Ap. Pr. *तुअउड (cf. H. C. 2, 15 विज्ञं = Skr. विद्वान्),

Skr. द्विक°, though this might be a noun derived from the R. जुड़ or जुड़ join. Sometimes the „collective“ sense is emphasised by making the numeral an abstract noun by means of the suff. *वार्* (see § 220); thus W. H. *एकवार्* *unit*, E. H. *नववार्* *nine*, *दहवार्* *decade*, etc. — Differently derived is *द्वाना* m. and *द्वानो* f. *duad*, viz. from Pr. दुउपात्रं (cf. H. C. 1, 94), Skr. द्विगुणकम्. — As to the E. H. *सहस्र* and *करोर* see §§ 138. 135. — The E. H. *गंडा* is properly a noun, the Skr. *गण्डकः*, lit. *aggregate of four sides* (?); so is also the E. H. *गाहो*, lit. *the aggregate of the five (ancient) planets* (Skr. *ग्रह*). — For the E. H. *कोरी* or *कोड़ी* *score* I know no satisfactory explanation; possibly it may be connected with *कौड़ी*, (Skr. *कर्पूरक*) *aggregate of twenty shells* (?).

5. REDUPLICATIVES.

409. The reduplicative numbers are defective. Only the following occur in E. H.; *अकेहरा* *onefold, single*, *दुहरा* or *दोहरा* *twofold, double*, *तेहरा* *threelfold, triple*, *चौहरा* *fourfold, quadruple*. The rest are made by adding the word *बार* or *बेर* *time* to the cardinal numbers; as *पाँच बार* or *पाँच बेर* *five times, quintuple*, etc.

410. The reduplicatives are adj. and treated precisely like those of the strong form (§ 381); that is, they make a fem. in *ई* (§ 384), as *दोहरी*, *तेहरी*, etc., and an obl. form in *ए* (§ 386), as *दोहरे*, etc.

411. *Affinities*. The reduplicatives exist in all Gds. As to W. H. see Kl. 105. In P. there are 1 *इकहरा* or *कहिरा*, 2 *दोहरा*, 3 *तिहरा*, 4 *चौहरा* or *चउहरा*, 5 *पंतौहरा* or *पंतउहरा*, 6 *केसौहरा*, 7 *सतौहरा*; and even the „ordinal“ suff. *भ* may be added pleonastically; thus *पंतौहराभ* *quintuple*, just as *पंतभाँ* or *पंतबँ* *fifth* (Ld. 88). In S. there are, 1 *हेकर* or *हेकार*, 2 *बिहर* or *बिहार*, 3 *टिहर* or *टिहार*, 4 *चोहर* or *चोहार* (Tr. 184). M. adds *पट* *strip* instead of *हरा*; thus 1 *एकपट*, 2 *दुपट*, 3 *तिपट*, 4 *चौपट*, 10 *दसपट*, etc. (Man. 42). Similarly W. H. adds *लग* *string*, e. g., 3 *तिलग*, 4 *चौलग* (see Kl. 105). — B. and O. seem to use tats. forms; as *एकधा*, *द्विधा*, etc. (see §. Ch. 109. Sn. 24).

412. *Derivation.* Reduplicatives are formed in Skr. by the addition of the *quasi-suff.* विध (from विधा *form, manner*), which in Pr. becomes विह or, curtailed, ह, whence, probably by the addition of the pleon. suff. रा (see § 209, or in S. आर), arises the E. H. ह्रा. Thus in the Bh. (Wb. Bh. 425. 426) the following occur: 2 दुविह, 4 चउविह, 5 पंचविह, 6 षविह, or contracted 1 एगाह्य, 2 वेह्य, 3 तेह्य (perhaps from Skr. विहित past part. of R. वि-धा). Accordingly Skr. द्विविध° *twofold*, Pr. दुविह° (H. C. 1, 94) or वेविह°, whence contracted Ap. Pr. दोहउउ or वेहउ, and W. H. दोहरौ or E. H. दोहरा, S. बिहर. The S. form बिहार presupposes an Ap. Pr. वेहउउ, containing the pleon. suff. क and उ. Compare the names of the E. H. metre दोहा masc. (Skr. द्विविधकः) and Pr. दोहडिया fem. However, the Pr. ह and Gd. हर might be also derived from the Skr. *quasi-suff.* ध or धा, as in द्विधः (from द्विधा *in two parts*).

6. FRACTIONALS.

413. The following fractional numbers occur in E. H. Those marked with an asterisk are used both as subst. and adj.

$\frac{1}{2}$ *आध् or *आधा	$\frac{1}{16}$ सोरही or सोरहिया
$\frac{1}{3}$ तिहाई or तिहड्या or तिहैया	$\frac{1}{4}$ *सवा or सवाई or सवड्या or सवैया
$\frac{1}{4}$ *पाउ or *पाव or	$\frac{1}{2}$ *उन्ह or उन्हा or उन्हे or देह् or देहा or देहे
चौथाई or चौथड्या or चौथैया	$\frac{2}{2}$ *आठा or आठाई or आठड्या or आठैया
$\frac{1}{10}$ दहाई or दहड्या or दहैया	$\frac{3}{4}$ पाउन् or पोना

It is to be noted, that पउने or पौने deducts *one fourth*, but सवा adds *one fourth* and साठे *one half* to the numeral to which they are prefixed. Thus एक पाउ सेर *one fourth of a ser*; आध् सेर or आधा सेर *half a ser*; पउन् or पोना सेर *three quarters of a ser*; सवा सेर *one ser and a quarter*; उन्ह सेर *one ser and a half*; पौने दुइ सेर *one ser and three quarters* (lit., one quarter less than two sers); सवा दुइ सेर *two sers and one quarter*; आठा सेर or आठाई सेर *two sers and one half*; साठे तीन सेर *three sers and one half*, etc.

414. None of the adjectival fractionals change their form in construction with a subst., except आधा *half* which makes re-

gularly fem. *आधी* (§ 384), and obl. form *आधे* (§ 386). Thus *आधी राति* *midnight*, *आधे मागू मे* *at half-way*.

415. *Affinities*. These fractionals occur in all Gds., though there are additional forms in some of them. Thus $\frac{1}{4}$, W. H. पात्रो or चौथाई, P. पाउ or चुथाई, S. पाउ or चौथे or चौथाई or चौथा, G. पा, M. पाव्, B. चौटि or सिकि, O. पा or पाए; $\frac{1}{3}$, W. H., P. तिहाई, S. दिहाई, B. तिहाइ; $\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. आध् or आधौ, P. अठ or अठा, S. अधु or आधो, G. अरधो, M. अर्धा, B. आध् or अर्ध or अर्धक्, O. अध or अर्ध or अर्धक्; $\frac{3}{4}$, W. H., P. पौन्, G. पोणो, M. पाउपा; $\frac{1}{4}$, W. H. सवा or समा or सम, P. सवा or सवाई or सवाईया, S. सवाई, G. सवा, M. सव्वा, B. सउया; $1\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. डेऊ or डौडा or डेओडा, P. डेऊ or डूऊ or डूडा or डेउडा, S. डेऊ or डेडे, G. डोह, M. दीड्, B. देऊ, O. देऊ; $2\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. अठई or ठामा or ठाम्, P. ठाई or ठाईया or ठाया, S. अठई, G. अठो or हउी, B. अठई, O. अठाइ; $3\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. हूँटा or ह्योटा, P. उठा or उँटा or उटा; $4\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. ढोँचा, P. ढोँचा (or पौचा?); $5\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. पोँचा, (P. पौँचा?); $6\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. षोँचा; $7\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. सतोँचा. Again *minus* $\frac{1}{4}$, W. H., B., O., P. पौने, S. पोणो or मुनो, G. पोणा, M. पाउणो or पावणो; *plus* $\frac{1}{4}$, W. H., P., S., G. सवा, M. सव्वा, B. सउया, O. सउआइ; *plus* $\frac{1}{2}$, W. H., P., O. साढे, S. साढा (or साडु), G. साडा, M., B. साडे. See Kl. 103. 105. Ld. 85. 86. 87. Tr. 184. 185. Ed. 48. Man. 45. S. Ch. 109. Sn. 24.

416. *Derivation*. आध् or आधा regularly for Pr. अढो or अठओ, Skr. अर्धः or अर्धकः. — तिहाई, चौथाई, दहाई, सोरही are abstract nouns derived with the suff. ई or आई from the ordinal or cardinal forms (see § 220). The ह् in तिहाई is probably merely euphonic, for तिआई = तीआई = Pr. तइअ° (H. C. 1, 101) = Skr. तृतीय°. — पाउ or पाव् (or H. H. पात्रो) regularly for Ap. Pr. पाउ, Pr. पात्रो, Skr. पादः; O. पा or पाय् or पाए = Mg. पाए or पाये. — सवा curtailed from Ap. Pr. सवाउ, Pr. सवाओ, Skr. सपादः; O. सवाई, Mg. सवाई or सवाये. — साढे is the obl. form of साढा (which, however, is never used), regularly for Pr. सडुओ, Skr. सार्धकः from स + अर्ध (lit. *with a half*). — पउने or पौने is the obl. form of पौना or wk. form पाउन् or पौन्, regularly for Pr. पाओणो, Skr. पादोनः, from पाद + उन, lit. *one quarter less*. — The forms देऊ or डेऊ, आढा,

उठा, etc. are made by compounding अर्ध *half* with the next highest ordinal; thus $3\frac{1}{2}$ is in Mg. Pr. अर्धुत्तमं (see Wb. Bh. 425), which is evidently shortened for अर्धोत्तमं = अर्ध + अर्धुत्तमं = अर्ध + चतुर्थं (cf. H. C. 2, 33) = अर्ध + चतुर्थं lit. *half-fourth*. The same shortening of ओ to उ occurs in Mg. सत्तुत्तमं for सत्तोत्तमं = Skr. सप्तोत्तमं (Wb. Bh. 427). Next Pr. अर्धोत्तमं is changed to अर्धोत्तमं (see § 119) and the initial अ is dropped (see § 172), whence arises the W. H. होटा or हूटा or (dropping ह्) the P. उठा or उँटा (cf. § 145, exc. 2). Again $2\frac{1}{2}$ is in Mg. Pr. अर्धुत्तमं (Wb. Bh. 425), which is contr. for अर्धुत्तमं or अर्ध + अर्धुत्तमं = अर्ध + तृत्तमं (cf. H. C. 4, 339 तृत्तमं) = Skr. अर्ध + तृतीया lit. *half-third*. An alternative Pr. form of तृत्तमं is तृत्तमं (cf. H. C. 1, 101), whence arises Pr. अर्धुत्तमं or contracted अर्धुत्तमं or E. H. अर्धुत्तमं or अर्धुत्तमं or (dropping initial अ, § 172) P. ठात्तमं or ठाई. Similarly $4\frac{1}{2}$ must be Skr. अर्धपञ्चमः *half-fifth*, Ap. Pr. अर्धपञ्चमं or contracted अर्धोपञ्चमं, whence (dropping initial अ, § 172) P. ठौँचा, W. H. ठौँचा. Similarly $1\frac{1}{2}$ would be in Skr. अर्धद्वितीयः, Mg. अर्धद्वितीयं (or *अर्धद्वितीयं), and transposing अर्धं and द्वितीयं (or *द्वितीयं), which form occurs in the Bh. (see Wb. Bh. 190. 411) and whence is contracted E. H. देर्ध or डेर्ध, M. दीर्ध or G. डेर्ध or P. डेर्ध and डूँचा or W. H. डीँचा. — The forms पौँचा, खौँचा, सत्तौँचा are anomalous and fanciful forms, made after the analogy of ठौँचा under a mistaken idea of its true derivation. They have, certainly, no connection with उँचा *high* (as Kl. 108). The ख् of खौँचा is merely the modern pronunciation of ख् in the Skr. खप्, and shows that the word is of modern origin, without any foundation in Pr. — In the W. H. समा or सम the व् of सत्ता has been changed to म् (see § 134), as W. H. नम्मा or नम *nine* for नत्ता. In the W. H. ढामा or ढाम corresponding to P. ढाया or ढाई the म् appears to be merely euphonic.

7. PROPORTIONALS.

417. Proportional numbers are made by adding the word गुना *time* to the cardinal numbers; thus दुइ गुना *two times*, तीनि गुना *three times*; चारि गुना *four times*; पाँच गुना *five times*, etc.

There are also the contracted forms दुगुना *twice*, तिगुना *thrice*, चौगुना *four times*.

418. *Affinities and Derivation.* The proportionals exist in all Gds. Thus B. दुग्गुण 2, etc. (§. Ch. 109), O. तिनिगुण 3, etc. (Sn. 24), W. H. दुगुना 2, तिगुना 3, चौगुना 4, सतगुना 7, etc. (Kl. 105); P. uses either the full or the contracted forms throughout; e. g., दूपा or दूपो 2, तीउपा or तिगुपा 3, चौपा or चौगुपा 4, पचौपा or पंचौपा 5, षिषौपा or षिगुपा 6, सतौपा or सतगुपा 7, अठौपा or अठगुपा 8, नौपा or नौगुपा 9, दसौपा or दसगुपा 10, etc. (Ld. 87). S. has only the contracted forms: thus हेकूपो 1, बीपो 2, द्रीपो 3, चउपो or चौपो 4, पंतूपो 5, इहूपो 6, सतूपो 7, अहूपो 8, नउपो 9, उहूपो 10, etc. (Tr. 182). S. has also हेकूटो *once*, बीटो *twice*, which, perhaps, are contractions of हेक-पटो, बिपटो, as in M. which uses पट् instead of गुण्; thus एकपट् 1, दुप्पट् 2, तिप्पट् 3, चौपट् 4, etc. (see § 411). — E. H. दुगुना regularly for Pr. दुगुपाञ्च, Skr. द्विगुपाकम्; E. H. तिगुना for Pr. तिगुपाञ्च, Skr. त्रिगुपाकम्; and E. H. चौगुना for Pr. चउगुपाञ्च, Skr. चतुर्गुपाकम्.

8. SUBTRACTIVES.

419. Subtractive numerals are made by adding कम् *less*; thus 99 is एक् कम् सै *one hundred less one*; 48 is दुइ कम् पचास् *fifty less two*.

420. *Affinities and Derivation.* कम् is thus used also in B. (§. Ch. 110), and in W. H., H. H., and probably in all W. Gds., as it is a persian word. B. uses also the Gd. word घाइट् (§. Ch. 110).

9. DISTRIBUTIVES.

421. Distributive numbers are made by repeating the numeral; thus दुइ दुइ *by twos, two each*; दस् दस् *by tens, ten each*. Sometimes distribution is idiomatically expressed by the word पाछे *after*; e. g., ब्राह्मनन् के दुइ दुइ पैसा दिहलेस् or ब्राह्मनन् पाछे दुइ पं दि° *he gave the Bráhmans two paisás each*. Sometimes करि *having made* is added to the reduplicated num.; e. g., दुइ दुइ करि दि° *he gave two to each*.

422. *Affinities.* This practice of reduplication is common to all Gds.; thus B. दश दश or दश दश करिया *by tens* (§. Ch. 108. 245), O. दुइ दुइ *by twos* (Sn. 24), and so in all. B. also expresses distribution by adding the particle टा or टी to a single numeral, as दश टा करिया देउ *give ten to each* (§. Ch. 245).

10. DEFINITIVES.

423. Definiteness or emphasis is given to a number by adding the suff. ओ or ओ"; thus दोनो बरिस् *the two years*; तीनो दिन् *the three days*; चारो बाह्मन् *the four Bráhmans*, etc. A final इ is dropped before the suff., e. g., चारो of चारि *four*, साठो of साहि *sixty*, etc.

424. *Affinities and Derivation.* This suff. is used also in W. H. (see Kl. 101), to which it more properly belongs. It is the same as the suff. of the obl. plur. (see §§ 362. 363. 365, 7), which is occasionally transferred to the nom. plur. also (see § 369).

11. INDEFINITIVES.

425. Indefiniteness in a number is expressed either by prefixing or suffixing एक् one to the numeral, as एक् दस् *about ten*, सो एक् *about one hundred*, etc.; to एक् itself आध् *half* is added, एक् आध् *about one*. Or it may be expressed by joining another number according to the following rules: 1, every number is used with the one immediately following, as तीनि चारि *about three*, दस् इग्यारह् *about ten*, etc.; or 2, ten or any multiple of ten is used with the next following multiple of five or ten; as दस् पंदरह् or दस् बीस् *about ten or any number between ten and fifteen or between ten and twenty*; बीस् पचीस् or बीस् तीस् *about twenty*; or 3, exceptionally 2 is used with 4, दुइ चारि *about two*, 5 with 7, पाँच् सात् *about five*, 8 with 10, आह् दस् *about eight*, 10 with 12, दस् बारह्, 12 with 14, बारह् चौदह् *about twelve*, 20 with 50, बीस् पचास् *about twenty*.

426. *Affinities.* These usages are probably common to all Gds. As to B. see §. Ch. 106. 107, and as to W. H. see

Kl. 101. B. also expresses indefiniteness by prefixing one of the particles गोटा, गोटी, खान् or यान्, गाह् to a numeral (§. Ch. 106); O. uses गोटा (Sn. 24); S. suffixes खनु (Tr. 180). Thus B. or O. गोटा त्रिश् or B. खान् त्रिश् or S. दिहारी खनु *about thirty*. — The B. खान् or यान्, S. खनु is, probably, the Skr. स्वाणुः *stake* or *post*, which becomes in Pr. याणू or खाणू (H. C. 2, 7) or खणू (H. C. 2, 99). — The B. गोटा or गोटी is probably the Skr. गोष्ठकः *or गोष्ठिकः assembly, heap*, and गाह् probably the Skr. गच्छ *a progression*.

FOURTH CHAPTER. THE PRONOUN.

427. There are six kinds of pronouns, 1) the personal, 2) the correlative, 3) the reflexive, 4) the honorific, 5) pronominal adjectives and 6) pron. adverbs. The genitives of the personal and reflexive pron. serve to express the corresponding possessive pron.

1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

428. E. H. possesses pron. for the first and second person only. For the third pers. the remote demonstr. pron. is used. The pers. pron. are alike for both genders. The forms of the 1st pers. are, dir. sg. मै I, obl. sg. मो or मोँ, dir. and obl. pl. हम् *we*; those of the 2nd pers. are, dir. sg. तैँ *thou*, obl. sg. तो or तोँ, dir. pl. तूँ *you*, obl. pl. तोह्.

429. There is a long form of the pers. pron., which, however, now occurs only in the fem. plur. and is made by adding the suff. स्त्री (see §§ 209. 214) to the obl. plur., thus हमनी *we*, तोहनी *you*.

Note: The weak form हमन् *we* occurs in the O. H. (Kl. 127); the corresponding form of the 2nd pers. would be *तोहन् *you*. From these are derived the strong fem. forms हमनी and तोहनी, to which would correspond the strong masc. *हमना and *तोहना, obl. *हमने and *तोहने. Some of these masc. forms may be in actual use. All alike are very vulgar and almost exclusively used

by women, even in a sing. sense¹). A plur. तुमन् and even a sing. तुइन् actually exists in Gw. (see Kl. 129). See similar long forms of the correlative pron. in § 436.

430. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) *The first pers. pron. sing.* The dir. form is essentially the same in the E., S. and N. Gds.; thus B. मुइ, O. मु or मुइ or मुहि, E. H. मै (Bh.) or मइ or मय् (Bs.), M. मो, N. मै or मो; also H. H. मै. It is quite different in the W. Gds., viz. W. H. हौ (Br.) or हो (Kn.) or हू (Mw.), P. हउ, G. हुँ, S. खाँउ or खाँ (dropping ह्). The other forms, however, also occur dialectically in the W. Gds., viz. W. H. and P. मै, S. मू or माँ, but, as a rule, they are only used as the obl. form; e. g., abl. sg. Mw. मै हूँ from me, P. मै यो, S. मू खाँ or माँ खाँ; act. sg., W. H. and P. मै, G. मे, S. मू or माँ. On the other hand, the proper dir. form खाँ is occasionally used as an obl. in S. (Tr. 190); and so also हउ in P. (Ld. 16). This shows that the forms with initial म् are properly obl., and have been anomalously transferred to the nom. sg., as has occasionally happened in the case of subst. (see § 369). — *The obl. form* is essentially the same in all Gds.; viz. B. and O. मो, E. H. मो (Bh.) or म्वा or म्वहि (Bs.), O. H. मोहि or मुहि, W. H. मोहि or मुहि or मो or मै or मे (Br.) or मै or म्दै or (shortened) म or म्ह or म्हो or म्हा or मा (Mw.)², P. मे or मै, S. मू or माँ or मुहुँ³, G. म or मा or मे⁴, M. म or मो or म्या⁵, N. म or मै or मो or मे⁶). — There are, then, in Gd. two principal types: 1) that of the proper dir. forms हौ, etc.; 2) that of the various obl. form मै, मो, etc., some of which are also occasionally used as direct forms.

1) I may state here as a general fact, that among the vulgar in India the plur. forms of the pron. and verb are almost universally used in the place of the sing. Inattention to this fact has led to many errors in the statements of Kl. and Bs. as to E. H.

2) मे and मा or म्हा only in the gen. मेरो (Br.), मारो or म्हारो (Mw.).

3) मुहुँ only in the gen. मुहुँ जो.

4) मा only in gen. मारो, and मे in the act.; but acc. म ने.

5) मो and म्या only in the act., but acc. म ला, etc.

6) मे only in gen. मेरो, मै only in the act. मै ले.

The dir. forms are modifications of the Ap. Pr. nom. sg. **हउं** (H. C. 4, 375) or **हमुं** (K. I. 39 in Ls. 451) or **हमु** (Md. **अस्मदो हमु** **बुना सार्ठः । अस्मद् इत्यधिकारः । हमु भणामि** », i. e., *asmad* has *hamu* in the nom. sg.; here the rules on *asmad* commence; *hamu bha-nami I speak*). The Skr. nom. sg. is **अहम्**, which becomes in Pr. **अहं** or **हं** (Vr. 6, 40) or str. form **अहञ्** (Vr. 6, 40) or ***हञ्**. The latter regularly H. C. 4, 354 changes to **हउं** in Ap. Pr.¹⁾, and this becomes in P. **हउं**, in Br. **हो**, in Kn. **हो**, in Mw. **हू**, in G. **हुं**. — The Gd. obl. forms are modifications of the Pr. gen. sg. forms **मइ** or **मह** (H. C. 3, 113) or **महु** (H. C. 4, 379). The form **मइ** is used in Mh. Pr. for the gen., abl., instr. and loc. sg. (H. C. 3, 113. 111. 109. 115), and in the Ap. Pr. for the instr. loc. and acc. sg. (H. C. 4, 377); that is, it has evidently become a general obl. form. There can be little doubt, that **मइ** is a curtailment of ***महि** (see § 126) and the three forms ***महि**, **महु** and **मह** are evidently made by means of the Ap. gen. or obl. suff. **हि**, **हु**, **ह** (shortened for **हे** and **हो**, see §§ 365, 6. 367, 3). In the Ap. Pr. the corresponding pl. suff. **हिं**, **हुं**, **हं** are sometimes transferred to the sg. (see § 367, 5); accordingly we find in the Ap. Pr. also the alternative forms **मइं** (for ***महिं**, cf. § 126), **महुं** and **महं** (see K. I. 44 in Ls. 451, and H. C. 4, 377. 3, 113)²⁾. Now the Ap. **मइ** or ***महि** is modified in O. to **मुहि**

1) Ls. 330 explains the form **अहञ्** as = **अहम्**, analogous to Pr. **तुम्** and **तुं** or **तं** (H. C. 3, 90); this seems to be supported by the Ap. from **हमु**; that form, however, is somewhat doubtful; it might well be a false reading for **हउं**. It appears to me more probable that **अहञ्** is the regular strong form of **अहं**, and equal to ***अहकं**, as shown by the corresponding Mg. **अहके** (Vr. 11, 9) which according to Mg. usage retains the क्; there is also a Mg. form **हके** or **हगे** (Vr. 11, 9), which represents a Mh. form ***हञ्** and the Ap. **हउं**; H. C. 4, 354 expressly states that the Pr. strong form termin. **अञ्** (**अकं**) changes to **अउं** in the Ap. Pr.

2) The Ap. Pr. has **मइं** according to H. C. 4, 377, but **मइ** according to Md. **मइ** **उट्टाम्भिः । मइ । मयि मया मां वार्यः** » again it has **महु** according to H. C. 4, 379, but **महुं** according to K. I. and Md. **उत्तिष्ठतां मत्तामहुं महा । त्रयः**

or मुइ, in B. मुइ, in Bs. म्हि (for *मुहि, i. e. व for उ, § 71), Br. मुहि (in assimilation to तुइ), and contracted in P. to मे or मै, M. मी. The Ap. मइ is in Bs. मइ or मय्, in E. H., W. H., P., N. मै, in M. मी or मी (for मे, i. e. वा for ए, cf. § 71). The Ap. महु is in O. H., B., O., E. H. मो¹⁾ (for *मउ, § 126, cf. तउ in Nro. 2) or Bs. म्हा, and the Ap. महु in E. H., N. मो and in S. मुहु (in assimilation to तुहु) or मू. The Ap. Pr. मह occurs in O. H. (e. g., मह सम *like me*, cf. Kl. 121²⁾), and is shortened in M., G., N. to म, in O. सु, in W. H. म or म्; and the Pr. मह is in S. माँ. Lastly in the O. H. and in Br. the obl. suff. हि is pleonastically super-added to the obl. form मो, making it मोहि. — 2) *The second pers. pron. sing.* The circumstances here are precisely analogous to those of the 1st pers. pron., with the exception, that of the old Skr. nom. sg. त्वम्, Pr. तं or तुं or तुवं or तुमं (H. C. 3, 90) no trace has survived in Gd. In all Gds. alike, and even in the Ap. Pr., the old gen. sg. or obl. form has taken the place of the dir. form (cf. § 369). Thus as dir. forms are used in B. तुइ, in O. तु or तुइ or तुहि, E. H. तइ or तय् (Bs.) or तै (Bh.), N. त, W. H. तै or तै or तू (Br.) or तू or तू (Mw.), P. तू, S. तू, M. तू, G. तु; as obl. forms in B. and O. तो, E. H. तो or तो (Bh.) or त्वा or त्वाँ or त्वहि (Bs.), N. तै or तै³⁾, W. H. तोहि or तो or तू or तै or ते (Br.) or थो or थै or था or थ (Mw.) or तोई or त्वी or त्वै (Gw., Km.)⁴⁾, P. ते or ते, S. तो or तुहु⁵⁾, G. त or तु or ते or

सु: « and in the *Nāgara Ap.* ममेत्यर्थे महुं च स्यात् । महुं धर्तुं सुन्दरं । चकारान् मम च « lastly the Ap. has मह according to Mđ. in the above quotations, and the Mh. Pr. has both मह and महे according to H. C. 3, 113.

1) In the O. H. of Chand मो occurs as a gen., e. g., नाथ मो नाम चंद *Lord! my name is Chand* (Kl. 121).

2) Or, Chand 25, 28 मह सापन सा करिहि सु केमं « *how will she make my kinship*, etc.

3) तै only in the act. तै ले *by thee*.

4) ते and था only in the gen. तेरो (Br.), थारो (Mw.), तू and तै only in the act. in Br. तूने or तैने, but in Mw. generally, e. g., abl. तै सू or थै सू, see Kl. 128.

5) तुहु only in the gen. तुहु तो.

तुँ or ता¹), M. तूँ or त्वाँ or तु²). All these obl. forms are various modifications of the Pr. gen. sg. forms तइ or तइं, तउ (modified for *तहि or *तहिं, *तहु, cf. महु in Nro. 1), तुह or तुहं, तुहुं³), which are derived by means of the gen. or obl. suff. हि, हु, ह or हिं, हुं, हं from the bases त or तु (for Skr. त्व). To complete the series, the form तुहि must be added, which is preserved in the O. H. and Br. तुहि, Bs. त्वहि, O. तुहि or तुइ, B. तुइ, Gw. (lg. f.) तुइन्; and also the form तह⁴) which is preserved in the Br. gen. तेरो, Mw. चारो *thine* for Ap. *तहारउ, just as Br. मेरो, Mw. मारो or चारो *mine* = Ap. महारउ (H. C. 4, 358) from Ap. gen. मह. The Pr. तइ or *तहि appears in P. तै or ते or (shortened) G. त, Mw. त or थ; and the Ap. Pr. तइं or *तहिं in Bs. तइं or तय्, Bh., Br., N. तै, Mw. थै, G. ते, N. तै. The Ap. Pr. तउ or *तहु becomes

1) ता only in the gen. तारो, ते and तू only in the act. ते or तुँ, त or तु in the acc. त ने or तु ने.

2) M. तूँ or त्वाँ only in the act.

3) The form तइ is used as an obl. form in the Mh. Pr. for the gen., abl., instr., loc. sing. (H. C. 3, 99. 96. 94. 101) and in the form तइं in the Ap. Pr. for the instr., loc. and acc. sg. (H. C. 4, 370) and Mđ. तइं डिटाभिः । एभिः सह युष्मदस् तइं स्यात् । तइं । त्वया त्वयि त्वां वा ॥ The form तउ is used in the Ap. Pr. for the gen. and abl. sg. (H. C. 4, 372), and तुह for the gen., abl. and loc. (Mđ. डिउसिउसां तुहतुक्तमत्तुडभाः स्युः ॥ see also K. I. 44 in Ls. 451) and तुहं for the gen. and abl. (K. I. 44 in Ls. 451); the same form तुह and तुहं are also used for the nom. sg. both in the Mh. (H. C. 3, 90) and Ap. Pr. (K. I. 39 in Ls. 451); the form तुहुं is used in the Ap. Pr. for the nom. sg. (H. C. 4, 368. Mđ. युष्मदस् तुहुं । युष्मद इत्यधिकारः । सुनेत्येव । तुहुं सोऽसि ॥ i. e., *thou sleepest*. The identity of the nom. forms तुह or तुहं with the gen. forms तुह or तुहं has been already pointed out by Ls. 465, and that the nom. form तुहं is really a gen. is shown by the fact of its still being used in S. for the gen. तुहुं जो (Tr. 191. 193). In तइ, तइं, तउ a medial ह् has been dropped, as is shown by the Mw. obl. थै or थ (contr. for *तहिं, *तह); and the forms in इं (= *हिं), हं, हुं are gen. pl., used in a sing. sense, precisely as in the case of मइं, महं, महुं (see Nro. 1).

4) तह is given as an obl. form by De Tassy in his Hindi Gramm. (Kl. 121).

in O. H., B., O., E. H., S. तो¹), and in W. H. तो or तो, Bs. त्वा, and a corresponding Ap. form *तुहं is preserved in the E. H. तो or त्वा, M. त्वा (cf. § 71). The Ap. तुह becomes in O., M., G. तु and is preserved also in the E. Gd. तोरा *thine* for Ap. तुहारा (cf. H. C. 4, 434). The Ap. तुहं or तुहं becomes in P., S., G. तू, Mw. तू or तू, Br. तू. Lastly, O. H. and Br. form तोहि by pleonastically superadding the obl. suff. हि to the obl. form तो; and similarly S. forms the gen. तुहे (तो), abl. तोहँ by pleonastically adding the obl. suff. हँ and हँ (or हे, हँ). — 3) *The first pers. pron. plur.* The circumstances here are the same as with the 2nd pers. pron. sing. No trace of the old Skr. nom. pl. वयम् has survived in Gd.; Pr., however, has वयं or वयं (H. C. 3, 106). But Gd. and, generally also Pr., use one of the many obl. forms of the Skr. base अस्म as their direct form. Thus the various dir. forms in Gd. are: B. अमि or अम (to the latter, as usual, the pl.-aff. रा is added, अम-रा), O. अम्ये, E. H. हम्, N. हमी (to which, as usual the pl.-aff. हर् or हेर् is added, हमीहर् or हमीहेर्), M. अमही, W. H. हम् (Br.) or म्हे or म्हे (Mw.), G. अमे or हमे; and S. and P. असी. The various Gd. obl. forms are: B. अमा, O. अम्य or अम्यन (the latter only in the dat. अम्यङ्), E. H. हम् (Bh.) or हम् (Bs. see Kl. 127), N. हँमी, M. अमहा or अमही (only act.) or अम (only in the gen. अम चा), W. H. हम् or हमन् or हमनि or हमौ or हमै (Br.) or मँ or म्हाँ (Mw.) or हम् (Gw.)², G. अम् or अमे or हमे (only act.) or अमा (in the gen. अमारो); P. असा or सा or हमा or (only act.) असी, S. असाँ or असाँहे or असाँहू. All these forms are modifications respectively of the following Pr. gen. or obl. forms: a) अम्ह or अम्हि or अम्हे, b) अम्हाणां, c) अम्हं, d) अम्हिं or अम्हं, which may be spelled also अम्हा (H. C. 4, 412). Of these the first set अम्ह, अम्हि, अम्हे are modifications of the vedic

1) In the O.-H. of Chand तो occurs as a gen. sg., e. g., सुनिय बात तो तात। *having heard the word, thy father*, etc.

2) हमै only in the dat. and acc. हमै कौ; हमा only in the gen. हमारा *our*.

obl. form अस्मे; and अम्ह, अम्हे are used in Pr. for the gen., instr., acc., nom. (H. C. 3, 114. 110. 108. 106) and अम्हे in the Ap. for the acc. and nom. (H. C. 4, 376)¹). The Pr. अम्मे or अम्हे becomes अम्मे in O., अमे or हमे in G., and म्हे in Mw.; and the Pr. अम्ह becomes अम् in G., हम् in W. H. and E. H., and आम् in M. — The Pr. form अम्हि or अम्मि, though clearly a mere modification of the plur. obl. form अम्हे (or अम्मे), has assumed the sense of the sing. and is used for the nom. and acc. sing. (H. C. 3, 105. 107). It is so employed also in one of the Ap. Pr. (Md. अहम् अर्थे अम्मिहुंममाः । अम्मि पस्सिदु (?) । एवं हुंमम् (?)). It has only survived in the B. आमि I. As to the second Pr. set अम्हाणं or अम्भाणं, it is the regular gen. plur. of the base अम्ह or अम्म (H. C. 3, 114, see § 365, 4) and has survived in the O. अम्भन् and W. H. हमन् or हमनि. As to the third and fourth Pr. set अम्हहं, अम्हइं, to which must be added a form *अम्हहुं, they are regularly derived with the Ap. gen. or obl. suff. हं, हुं, हिं (see § 365, 7) from the base अम्ह. The form अम्हहिं or (dropping ह्) अम्हइं is limited in the Ap. to the nom., acc. and instr. (H. C. 4, 376)²), but in Gd. it occurs also in the dat. (= old gen.); thus in O. H. हमहिं and contracted in Br. हमै, H. H. हमे, Mw. म्हे, M. अम्ही or अम्ही, N. हाँमी. The form *अम्हहुं is not noticed by the Pr. Gramm., but it appears in Br. as हमौ, H. H. हमो, Gw. हमु. The Ap. form अम्हहं, especially mentioned by H. C. 4, 380 as the gen. plur., survives in Mw. म्हाँ or माँ or (dropping the *anunāsika*) in B. अमा, M. अम्हा, W. H., P. हम्मा, G. अमा. — The anomalous P. and S. forms with स्

1) H. C. allows both अम्हे and अम्हइं to the nom. and acc.; K. I. gives अम्हे to the nom. and अम्हइं to the acc. (K. I. 40 in Ls. 451); again Md. allows both अम्मे and अम्मइं to the nom., but only अम्मइं to the acc., thus अम्मइ इति तप्रास्त्यां । अम्मइ अहम्पु पेक्ख वा । अम्मे च तप्ता । अम्मे भणामु । चकांराद् अम्मइं च ॥

2) H. C. has only अम्हइं and allows it only to the nom. and acc., but Md. has both अम्महिं and अम्मइं and allows them also to the instr., thus अम्मइं अम्महि अम्मो अम्माहिं अम्मेहिम् इति च भिस्ता । पञ्च स्युः । अम्मइ भणिदु । एवमन्यानि ॥

cannot have arisen from the ordinary Pr. or Ap. forms, but must be referred to some peculiar Pr., which changed the conjunct स् of the Skr. base अस्म to स्स् instead of to स्ह् or स्म्¹). Otherwise, however, their formation is exactly analogous to those of the other Gd. forms; thus P. and S. असी is analogous to M. असी and would presuppose a Pr. form *अस्सहिं or *अस्सइ; and the P. असा, S. असाँ to P. हमा, Mw. म्हँ, presupposing Pr. *अस्सहं. In the S. असाँहि and असाँहूँ the obl. suff. हे, हूँ (for हँ, ऊँ) are pleonastically superadded. — 4) *The second pers. pron. plur.* The circumstances here are exactly analogous to those of the first pers. pron. plur., substituting only the base तुम्ह or तुम्म (= Skr. युष्म) for अह् or अस्म. A simple enumeration therefore of the various Pr. and Gd. forms will suffice. Pr. and Ap. have: a) तुम्ह or तुम्हे (H. C. 3, 91. 93. 4, 369); b) तुम्हाणं (H. C. 3, 100); c) तुम्हहिं or तुम्हइ (H. C. 4, 369), d) तुम्हहं (H. C. 4, 373) or e) *तुम्हहुं, all plur., and f) तुम्मे (H. C. 3, 92. 94. 101) in the sing. (like अस्मि). In Gd. there are, 1) the following dir. forms: B. तुमि (f), O. तुम्मे (a), E. H. (a) तूँ (Bh., for तूहँ) or तोह् or तोहू or (a) तुम्ह (Bs.), W. H. (a) तुम् (Br.) or (a) ये or (c) यै (Mw., for *तहे or *तहै, with अ for उ as in G., S. and P.); G. तमे (a), M. तुम्हो (c), N. (f) तिमि (like B. तुमि) or (c) तिमो (with इ for अ or उ, as in Br. तिहारौ yours), S. (c) तव्ही or तवी or तहो or तई or (c) अव्ही or अवी or अहो or अई or अई, P. (c) तुसी (for Pr. *तुस्सइ). And 2) the following obl. forms: B. (d) तोमा or (a) तोम (only in the nom. pl. तोम-रा), O. (a) तुम्म or (b) तुम्मन् (only in the dat. तुम्मङ्कु), E. H. (a) तोह् or तोहू (Bh.) or (a) तुम्ह (Bs.), W. H. (a) तुम् or (e) तुम्हौ or (c) तुम्है

1) The loc. suff. स्मिन् admits both changes in the pron. of the ordinary or Mh. Pr. (H. C. 4, 59. 60, e. g., सव्वस्मिं or सव्वस्मि or सव्वहिं for *सव्वहिं in all), but only स्मि in subst. (H. C. 3, 11, e. g., देवस्मि in god); on the other hand the Mg. Pr. admits a form *सि म्मि or सि सि even in subst. (Wb. Bh. 417, as देवंसि or देवसि). This is noteworthy; for the P. and S. phonetic system shows also in other points (see §§ 16. 18. 14) an affinity to that of the Mg. class of Prs. and Gds. The Pāli admits both स्मिन् and म्हि in subst. (St. G. 62).

(only in the dat.) or (d) तुम्हा or तिहा (only in the gen. तुम्हारौ or तिहारौ), all these in Br., or (e) तुम्हें (Gw.) or (b) तुमन् (Km.) or (d) थाँ (Mw., for *तहाँ, see S.), G. (d) तमा (in the gen. तमारो) or (a) तम् or (a) तमे (only act.), M. (d) तुम्हा or (c) तुम्हीँ (only in the act.) or (a) तुम् (only in the gen. तुम् चा), N. (f) तिमि or (c) तिमो, S. (d) तव्हाँ or तवँ or तहाँ or ताँ or (d) अव्हाँ or अवँ or अहाँ or अँ, P. (d) तुसा (for Pr. *तुस्सहँ) or (d) तुहा or थुआ or (d) तुमा or (c) तुमीँ (only in the act.). As to the origin of the S. forms; the उ of the Pr. तुम्हइँ is changed to अच् (similarly as in Bs. त्वहि to thee for तुहि) and म् is elided, whence S. तव्हीँ; next either ह् or ख् is dropped, making तवीँ or तहीँ; finally ख् or ह् is elided, making तईँ; the other S. set अव्हीँ, etc. arises in a precisely similar way from the Pr. forms derived from the Pr. base उम्ह (H. C. 3, 99. 95). — 5) *There remain a few peculiar obl. forms:* viz., of the first pers. pron., M. मन् or माके or माक्या (Man. 47. 85), G. मन्, W. H. मुन्, H. H. मुक् or मुके, and of the second pers. pron., M. तुन् or तुके or तुक्या, G. तन्, H. H. तुक् or तुके, P. तुध्. These obl. forms are modifications of the Pr. gen. मन्क (H. C. 3, 113) or Ap. मन्कु (H. C. 4, 379), Pr. तुन्क (H. C. 3, 99) or Ap. तुन्कु (H. C. 4, 372) or तुध् (H. C. 4, 372). The origin of these forms is obscure. In Pr., the forms मन्क and तुन्क are treated as regular bases, just like Pr. अम्ह and तुम्ह, Skr. अस्म and युष्म, and declined as *nouns*. Thus in the gen. sing. the pure base मन्क or अम्ह (H. C. 3, 113) is used after the Ap. Pr. fashion, i. e., dropping the gen. suff. (H. C. 4, 345); loc. sg. मन्कम्मि or अम्हम्मि (H. C. 3, 116), gen. pl. मन्काणं or अम्हाणं (H. C. 3, 114), loc. pl. मन्कसु or अम्हसु (H. C. 4, 117), etc. In Gd. the gen. sg. (or pure base) मन्क, तुन्क become H. H. मुक्, तुक्, M. मन्, तुन् (with न् for क्, § 145, note). And Gd. derives from them even regular obl. st. forms, H. H. मुके, तुके, M. माके or माक्या, तुके, or तुक्या (just as H. H. घोडे, M. घोड्या of घोडा horse). The corresponding direct st. forms exist only in M. माका m., माकी f., माकेँ n., and तुका, तुकी, तुकेँ. They serve both as the gen. sing. of the personal pron., and as possessive pron. In E. H., also, the possess. pron. are often used in the place of

the pers. pron.; thus abl., E. H. हमरे सो" or हमरा सो", just as M. माक्या हन्, loc. E. H. मोरे मे, M. माक्यात्. It appears, probable, therefore, that the bases मक and तुक are really those of possessive pron. and perhaps connected with Skr. मदीय *mine* and त्वदीय *thine* by substituting the Pr. bases मह, तुह for म, त्व (or मद्, त्वद्); thus महइय = मका = मक or तुहइय = तुका or तुह (cf. H. C. 3, 91. nom. pl. तुहे) = तुक. Or they might be referred to the Skr. bases मादृश *like me*, त्वादृश *like thee*, which would easily assume a possessive meaning (see §§ 218. 251), and which might change in Pr. to मद्विह = मक, तुद्विह = तुक. It may be remarked that a somewhat analogous process has taken place in the case of the demonstrative pron.; thus Pr. एहो is both *that* and *such-like* = Skr. ईदृश, and S. has इको = इतहो = ईदृश: (see § 438, 4). This would explain also the P. form तुध, which would be = तुदह = त्वादृश, and the र in the Ap. Pr. form तुध might be a reminiscence of the Skr. ऋ of दृष्ट¹). Ls. connects मक and तुक with the gen. sing. of the pers. pron. *मस्य and *त्वस्य, but these change regularly to मह or महि, तुह or तुहि (see Nros 1. 2); I believe, there is no example of the Skr. conjunct स्य ever changing to स्तु in Pr.

431. Personal pron. are declined precisely like nouns, with the exception that in the gen. they use their corresponding possessive pron. (§ 449). The weak form of the latter is preferred in the nom., and the st. form in the obl. cases: thus मोरू बाप् or rarely मोरा बाप् *my father*, but मोरे बाप् कै *of my father*; हमारू माई or rarely हमरी माई *our mother*, but हमरी माई कै *of our mother*, etc.

432. A sort of pleonastic declension may be made by adding the case-aff. to the obl. form of the gen. in ए; but in

1) Or again, मक might be = मह-न, and तुक = तुह-न and तुध = तुह-द; न and द being the gen. postpositions which occur in O. H. and O. P., and are still used in M., P. and M. S. They may have existed in Pr. already, just as the modern gen. postpositions चा, का, केरा lit. *done* (see § 377).

the *khari bhāshā* this is restricted to the loc., as *मो मे* or *मोरे मे* in *me*, *हम मे* or *हमरे मे* in *us*, etc.

432 a.

1. First personal pron.

a) Simple form: मैं *I*, हम *we*.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. मैं	हम्	हमलोग्	
a., d. मो के or मो के	हम् के	हमलोग् के	or हमलोगन् के
i., abl. मो से or मो से	हम् से	हमलोग् से	or हमलोगन् से
gen. मोर or मोरा, मोरी, मोरे	हमार or हमरा, ०री, ०रे	हमलोग् कै, के	or हमलोगन् कै, के
loc. मो मे or मो मे or मोरे मे	हम् मे or हमरे मे	हमलोग् मे	or हमलोगन् मे

b) Emphatic form: मैं ही or मैं हूँ even *I*.

	Singular.	Plural.
nom. मैं ही	मैं हूँ	हम ही
a., d. मोही के	मोहू के	हम ही के
i., abl. मोही से	मोहू से	हम ही से
gen. मोरै or मोरे ही	मोरी or मोरे हूँ	हमरै or हमरे ही
loc. मोही मे or मोरै मे	मोहू मे or मोरी मे	हम ही मे or हमरै मे
	or मोरे ही मे	or हमरे हू मे

432 b.

2. Second pers. pron.

a) Simple form: तू *thou*, तू *you*.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. तू	तू	तूलोग्	
a., d. तो के or तो के	तोहू के	तूलोग् के	or तूलोगन् के
i., abl. तो से or तो से	तोहू से	तूलोग् से	or तूलोगन् से
gen. तोर or तोरा, तोरी, तोरे	तोहार or तोहरा, ०री, ०रे	तूलोग् कै, के	or तूलोगन् कै, के
loc. तो मे or तो मे or तोरे मे	तोहू मे or तोहरे मे	तूलोग् मे	or तूलोगन् मे

b) Emphatic form: तू ही or तू हूँ even *thou*.

	Singular.	Plural.
nom. तू ही	तू हूँ	तू ही or तू हूँ
a., d. तोही के	तोहू के	तू हूँ के
i., abl. तोही से	तोहू से	तू हूँ से
gen. तोरै or तोरे ही	तोरी or तोरे हू	तोहरै or तोहरे ही
loc. तोही मे or तोरै मे	तोहू मे or तोरी मे	तू हूँ मे or तोहरै मे
	or तोरे ही मे	or तोहरे हू मे

Note: **हो** and **हू** may or may not be spelled **ही**, **हूँ**; also **हम** and **तुँह** may be spelled **हमँ** and **तुँहँ** before **हो** and **ई** (see § 67); e. g., **हमँ हो** के *to us*, **तुँहँ ई** के *to you*. — The gen. pl. may also be **तोहारै**, **हमारै**, etc.

2. THE CORRELATIVE PRONOUNS.

433. By the term. „correlative pronoun“ I here designate the demonstrative, the relative, the interrogative and the indefinite. The demonstrative pron. include the near, the far and the general. The forms of the *near dem.* are: dir. sg. or pl. **ई** (also **यह** or emphatic **ऐहै** or **इहै** or **इहई**), obl. sg. **ए** or **ऐह** (or emph. **ऐही**), pl. **ऐन्ह** (or emph. **ऐन्हही**); of the *far dem.*: dir. sg. or pl. **उ** (also **वह** or emph. **ओहै** or **उहै** or **उहई**), obl. sg. **ओ** or **ओह** (or emph. **ओही**), pl. **ओन्ह** (or emph. **ओन्हही**); of the *general dem.*: dir. sg. or pl. **ते** (or emph. **तेहै** or **तिहई**), obl. sg. **ते** or **तेह** (or emph. **तेही**), pl. **तेन्ह** (or emph. **तेन्हही**); of the *relative*: dir. sg. or pl. **जे** (or emph. **जेहै** or **जिहई**), obl. sg. **जे** or **जेह** (or emph. **जेही**), pl. **जेन्ह** (or emph. **जेन्हही**); of the *interrog.*: dir. sg. or pl. **के** (or emph. **केहै** or **किहई**), obl. sg. **के** or **केह** (or emph. **केही**), pl. **केन्ह** (or emph. **केन्हही**); of the *indef.*: dir. sg. or pl. **के** or **केहू**, obl. sg. or pl. **के** or **केहू**. These forms are alike for the masc. and fem.

434. The interrog. pron. has a peculiar form in the sing.: dir. **का**, obl. **का** or **काहै**, when inanimate objects are spoken of. It is, in fact, practically a *neuter*. The obl. **काहै** is used only, when no subst. is expressed. Thus **का करैलह** *what do you do*, **का घर मे** *in what house*, **काहै से खइखे** *with what wilt thou eat it?* In the plur., the ordinary forms are used.

435. The general dem. pron. has an alternative dir. form **से** *he, that* for both, sing. and plur. It is generally used instead of **ते**, but has no emph. forms to express which **तेहै**, **तिहई** are used.

436. All correlative pron., exc. the near and far. dem., have long forms, made by adding the pleonastic suff. **घन्** (see §§ 209. 214). They are treated like adj., i. e., they may be

either weak or strong (§ 381), they are alike in the sing. and plur. (§ 386), and they form a strong fem. in ई (§ 384) and a strong masc. obl. in ए (§ 386). Thus *weak forms*: dir. and obl., sg. and pl., com. gen., तवन् or तउन् or तौन् *he*, तवन् or तउन् or तौन् *which*, कवन् or कउन् or कौन् *who*, कौनो *any one*; *strong forms*: sg. and pl., masc. obl. तउने or तौने, तउने or तौने, कउने or कौने; fem. dir. and obl. तउनी or तौनी, तउनी or तौनी, कउनी or कौनी. The existence of the strong masc. dir. forms *तउना or तौना, etc. is doubtful.

437. *Affinities*. In the following list, forms of the same origin are designated by the same letter. Thus *a*, *a* denote forms of the same group, *a*, *a* or *a*, *a* forms of the same variety of the same group, etc. It will be noticed, that the various groups have been much intermixed, the dir. form of a declension sometimes belonging to one group or variety, and its obl. form to another.

1) *The near dem. pron.*; dir. sg., B. (a) ए or (c) इनि; O. (a) ए or एहि or (a) इहा; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ई or ऐह or इह or यह or Bs. या; (W. H.) Br. (a) यह or यह or इह or Mw. (a) यो or ओ (masc.) and या or आ (fem.); P. (a) इह or एह or अह or (f) इत्; S. (a) हो or हे (com. gen.) or (a) होउ or हिउ (masc.) and होअ or हिअ (fem.) or (a) इहो or ईहो or इओ or ईओ (masc.) and इहा or ईहा or इआ or ईआ (fem.) or (e) इफो (masc.) and इफा (fem.); G. (a) आ or ए; M. (a) हा (masc.), हो (fem.), हे (neut.); N. (a) यो. *Obl. sg.*, B. (a) ए or (a) इहा or (c) ईहा, O. (a) इहा or एहा or एहँ; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ए or ऐह or Bs. (a) या or यहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) इहि or या or यहि or Mw. (c) इपा or ई or (γ) इपी or अपी or H. H. (b) इस् or (β) इसे (in the dat. and acc. only); P. (a) इह or अह or (b) इस् or एस् or ऐस् or (c) इन् or एन् or ऐन् (only act.); S. (c) हिन् or इन् (or इनँ only abl.); G. (a) आ or ए; M. (a) ह्या or या (masc.) and हि or इ (fem.) or ह्यास्, हीस् (only dat.); N. (a) ए or (b) यस् or Km. (a) ये or ए. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ई or ऐह or यह or इह or Bs. (a) ए or एन्ह or इन्; W. H. (a) यह or (a) ये or यै or ऐ; P. (a) इह or एह or अह; S. (a) हो or हे or (a) इहे or (e) इफे; G. (a) आ or एओ; M. (a) हे (masc.), ह्या

(fem.), हो" (neut.); N. (a) इन् or एन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ऐन् or Bs. यन् or इन् or यन् or इन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) इन् or (c) इन्हो" (or इन्है" dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) याँ or याँ or (c) इपाँ or अपाँ; P. (c) इनाँ or इन्हाँ or एनाँ or (a) अहाँ or (c) इनी" or इन्ही" or एन्ही" or एनी" (act. only); S. (a) इनि or हिनि or (c) इननि or हिननि or इन्हनि or इन्हिनि or इन्है"; G. (a) एन्ने or (c) एवन्; N. (a) इन् or इन् or Km. (a) ईन् or (c) इन् or इन्ने.

2) *The far dem. pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) ओ or (c) उनि; O. *deest*; E. H. (a) उ or ओह or वह or उह; (W. H.) Br. (a) वह or वुह or वुहि or उहि or (a) वो or Mw. (a) उ or वृ (masc.) and वा (fem.); P. (a) उह or ओह; S. (a) हू or उ (com. gen.) or हो or ओ (masc.) and हुअ or उअ (fem.); G. (d) ओलो or पेलो (masc.), ओली or पेली (fem.), ओलु or पेलु (neut.); M. *deest*; N. (a) उ. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) ओ or (a) उहा or (c) उँहा; O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ओ or ओह or Bs. (a) वहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) उहि or वा or वाहि or (b) उस् or विस् or (β) उसे or विसे (dat. acc. only) or Mw. (c) उपा or वो" or (γ) उपाँ or वपाँ; P. (a) उह or (b) उस् or (c) उन् or ओन् (only act.) or (f) उत्; S. (c) हुन् or उन् or उनिह or उन्हिअ or उन्हे (or हुनाँ or उनाँ abl. only); G. (d) ओला or पेला (masc.), etc.; M. *deest*; N. (b) उस् or Gw. (a) वे. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ऊ or ओह or वह or उह or Bs. (a) ओ or उन्ह; W. H. (a) वह or (a) वे or वै; P. (a) उह or ओह; S. (a) हू or हो or (a) हूए or उए or होए or उहे; G. (d) ओला or पेला (masc.), etc.; M. *deest*; N. (c) उन्ह or उन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ओन्ह or Bs. (a) उन्ह or उन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) उन् or उनि or (c) उन्ही" or (a) विन् or विनि or (c) विन्ही" (or उन्हे" or विन्हे" dat. acc. only) or Mw. (a) वाँ or व्यँ or (c) उपाँ or वपाँ; P. उनाँ or उन्हाँ (or उनी" or उन्ही" act. only); S. (a) हुनि or उनि or (c) हुननि or उननि or उन्हनि or उन्हिनि; G. (d) ओलाओ or पेलाओ; M. *deest*; N. (a) उन् or उन्ह or Km. (a) ऊँ or (c) उन् or उन्ने.

3) *The general dem. pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) से or (a) ताहा or (c) तिनि or तेह; O. (a) से or सेहि; E. H. (a) ते or से or तेह or तिहि or (c) तवन् or तउन् or तौन्; W. H. (a) सो; P. (a) सो; S. (a) सो (masc.) and सा (fem.); G. (a) ते; M. (a) तो (masc.), ती (fem.), ते" (neut.);

N. (a) त्यो or (c) तुन् . *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) ताहा or (c) ताँहा; O. (a) ता or (a) ताहा or ताहाँ or ताहिँ; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ते or तेह् or Bs. (a) त्या or त्यहि or (c) तवन् or (γ) तउने or तौने; (W. H.) Br. (a) ता or ताहि or तिहि or तिहु or (b) तासु (gen. only) or H. H. (b) तिस् or (β) तिसे (dat. acc. only) or Mw. (c) तिषा or तिषी or तपी; P. (a) तिह् or (b) तिस् or (c) तिन् (act. only) or (f) तित्; S. (a) तँहिँ (or तहाँ abl. only); G. (a) ते; M. (a) त्या (masc.) and ति (fem.); N. (a) त or तो or (b) तस् or (c) तुन् or Km. (a) तइ or तै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. (a) ते or तेह् or तिह् or (c) तवन् or तउन् or तौन्; W. H. (a) सो; P. (a) स; S. (a) से; G. (a) ते or तेओ; M. (a) ते (masc.), त्या (fem.), ती (neut.); N. (c) तुन् . *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) तेन्ह् or (c) तौन् or (γ) तौने or Bs. (a) त्यन्ह् or त्यन् or तेन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) तिन् or तिनि or (c) तिन्हो (or तिन्है dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) त्याँ or ताँ or (c) तिषाँ; P. (c) तिनाँ or तिन्हँ (or तिन्होँ or तिनीँ act. only); S. (a) तिनि or तनि or (c) तिननि or तिनिनि or तिन्हनि or तिन्हनि; G. (a) तेओ or (c) तेम्; M. (a) त्याँ; N. (a) तिन्ह or तिनह् or Km. (a) त्यूँ or (c) तनू or तनन्.

4) *The relat. pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) ये or (a) याहा or (c) यिनि; O. (a) ये or येहु or (c) येडु or येडँ or योँ; E. H. (a) जे or जेह् or जिह् or (c) जवन् or जउन् or जौन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जो or जो or (c) जोन or Mw. (a) ज्यो; P. (a) जो; S. जो (masc.) and जा (fem.); G. (a) जे; M. (a) जो (masc.), जी (fem.), जेँ (neut.); N. (a) जो or (c) जुन् . *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) याहा or (c) याँहा; O. (a) या or याहिँ or याहा; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जे or जेह् or (c) जोन् or (γ) जौने or Bs. (a) ज्या or ज्यहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) जा or जाहि or जेहि or H. H. (b) जिस् or (β) जिसे (dat. acc. only), or Mw. (c) जिषा or जीँ or जपा or जपी; P. (a) जिह् or (b) जिस् or (c) जिन् (act. only) or (f) जित्; S. (a) जँहिँ; G. (a) जे or (c) जेवन्; M. (a) ज्या or जा or जे (masc.), जि (fem.); N. (a) ज or जो or (b) जस् or (c) जुन् or Gw. (a) जइ or जै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जे or जेह् or जिह् or (c) जवन् or जउन् or जौन् or Bs. (a) तेन्ह्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जो or जो or (c) जौन् or Mw. (a) ज्यो; P. (a) जो; S. (a) जे; G. (a) जे or जेओ; M. (a) जे (masc.), ज्या (fem.), जोँ (neut.); N. (c) जुन् or (a) जिन्ह . *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जेन्ह or Bs. (a) ज्यन्ह् or ज्यन् or जेन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जिन् or जिनि

or (c) जिन्होँ (or जिन्हैँ dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) ज्यौँ or जौँ or (c) जिपातौँ or जपातौँ; P. (c) जिनौँ or जिन्हौँ (or जिनोँ or जिन्होँ act. only); S. (a) जिनि or जनि or (c) जिन्हनि or जिन्हनि or जिननि or जिनिनि; G. (a) जेओ; M. (a) ज्यतँ; N. (a) जिन्ह or जुन्ह or Km. (a) ज्यौँ or (c) जनु or जनुन्.

5) *The interrog. pron.; dir. sing.*, B. (a) के (com. gen.) or कि or कोन् (both neut.); O. (a) के or केहु or (c) केडु or केडँ or कौँ (all com. gen.) or (a) कि or (b) किस or (c) कपा (all neut.); E. H. (a) के or केह or किह or (c) कवन् or कउन् or कौन् (com. gen.) or (a) का or काह (neut.); (W. H.) Br. (a) को or कौ or (c) कौन् or कौनु or Mw. (c) कोण् or कुण् or कण् (all com. gen.), or Br. (a) का or कहा or क्या or Mw. (a) काईँ or कईँ (all neut.); P. (a) किहग or (c) कौण् (com. gen.) or (a) की or किआ (neut.); S. (a) केहो or केओ or (d) केरहो or केहरो or केह or (e) कुतागे (all com. gen.) or (a) हा or कोहु or कुहु (neut.); G. (a) प्रो (masc.), प्रो (fem.), प्रुँ (neut.) or कओ (masc.), कई (fem.), कयुँ (neut.) or (c) कोण् (com. gen.); M. (c) कोण् (com. gen.) or (a) काय् (neut.); N. (a) को or (c) कुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) काहा (com. gen.) or (a) कि or (b) किसे (both neut.); O. (a) का or (a) काहा or काहिँ (all com. gen.); (E. H.) Bh. (a) के or केह (com. gen.) or (a) का or काहे (neut.) or Bs. (a) क्या or क्याहि (com. gen.); (W. H.) Br. (a) का or काहि or किहि or Mw. (c) कुण् or कण् or कौँ or कुपाी or कपाी or H. H. (b) किस् or (β) किसे (dat. acc. only) com. gen., or काहे (neut.); P. (a) किहडे or किह or (b) किस् or (f) कित् or (c) किन् (act. only) com. gen., or कास् or काह (neut.); S. (a) केहे or (d) केरहे or केहिँ or (e) कुतागे (com. gen.); G. (a) के or (c) कोण् (com. gen.); M. (c) कोपा or कोपया or कोपो (or कापीँ instr. only) com. gen., or (b) कसा or कस्या or कशा or कश्या (all neut.); N. (a) क or को or (b) कस् or (c) कुन् or Gw. (a) कइ or कै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. and W. H. like sing.; P. (a) किहडे or (c) कौण्; S. (a) केहा or (d) केरहा or केरे or (e) कुतागे (com. gen.); G. (a) कआ (masc.), कई (fem.), कआँ (neut.); M. and N. like sing. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) केन्ह or Bs. (a) क्यान्ह or क्यान् or केन् or किन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) किन् or किनि or (c) किन्हौँ (or किन्हैँ dat. acc. only); Mw. (c) कुपातौँ or कपातौँ; P. (c) किनौँ or

किन्हाँ (or किनौ or किन्ही act. only); S. (a) केहनि or (d) केरहनि or (a) किनि or कनि or (c) किन्हनि or किन्हिनि or किननि or किनिनि; M. (c) कोपाँ (com. gen.) or (b) कसँ or कषाँ (neut.); N. (a) कुन्ह or Gw. (a) क्यूँ or कन् or कनन्.

6) *The indefinite pron.; dir. sing.*, B. (a) केह; O. (a) केहि or (c) कौपासि or कउपासि; (E. H.) Bh. (a) केह or (c) कौनो or Bs. (a) केउ or कोउ; W. H. (a) कोई or कोउ or (c) कौनौ; P. (a) कोई; S. (a) को or कोई (masc.), का or काई (fem.), को (neut.); G. (a) कोइ; M. (c) कोपाी or कोपही; N. (a) कोहि. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) काहा; O. (a) काहा; E. H. like dir.; (W. H.) Br. (a) काह or (b) कसू or किसी or (c) कौनौ or Mw. (a) को or (c) कुपाी or कपाी; P. (b) कसे or किसी; S. (a) कँहि or कँही; G. (a) कोइ; M. (c) कोपा or कोपहा; N. (a) कोहि or (b) कसे. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H., W. H., P. like sing.; S. (a) के or केई or कई or कई; G. (a) कई; M. (c) कोपाी. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. and W. H. like sing.; P. (b) कसे or किसी or (c) किन्हाँ; S. (c) किने or कने or कनी or कन्ही; M. (c) कोपहाँ.

438. *Derivation.* It will be observed that in the preceding list there are six principal types of forms, which I have severally marked with a, b, c, d, e, f, and the characteristic features of which are the letters ह (occasionally elided), स्, न् (or ण्), ल् (or र्), क् (or ज्), त् respectively. The derivation of these forms is involved in many difficulties, the explanation of which, however, in most cases (I think) will be found to be the fact, that the forms which are now used as simple pron. were originally those of pron. adj. of quality or quantity.

1) The pron. of quant. are in Skr. इयत् (or Ved. ईवत्), तावत्, यावत्, कियत् (Ved. कीवत्) so large or so much, etc. In Pr. these become एव, तेव, जेव, केव (cf. H. C. 4, 407. 408) or एम, तेम, जेम, केम (K. I. 10. 11. 12 in Ls. 450. 451), or slightly modified इव, तिव, जिव, किव or इम, तिम, जिम, किम (K. I. 10. 11. 12); sometimes they are variously spelled एँव or ईँव, etc. (H. C. 3, 397. 401) or एम्ब or इम्ब, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 418); again they may be shortened to ए, ते, जे, के (see Wb. Bh. 422). Thus the Ap. Pr. uses the first set एव, etc., with the addition of the pleon. suff. उ,

as quant. pron., एवञ्च, तेवञ्च, etc. (H. C. 4, 407, 408 and see § 218), and S. and P. similarly use the shortened forms ए, ते, etc. with the pleon. suff. ओ or डा; viz. S. एओ, तेओ, etc., P. एडा, तेडा, etc. Again G. uses the set एव, तेव, etc., itself without adding any pleon. suff., as qual. pron., एवो, तेवो, etc. But already in the Ap. Pr. these quant. (or qual.) pron. had come to be commonly used as *simple pron.*; so especially the bases इम *he* or *this* (H. C. 4, 361, 3, 72; it is also so used in Skr. in the obl. cases of इदम्) and किम *what* (K. I. 13 in Ls. 450); again as *pron. adv.*, viz. एव, तेव *thus*, etc. (H. C. 4, 401; एव or एवम्, an acc. sg., occur even in Skr.), or एवञ्च *so, thus* (H. C. 4, 420, a loc. sg. cf. H. C. 4, 334) and एवहिं *now* (H. C. 4, 420, also a loc. sg., cf. H. C. 4, 357). Again the shortened bases (कि etc.) occur in the Ap. Pr. abl. sg. किहे (H. C. 4, 356, with the abl. suff. हे of nouns in इ, cf. H. C. 4, 341), and perhaps in the pron. adv. तिह, जिह, किह (H. C. 4, 401, lit. abl. sing. with suff. ह, shortened for हे). Again the shortened forms जे (ते?), से are mentioned by Mđ. as nom. sg. (जे से एस सुना यन्नेतदां । एषां सुना सह जे से एस इत्य् एते स्युः । ते (?) पुरिसो महिला वषां वा । एवं से एस »). The latter are used in all E. Gds. and in G. as nom. sg.; thus E. H. ए, ते or से, जे, के. By adding the regular obl. sing. suff. ह (shortened for Ap. हो or हु, see § 365, 6) the E. H. obl. forms ऐह, तेह, जेह, केह are derived and by adding the regular obl. plur. suff. न्ह (see §§ 365, 4, 368, 5) the plur. obl. forms ऐन्ह, तेन्ह, etc. The older form in हु is occasionally met with, as तिहु (Kl. 137, e). The corresponding obl. form made with the gen. or obl. suff. हि (shortened for Ap. हे, see §§ 365, 6, 368, 2) is found in Bs. and Br.; thus Br. याहि (for *एहि) or इहि, तेहि or तिहि, etc., Bs. यहि (for *इहि), त्यहि (for *तिहि), etc. Again (just as with nouns, see § 365, 6) the obl. suff. ह or हि may be dropped in E. H.; thus Bh. ए, ते, etc., Bs. या, त्या (= ए, ते), etc., Br. या, ता, etc. In the obl. pl. of Bs. the suff. न्ह usually drops the ह (as in E. H. and Br. nouns, see § 368, 5); thus Bs. इन्ह or यन्ह or इन् or यन्, etc. In Br. it optionally ends in इ; e. g., Br. इन् or इनि, तिन् or तिनि, etc. (cf. O. H. कविन्ह or कविनि, Br.

कविन् or कविनि, obl. pl. of कवि *poet*). In P., also, the short obl. sg. forms in ह् occur; e. g., इह्, तिह्, etc.; and, on the other hand, in S. the short obl. pl. forms in नि; as इनि or हिनि (transposed for *इन्हि), तिनि or तनि (with अ for इ, see § 26). As regards the S. obl. sg. इन् or हिन्, etc. and the Br. obl. pl. इन्हौ, etc., P. इनौ or इन्हौ, etc., see below Nro. 2. — Just as the forms of the near demonstr. pron. have arisen from the shortened form ए of the old quant. pron., so those of the far dem. pron. have originated from the long form of the quant. pron. Thus the E. H. obl. sg. ओह् is a contraction of *अवह्, shortened (see § 26) from the Ap. Pr. gen. *एवहु or *एवहो. The other E. H. obl. form ओ has dropped the final ह्. The dir. sing. ओ or उ is a contraction of the Ap. Pr. nom. sg. *एव or *एवु. In G. the latter contracts to अ *that* (abl. अ यो *from that*). There is, also, in H. a fuller obl. form वाहु (Kl. 137, d) for *ओहु = *एवहु; and in Br. there is the obl. form वाहि for *ओहि = Ap. *एवहि or *एवहे. And so forth as to the rest of the forms of the far dem. pron. and their derivatives; they are exactly analogous to those of the near dem. pron., as explained above. Here, also, must be mentioned the S. neut. interrog. pron. कोहु or कुहु *what, why* (Tr. 208); it is an obl. form and contracted form *कवहु for Ap. *केवहु or *केवहो.

2) Among the Ap. Pr. quant. pron. एवडु, तेवडु, जेवडु, केवडु (H. C. 4, 407. 408, see Nro 1) the last one is already used in the Ap. as a simple pron. But it shortens एव to अ (cf. § 26 and Nro 1, p. 291) and changes ड to ण (cf. § 106), and thus becomes कवणु (H. C. 4, 367). In E. H. it appears as कवन् or कउन् or कोन्, in W. H. कौनु or कौन्, P. कौण्, G. and M. कोण्, Mw. कुण् or कण्, N. कुन्. Similarly Ap. जेवडु becomes in G. जेवन्, in E. H. जवन् or जउन् or जौन्, W. H. जौन्, N. जुन्; and Ap. तेवडु becomes in E. H. तवन् or तउन् or तौन्, N. तुन्. E. H. makes a regular obl. form कौन् or कौने, representing the Ap. gen. sg. कवण or कवणाहे (H. C. 4, 425) with or without the gen. suff. हे. The Ap. एवडु gives rise to the B. उनि *that*; the intermediate forms G. एवन्, P. ओन् or उन्, Mw. उण् occur only as obl. forms sing.;

Mw. has also the alternative obl. sg. उणी or वणी beside उण्, just like E. H. कौन् and कौने. Mw. possesses also the corresponding plur. obl. forms उणौ or वणौ; and similarly in the other pron., as obl. sg. कुण् or कण् or कुणी or कणी, obl. pl. कुणौ or कणौ. The latter are regularly contracted from the Ap. Pr. gen. pl. कवणह्, etc. These obl. pl. occur, also, in P. उनौ or उन्हौ, Br. उन्हौ (= Ap. gen. *अवणह् = एवउह्), S. उननि or उन्हनि or (with ह् transposed) हुननि. The Br. possesses also as plur. obl. forms उन्हे (used only in the sense of the dat. and acc.), in O. H. उनहि which are made by the Ap. obl. pl. suff. हिं (see § 367, 2). Corresponding to the Ap. quant. pron. एवउ, etc., S. has the shorter forms एउ, तेउ, तेउ, केउ. Just as the Ap. एवउ becomes in B. a simple pron. उनि, so एउ, तेउ, तेउ by changing उ to ण् give rise to the B. simple pron. इनि, तिनि, यिनि (read त्रिनि)¹). This set exists also in P. एन् or इन्, Mw. इण्, S. इन, etc., which, however, occur only as obl. forms sing. There are, also, the fuller obl. sg. forms, Mw. इणी or अणी, S. इनिह (also spelled इन्हिम or इन्ही) or इन्हे (for *इनहे), N. इनह or इनहे (in the plur. इनह-रु or इनहे-रु, also spelled इन्ह-रु, इन्हे-रु, retaining the obl. suff. हे or ह, see § 364, 3)²). There are, also, the corresponding obl. pl. forms Mw. इणौ or अणौ, Km. इनू or इनो, P. एनौ or एन्हौ or इनौ or इन्हौ, Br. इन्हौ, S. इन्हे or इननि or इन्हनि or हिननि (probably with an anomalously transposed ह, for इन्हि, cf. § 368, 5). Moreover, Br. has a dat. इन्हे, O. H. इनहि, and P. an act. एन्हौ or इन्हौ. The obl. forms in न्हौ, न्हौ, न्है contain the Ap. Pr. gen. pl. or obl. suff. हं, हुं, हिं respectively (see § 365, 7, being contractions of *नह्, *नहु, *नहिं). These remarks apply, *mutatis mutandis*, also to the analogous forms of the relat., interrog., and gen. dem. pron. in Mw., P. and S. — Even the original forms एउ, तेउ, etc. occur in S. as simple pronom. adv.; viz. in

1) It should be noticed that here, again, the far dem. उनि is founded on the longer form एवउ, but the near dem. on the shorter एउ.

2) S., also, has an obl. sg. हिन् which stands for *इन्ह = इनह.

the obl. form एडे or एडहँ or एडहुँ *hither*, तेडे or तेडहँ or तेडहुँ *thither*, केडे or केडहँ or केडहुँ *whither* ¹⁾. Some of these exist, also, in E. H. (with the usual change of ड to न्), एने *hither*, तेने *thither*, जेने *whither-soever*, केने *whither*.

3) The Ap. Pr. quantit. pron. एव, तेव or तिव or तेम, जेव or तिव or जेम, etc. (see Nro 1) seem to have also produced the following Gd. simple pron.; viz. O. येडँ, केडँ, G. जेव, तेव (also spelled जेउ, तेउ or जेओ, तेओ) or जेम, तेम which, however, appear to be used only as obl. plur. forms (see Ed. 41. 43); also G. कओ m. (कई f., कडँ n.), probably for *कवो, shortened from the strong form केवो, which occurs in G. as a qualit. pron.; S. has केओ m. (केई f., Tr. 209); the corresponding weak form *कउ occurs in Br. कौ or को, N. को, and is used alike for masc. and fem., sing. and plur. (just like Ap. एहु, see Nro 6). Similarly N. has त्यो (for *तिवो) and जो, Mw. ज्यो or जो, Br. जो, P. जो; M. also has masc. जो, but makes a regular fem. जौ and neut. जेँ, and obl. sg. ज्या or जे, obl. pl. ज्यँ, dir. pl. जे, ज्या, जौ; a fact which points to their origin from the strong forms *जओ, *जई, *जयँ. To the M. obl. pl. ज्यँ corresponds the Mw. obl. pl. ज्यँ, Gw. ज्यँ. The S. has m. जो, but a rather anomalous f. जा, pl. जे c. g. Exactly analogous are M. sg. तो, ती, तेँ, pl. ते, त्या, तीँ; obl. sg. त्या, ति, pl. त्यँ, Mw. त्यँ, Gw. त्यँ. The G. neut. कडँ was used already in the Ap. Pr. as pronom. adv. कडँ *why* (II. C. 4, 416). Also तउ, जउ are mentioned as Ap. Pr. acc. (= nom.) and gen. sg. forms by Md. in the following two sūtras: यन्नदोरु अमा जउ तउ । अमा सह यन्नदोरु जउ तउ स्यात् । जउ मग्गसि तउ देमि ॥ i. e., *yat tad* become *jaū taiū* in the acc. sg.; e. g., what thou askest, that I give; and उच्चिउस्य्यँ जउ तउ च । यन्नदोरु इत्थ एव । चकारात् पत्ते प्राकृतवत् ॥ i. e., *yat tad* become *jaū taiū* in the abl. and gen. sg. or they have the regular Pr. forms ²⁾. I believe, N. is the only Gd., which

1) The forms in हँ, हुँ are, properly, obl. plur., but used as sing.

2) My MS. reads यन्नदो मा जउ पत्तिउ । अमा सह यन्नदो जउ तउ स्यात् । जउ म^० तउ द^०; there can be little doubt, that जउ, तउ (or perhaps जडँ, तडँ) is the true reading as shown by the succeeding sūtra, where the MS. reads जउ,

admits *तो, तो* as obl. forms; viz. in the abl. sg. *तो बाट* or *तो सँग* *from which*, *तो बाट* or *तो सँग* *from him*. — In G., *एम, तेम* *thus*, etc. occur also as pron. adv. (Bs. II, 336, 337); so also in O. H. *केम* or *केमं* *how*, etc.¹). B. adds the pleon. suff. *अन्* (§§ 209. 214); thus *एमन्* or *एमनि* or *एमने*, *तेमन्* or *तेमनि* or *तेमने* *thus*, etc. (see S. Ch. 216).

4) From the Ap. Pr. quantit. pron. *एवडु, तेवडु*, etc. are also derived the G. far dem. pron. *ओलो* or *पेलो* *he, that* and the pronom. adv. *अइले* or *ऐल्हे* *now*, *तइले* or *तैल्हे* *there*, etc. by the change of *इ* to *ल्*. Thus Ap. *एवडो* becomes **अवडो*, **अवल्लो* or contr. *ओलो* or *पेलो* (for *वल्लो* with an anomalous hardening of *व्* to *प्*). The N. *अइले* or *ऐल्हे* (for **एल्हे*) is a loc. (or obl. form) sing. made with the obl. suff. *हे* and is = Ap. Pr. *एवडहे* (see § 469). The Pr. loc. sg. *ताला* *there*, *जाला* *where*, *काला* *where* (H. C. 3, 65) are probably to be explained in a similar manner. Possibly the S. interrog. *केहू* *who* may be identified with the short quant. pron. *केडु* by the change of *इ* to *रू*; but it may be also (as Tr. 206) the curtailment of the Ap. qual. pron. **केरिहु*, a slight modification of the ordinary Pr. *केरिसो*, Skr. *कीदृशः*. The Ap. strong form **केरिहो* becomes in S. the simple pron. *केहँ* *what* (usually spelled *केहरो* with transposed *ह*). Substituting in *केरिहो* the long Ap. form *केव*° for *के*°, and the original *दू* for *रू*, we obtain *केवदिहो* (cf. Pr. *कीदिसो* Ls. 116); and similarly *एवदिहो* or *एदिहो* for the ordinary Pr. *एरिसो* or **एदिसो*, Skr. *ईदृशः*. Here the palatal vowel *इ* changes *दू* to *तू*, and thus in S. the Ap. **एदिहो* and **एवदिहो* become the simple pron. *इको* *this* (for **इतिहो*, just as S. *केहँ* for *केरिहो*) and *उको* *that* respectively; the one being the near, the other the far dem. pron., corresponding to the short and long

तउ. In the original MS., which was in the Oriya characters उ (or उँ) would be hardly distinguishable from इ.

1) E. g., Chand. Pr. Rāj 25, 28 *कहँ नटु सो रानन वर प्रेमं । मह सगपन सा करिहि सु केमं* « i. e., says the king to the actor, full of affection: how will she make kinship with me? or 1, 82 *तरो ताप उथरो केम नय्य* « i. e., I am hot with fever; how can I remove it, oh Lord?

qual. pronominal forms. Similarly the S. कुताडो *what* stands for the Ap. *केवदिहअउउ (with the pleon. suff. अउउ, see § 217, H. C. 4, 429). In H. there is a pron. adv. कुता *where*. In the Ap. there is a qualit. pron. एत्ताहु *such-like* (K. I. 5, see Ls. 449, 455) = Skr. एतादृशः. In P. there is the qual. pron. अतिहा or अनेहा *of this sort* (Ld. 19, 56).

5) The pron. of qual. are in Skr. ईदृशः, तादृशः *such-like*, etc. They become in the Ap. Pr. एहु, तेहु, नेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or (in the st. form) एहो, केहो etc. The first of these एहो or एहु or एह was already used in Pr. as a simple pron. *he* or *this* (H. C. 4, 362)¹⁾, and it occurs in most Gds. as the dir. form of the near dem.; thus P. एह् or इह्, Br. इहु or युहु or यहु, E. H. इह् or ई (for *इय dropping ह्) or ऐह्. O. has एहि which appears to be founded on the form *एहे mentioned by K. I. 8 in Ls. 449, and is Ap. Mg. (see § 46). The S. ही or हे or हिउ (for इह्, एह्, इहु) transposes the ह्; and the S. इओ (for इहो) elides it; so does also the N. यो (for इओ) and Mw. यो; and the Mw. ओ drops the initial य् of यो. In M. the initial इ or ए is dropped; thus हा m., हो f., हे n. (for Ap. *इहउ, *इहिआ, इहयं, all st. forms) with a regular obl. sg. हा, pl. हाँ, and dir. pl. हे m., हा f., हो n. The Ap. Pr. qual. pron. केहो occurs in S. as the adjectival simple pron. केहो (fem. केही) or (eliding ह्) केओ *which* (Tr. 209); so also in G., where, however, ए is shortened to अ, thus G. कओ (fem. कई, n. कउं). But perhaps these S. and G. forms are rather to

1) H. C. limits all three forms to the nom. and acc. sg., but Mđ. only एहो and एहु, while he appears to allow एह for all cases; thus तदश्चैह सुपा। सुपा सह तदो (दश्चा ते रोश्चा?) एहः स्यात्। एह तपो वाला वपां वा। चकारात् पूर्वोक्तरूपम् ॥ i. e., *tad* in declension becomes *eha* or (*ima*) as before mentioned. The reading in brackets is doubtful; perhaps it is to include the pron. अदस्; as in the succeeding rule: एहो एहु च स्वमभ्यां। स्वमभ्यां सह तददसोर एहो एहु च स्यातां। एहो सोहेइ देक्ख वा। एष शोभते। एतं पश्येति। एवं एहु। चकारात् पूर्वोक्तं च ॥ i. e., in the nom. and acc. sg., *tad* and *adas* become *eho* or *ehu* or as before mentioned (*eha*). Mđ. is correct; for *eha*, being a pure base, may serve as an obl. form, while एहो and एहु are proper nominatives.

be connected with the base केव (see Nro 3). In P. the pleon. suff. ङ is added, thus केवङ्ग *which*, तेवङ्ग *whichever* (fem. ०ङी). — Connected with the Ap. Pr. केहो is also the W. H. (so-called) neut. interrog. pron. कहा or P. किआ *what*, with ए shortened to इ and अ. They are really obl. forms. The P. किआ stands for *किहा and is contracted in H. H. to क्या. S. transposes ह् (i. e., किआ *khiā*, § 132, note) and changes कि *khi* to इ *chh* by the influence of the palatal इ, thus making छा (Tr. 208). Similarly G. changes *किहो, *किही, *किहुं into शो, शी, शुं (for हो, ही, हुं, see § 11, for *किघो, *किई, *किउं). — Here is also to be mentioned the peculiar E. and W. Gd. (exc. G.) general dem. pron. से or सो, O. also सेहि *that*, which I am inclined to derive from the Skr. सदृशः *like*. It would become in the Ap. Pr. *सेहो or *सेहु or *सेह, just as Ap. एहो, एहु, एह for ईदृशः; and it would easily acquire the meaning of *such-like* in correlation with the relat. pron. ते or तो. It is commonly (Bs. II, 314) identified with the Pr. nom. sg. सो (H. C. 3, 3) or the Pr. gen. sg. से (H. C. 3, 81). But the Gd. से is *never* an obl. form; and both the Gd. से and सो are used indifferently in the nom. sg. and plur. Besides the S. सो forms a fem. सा and plur. से; and the O. सेहि seems to be an analogous form to O. एहि. Possibly the E. H. nom. sg. and pl. ते, ते, के may be identified with the Ap. qual. pron. तेहु, तेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or तेह, तेह, केह, by dropping the final ह्; for a form तेह, etc. appears in the emphatic forms तेहै, etc.

6) The same Skr. qual. pron. इदृशः, etc. also become अइसो, तइसो, तइसो, कइसो (H. C. 4, 403) or अइसु, तइसु, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 331. 332) in the Ap. Pr. In Gd. अइ is changed to ऐ or ए or इ or अ; thus strong forms: W. H. ऐसो, तैसो, P. and H. H. ऐसा, तैसा, N. यसो (for *ऐसो or *इसो, see §§ 71. 171), तसो, M. असा, तसा, etc. But the weak forms तसु or तस्, तसु or तस्, etc. also occur in Br. (see Bates' Hindi Dict.) and O. H. Thus Chand in Pr. Raj 24, 52 थाँन थाँन नर उउँ। चंद तस उप्पम पाइय ॥ i. e., *from place to place men fly up* (i. e., *like birds*), *such a simile has Chand devised*. In modern Gd., however, the weak forms have become

simple pron. Thus P. ऐस् or एस् or इस्, तिस्, N. यस्, तस् *he* or *this*, etc. They are found only as obl. forms. The corresponding fuller obl. forms in ए also occur; thus H. H. has इसे, तise (as dat. acc. *to him* or *him*) besides इस्, तिस्, etc., (just as E. H. कौन् and कौने, see Nro. 2; contr. for Ap. अइसाहि or अइसाहे, see § 365, 6). B. has the gen. sg. किसे-रू of *what*, dat. loc. किसे *to* or *in what* (S. Ch. 122; just as B. देवे-रू of *god*, देवे *to* or *in god* of देव्). M. has not only the sing. obl. कसा or कस्या (= Ap. Mg. gen. कइसाह or कइसायाह, Skr. कीदृशस्य or कीदृशकस्य, see § 365, 1), but also the pl. obl. कसाँ or कस्याँ (= Ap. Mg. gen. कइसाहँ, etc., § 365, 4) of *whomsoever* (see Man. 54; just like M. obl. sg. देवा, pl. देवाँ of देव् *god*). The existence of these fuller obl. forms shows that the shorter ones (तिस्, त्रिस्, etc.) cannot, probably, be identified with the Pr. gen. तस्स, तस्स, Skr. तस्य, यस्य, etc. (as Bs. II, 315).

7) Again the before mentioned (see Nro. 1) Skr. quant. pron. इयत्, तावत्, etc. are changed in the Ap. Pr. to एत्तिउ (H. C. 4, 341), तेत्तिउ, जेत्तिउ, केत्तिउ (cf. H. C. 4, 383) or, in the strong form, to एत्तिओ, तेत्तिओ, etc. (H. C. 4, 395, cf. 2, 157, for *एत्तिअउ, etc.). The latter become in W. H. इत्तो, तित्तो, etc., H. H. इत्ता, तित्ता, O. एते, तेते, etc. (Bs. II, 332); the former in S. एति°, तेति°, etc., G. एट°, तेट°, etc., W. H. and P. इत°, तित°, etc., E. H. ऐत°, तेत°, etc., B. एत्, तेत्, etc. (S. Ch. 85). As a rule, these weak forms add some pleon. suff. (ना or रो or लो); thus P. इतना, तितना, etc., S. एतिरो, तेतिरो, etc., G. एटलो, etc. (see §§ 452. 453). But the plain weak form is used in P. as a simple pron.; thus इत्, तित् *he* or *that*, जित् *which*, कित् *who* (Ld. 22, 66); it occurs, however, only in the obl. sing. (e. g., gen. तित् दा of *this*). Both these shorter obl. sg. and the corresponding fuller obl. sg. forms are used as pron. adv.; thus Br. इत् or इतै *here*, तित् or तितै *there*, etc., P. इत्ये, तित्ये, etc., S. इति or इते or इत्थि or इत्ये, तिति or तिते or तित्थि or तित्ये, etc. The forms इत्थि, इत्ये, etc. are contracted from इत्तहि or इत्तहे, तित्तहि or तित्तहे, etc. These are loc. sg., made with the Ap. Pr. obl. suff. हे (see § 365, 6), and occur even in the Ap. Pr.

itself, as एतद्दे *here*, तेनद्दे *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 436)¹). By the side of the shorter forms एत्तिञ्च, केत्तिञ्च, etc., Pr. uses also the longer forms एवत्तिञ्च, केवत्तिञ्च, etc. (see Wb. Bh. 422); and as Pr. एत्तिञ्चो originates the W. H. near quant. pron. इत्तो, so Pr. *एवत्तिञ्चो (shortened *अवत्तिञ्चो, *ओत्तिञ्चो) becomes the far quant. W. H. उत्तो *that much*, H. H. उत्ता. The corresponding weak forms are S. ओति°, G. आट°, W. H. and P. उत°, E. H. ओत°, B. अत् (S. Ch. 85, see §§ 452. 453); and the pron. adv. are, Br. उत् or उतै, P. उत्ये, S. उति or उते or उत्थि or उत्ये; and P. uses उत् as a simple pron. in the obl. cases; e. g., उत् दा *of him, of that*.

8) The following Gd. pron. forms appear to be remnants of the old simple pron. The Skr. gen. sg. तस्य, यस्य, etc. become in the Ap. Pr. तस्स, तस्स or तास, त्रास or तासु (also तस्सु H. C. 4, 419), त्रासु (H. C. 4, 358. 3, 63). In O. II. the following instances of the latter two kinds of forms occur, तास or तासु and त्रास or त्रासु²), in Br. only तासु and त्रासु (Kl. 122, a); and P. has काम् as the obl. form of the neut. interrog. pron. (*of what*, Ld. 20, b). But in the Ap. Pr. the gen. or obl. form is also made by adding the ordinary obl. suff. हो or हे, before which the vowel may be either long or short; thus तहे, कहे (H. C. 4, 359) or ताहे, काहे (H. C. 3, 65), एतहे (H. C. 4, 436) or एताहे (H. C. 3, 82. 2, 134); again ताहो, काहो or ताह, काह, etc.³). Some of the forms with आ

1) Perhaps the Ap. Pr. forms एत्तु *here*, तेत्तु *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 404) may be similarly explained as contr. from एत्तहु, तेत्तहु, etc., made with the abl. or obl. suff. हु (H. C. 4, 336, see § 365, 6); and the Ap. Pr. forms तत्तु *where*, तत्तु *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 404) as acc. neut. in उ (H. C. 4, 331) or as containing the abl. suff. तो or तु (= Skr. तस्). Some of these Ap. forms have been received into the literary Pr.; viz. एत्त (for एतद् = एत्तहु) or एताद्दे or एतो, see H. C. 3, 82. 83. Vr. 6, 20. 21, where they are expressly described as being abl. sing.; and तत्त, तत्त, कत्त, see H. C. 2, 161 and Wb. Bh. 422 (कत्त and एत्त = *एतद्दे abl. pl., § 365, 7).

2) Thus Chand, Pr. R. 25, 16 तास राज समीपं । र्हो नट विद्या उचारं ॥ i. e., *near that king I remain to practise the art of the actor*.

3) Md. says: दीर्घो ऽस्ते वा उसादेशे । स्ववर्जिते उसादेशे एषां (i. e. किंयत्तदां) दीर्घो वा स्यात् । काहो । काह । कासु । काहं । काहुं । एवं यत्तदोः ॥ स्ते । कस्स । तस्स ॥

are preserved in Gd.; thus ताहि, जाहि, काहि (for *ताहे, etc.) and ताहु, जाहु, काहु (for ताहो, etc.) in Br. (Kl. 122. 226) and, as the obl. form of the so-called neut. interrog., काहे in E. H. and Br., and काह् in P.; in O. H. also ताह or ता¹). The Ap. Pr. loc. sg. is तहिं, जहिं, कहिं (H. C. 4, 357); apparently these have become general obl. forms in S. तहिँ, जहिँ, कहिँ, and with आ in O. ताहिँ, जाहिँ, काहिँ, and perhaps serve as neut. interrog. pron. in Mw. काईँ or काईँ^२ (dropping ह्) and also in the Ap. Pr. काइँ (H. C. 4, 367) and कइँ (H. C. 4, 426).

9) The indefinite pron. are made by adding the emphatic particles उ or ई (see § 550) to the interrog. pron. Thus E. H. केहू *any one* = केहु + उ *kehu + u* and कौनो = कौन + उ *kauna + u*, M. कोणी = कोण् + ई *kon + i*, H. H. कोई = को + ई *ko + i*.

439. *Declension.* Correlative pron. are declined regularly like nouns, with the following two exceptions: 1) those of the short form (ई, ऊ, ते, जे, के, § 433) may optionally use in the gen. the aff. करू or कर। This affix is treated precisely like an adj.; i. e., it follows the gender, number and case of the governing noun. Thus करू is the weak form, of com. gen. and incapable of inflexion, but कर। is the masc. st. form (§ 381), making a fem. करी (§ 384) and obl. masc. करे (§ 386), fem. करी, both in the

i. e., *ka, ya, ta* may become *ká, yá, tá* before the gen. suff., exc. when the latter is *ssa*. — It will be observed, that हे is a general obl. suff.; for in H. C. 4, 359 (तहे) it is a gen. suff., in H. C. 3, 65 (ताहे) and H. C. 4, 436 (एतहे) and H. C. 2, 134 (एतहे) it is a loc. suff.; in H. C. 3, 82 (एताह) it is an abl. suff. Moreover, हे may be shortened to हि and ह्, see H. C. 2, 161 (तहि, तह्); and ह् or त्य is an abl. suff. in H. C. 3, 82 (एत्य = *एतह), but a loc. suff. in H. C. 2, 161 (तत्य = *तेतह).

1) Thus Chand Pr. Rāj 25, 36 न न हंस धीर न न सुख ताह ॥ i. e., *neither his soul nor his felicity was firm*; again 25, 16 ता ग्रह सु पात्र अनेक गुन ॥ i. e., *in his house is a daughter of many virtues*. — It may be observed, that the so-called neut. interrog. pron. is, in reality, merely some obl. form of the common interrog. pron.; thus M. has काह् (for *काहि = *काइँ); Bs. has काह and Bh. का (for काह्) *what*.

sing. and plur. (§ 386); but करे may be used, though anomalously, as a fem. obl. The strong forms are not commonly used in the nom., nor the weak forms in the obl. cases. Practically, therefore, the aff. are; dir. form करू e. g., obl. करे m. or करी f.; just like कै and के. It should be observed also that the latter aff. only (but not करू, करे) can be used with the full pron. obl. forms in ह् (viz. ऐह्, ओह्, तेह्, जेह्, केह्) and with the emph. obl. forms in हो (as ऐही, ओही, etc. § 433). Thus dir. form sg. or pl. के करू घर or केह् कै घर or rarely के करा घर *whose house or houses*; के करू मेहरू or केह् कै म^० or rarely के करी म^० *whose wife or wives*; obl. sg. के करे घर मे or केह् के घर मे or rarely के करू घर मे *in whose house*; के करी मेहरू से or केह् के मेहरू से or rarely के करू or के करे म^० से *from whose wife*; obl. pl. के करे घरन् मे or केह् के घरन् मे *in whose houses*; के करी मेहरन् से or केह् के म^० से or rarely के करे म^० से *from whose wives*; etc. — 2) There is no acc. proper, identical with the nom., but only the (improper) acc. formed with the dat. aff. के. Thus *whom* is के के or केह् के or कवन् के or कीने के, but not simply के or कवन्.

440. Optionally a sort of pleon. declension may be made, by adding the case-aff. to the ordinary obl. form of the gen. in ए. In the *khari bhāshā*, however, this is not commonly done, exc. in the loc.; e. g., sg. ओ करे मे *in him*, pl. ओन्ह करे मे *in them*, etc.

441.

1. Short form.

a) Simple form : ई *he, this*.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	ई	ई	ई लोग्
acc., dat.	ए के or ऐह् के	ऐन्ह के	ऐन्ह लोगन् के
instr., abl.	ए से or ऐह् से	ऐन्ह से	ऐन्ह लोगन् से
gen.	ए कै, के or ऐह् कै, के or ए करू, करी, करे	एन्ह कै, के or एन्ह करू, करी, करे	ऐन्ह लोगन् कै, के
loc.	ए मे or ऐह् मे or ए करे मे	ऐन्ह मे or एन्ह करे मे	ऐन्ह लोगन् मे

b) Emphatic form: इहै or इहो *even he, even this.*

Singular.

nom.	इहै or इहई	इहो or इहउ
acc., dat.	एही के	एहू के
instr., abl.	एही से	एहू से
gen.	एही के or एही करू or ए करै or ए करे हो	एहू के or एहू करू or ए करो or ए करे हू
loc.	एही मे or ए करै मे or ए करे ही मे	एहू मे or ए करो मे or ए करे हू मे

Plural.

nom.	इहै or इहई	ऐन्ह हूँ
acc., dat.	ऐन्ह ही के	ऐन्ह हूँ के
instr., abl.	ऐन्ह ही से	ऐन्ह हूँ से
gen.	ऐन्ह ही के or ऐन्ह ही करू or ऐन्ह करै or ऐन्ह करे ही	ऐन्ह हूँ के or ऐन्ह हूँ करू or ऐन्ह करो or ऐन्ह करे हूँ
loc.	ऐन्ह ही मे or ऐन्ह करै मे or ऐन्ह करे ही मे	ऐन्ह हूँ मे or ऐन्ह करो मे or ऐन्ह करे हूँ मे

Note: Like ई are declined उ *that*, ते *he*, जे *which*, के *who*; only substituting उ, ओ, उ, ओ and ते, ति, ते, etc. for ई, ए, इ, ऐ respectively. — All forms with ऐ or ओ may, optionally, be spelled with इ or उ; e. g., ऐन्ह के or इन्ह के *to these*, and ओन्ह के or उन्ह के *to those*, etc.

442. 2. Long form: तवन् or तउन् or तोन् *he, this.*

Sing. and simple plur.

	Com. gen.	Fem.
nom.	तवन्	तउनी
acc., dat.	तोने के	तोनी के
instr., abl.	तोने से	तोनी से
gen.	तोने कै, के	तोनी कै, के
loc.	तोने मे	तोनी मे

Compound plural.

	Com. gen.	Fem.
nom.	तौनेलोम्	तौनीलोम्
acc., dat.	तौनेलोम् के or तौनेलोमन् के	तौनीलोम् के or तौनीलोमन् के

	Com. gen.	Fem.
instr., abl.	तौनेलोग् से or तौनेलोगन् से	तौनीलोग् से or तौनीलोगन् से
gen.	तौनेलोग् कै, के or तौनेलोगन् कै, के	तौनीलोग् कै, के or तौनीलोगन् कै, के
loc.	तौनेलोग् मे or तौनेलोगन् मे	तौनीलोग् मे or तौनीलोगन् मे

Note: Like तवन् are declined त्वन् *which* and कवन् *who*; also आपन् *own* (§ 449). — Their forms may, optionally, be spelled with अव or अउ or औ according to § 34; e. g., तउने के or तौने के *to this*.

442a. Short form: के or केहू. Long form: कौनो *any one*.

	Sing. and simple plur.	Compound plural.
nom.	के केहू कौनो	केलोग् केहू लोग् कौनो लोग्
a., d.	के के केहू के कौनो के	{ के लोग् के केहू लोग् के कौनो लोग् के
i., abl.	के से केहू से कौनो से	{ or के लोगन् के केहू लोगन् के कौनो लोगन् के
gen.	के कै, के केहू कै, के कौनो कै, के	etc. etc. etc.
loc.	के मे केहू मे कौनो मे	

Note: Like केहू is declined तेकेहू *whosoever*.

3. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN.

443. The reflexive pron. *self* is आप्. It is alike for both genders, and is declined regularly like a subst., but has no plur.; the sing. form being used for both numbers; dat. sg. and pl. आप् के *to himself* and *to themselves*.

444. *Affinities.* W. H. and P. use the same refl. pron. आप्; O. has आपे or आपण, B. आपनि (with obl. आपना), M. आपण्; while in S. it is पाण; H. H. has in the dir. form आप्, but in the obl. आप् or अपने. The M., B. and O. forms आपण and H. H. obl. अपने are properly the corresponding possess. pron. (*own*), see § 449; it is in fact a sort of pleonastic declension, see §§ 440. 432.

445. *Derivation.* The original of the refl. pron. is the Skr. subst. आत्मा (nom. sg. of आत्मन्) *soul* or *self*. In Pr. it becomes अप्पा or अत्ता (H. C. 2, 51. Vr. 3, 48) or अप्पो (H. C. 3, 56) or Ap. Pr. अप्पु (or st. f. अप्पउ H. C. 4, 422). In Gd. it is आप्; in O. H. and Br., also, आप्. The Pr. form अत्ता, I believe, has left no trace in Gd. In Pr. the pron. also assumes a long form

अप्यापो (H. C. 2, 51. 3, 56), Ap. Pr. अप्यापु (H. C. 4, 396), which survives in the S. पाप with the loss of the initial अ; O. H., also, has it as m. अपान्, f. अपानि (Kl. 124, 231). Cw. 46 mentions also a Pr. form अत्रापो, which, however, has left no trace in Gd., and is, probably, a false reading.

4. THE HONORIFIC PRONOUN.

446. The hon. pron. is substituted for the pron. of the 2nd pers. sg. तै and pl. तू, in respectful address. It is, in the wk. f. रावर् or राउर् c. g., in the st. f. रउरा or रौरा m., रउरी or रौरा f. It is declined regularly like a subst. (§ 379). But the refl. pron. आप् may also be used as a honorific; and in that case it always forms the comp. plur. आप्लोग् when applied to more than one person.

447. *Affinities and Derivation.* The use of राउर् as a hon. pron. seems to be confined to E. H.; but आप् and its cognate forms are used so in all Gds.; thus B. uses आपनि (S. Ch. 114. 115. note, with obl. f. आपना or आपनका), O. आपपा (Sn. 18), W. H. आप्, P. आप् (Id. 20, 58), etc. — The original of राउर् I believe to be the Skr. noun राजकुल^० (or राजकुल्य) *royal*, Pr. राजउल^० or राउल^० (Vr. 4, 1. H. C. 1, 267), see § 78.

5. PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES.

448. By the term. *pron. adjectives*. I designate the possessive pron. (as *mine, thine, own*), the correl. adj. of quantity and quality, and the indefinite pron. *all, whosoever, some*.

a) Possessive pronouns.

449. Possess. pron. may be derived from the first and second pers. and from the refl. pron. Those of the first pers. pron. are: wk. form मोर् c. g. *mine*, or st. f. मोरा m., मोरी f.; and wk. f. हमार् c. g. *our*, or st. f. हमरा m., हमरी f. Those of the second pers. are: wk. f. तोर् c. g. *thine*, or st. f. तोरा m., तोरी f.; and wk. f. तोहार् c. g. *your*, or st. f. तोहरा m., तोहरी f. Those of the refl. pron. are: wk. f. आपन् c. g. *own*, or st. f.

अपना m., अपनी f. They are declined regularly like adj. of the corresponding form (see § 386). The possess. pron. of the third pers. is identical with the gen. of the near or far dem. pron.; viz., wk. f. एकर or ओकर c. g. *his* or *her*, or st. f. एकरा or ओकरा m., ०री f.; and wk. f. ऐन्हकर or ओन्हकर c. g. *their*, or st. f. ऐन्हकरा or ओन्हकरा m., ०री f.

Note: The following bye-forms also occur: हमारा *our*, तोहारा *your*, fem. ०री. — The adj. निज् *own* is also frequently used as a refl. pron.

450. *Affinities.* The forms of these pron. do not differ materially in the Gds., exc. in M., S. and, partially, P. They are: of the first pers., B. मोर, आमार; O. मोर or मोहोर, अम्भर; W. H. मेरो, हमारो (Br.) and मारो or म्हारो, मारो or म्हारो (Mw.); G. मारो, अमारो; N. मेरो, हमो; but P. मेरा, असाङ or साङ; M. माका, अम्-चा; S. मूँ-तो or मुहुँ-तो, असाँ-तो. Of the second pers., B. तोर, तोमार; O. तोर, तुम्भर; W. H. तेरो, तुम्हारो or तिहारो (Br.) and थारो (or थाका), थारो (Mw.); G. तारो, तमारो; N. तेरो, तिरो; but P. तेरा, तुसाङ or तुहाङ; M. तुका or तुम्-चा; S. तो-तो or तुहुँ-तो, तव्हाँ-तो or अव्हाँ-तो. It should be observed, that B. and O. use आमार, अम्भर and तोमार, तुम्भर as sing. *mine*, *thine*, and form new plur., B. आमा-देर and even मो-देर *our*, तोमा-देर, तो-देर *your*, O. अम्भमानङ्कर, तुम्भमानङ्कर. Similarly also N. हमोहेर-को, तिमोहेर-को or तिमोहेर-को. B. forms also आमादिगेर or आमार-देर or आमार-दिगेर and similarly तोमादिगेर, etc. — Of the refl. pron.: E. H. आपन् or अपना, O. H. आपुन् or अपुना, Br. अपनी or आपनी, M. आपला, P. आपपा, N. आफना, G. आपणो, but also आपन्-नो, O. आपपा, but also आपपा-र (Sn. 18), S. पाँ-तो or पाँहुँ-तो. — The possess. pron. of the third pers. are made in all Gds. in the same way as in E. H.

451. *Derivation.* It will be observed that these adj. pron. are made by simply adding the gen. aff. (see the list in §§ 374. 377 also §§ 272—280) to their corresponding subst. pron. In some cases the aff. still remains a separate word; thus in S. मूँ-तो *mine*, M. अम्-चा *our*, P. तुसा-ङ *your*, S. पाँ-तो *own*, Mw. आप-रो *own*, O. आपपा-र *own*. In others it has coalesced with the base into one

word; as E. H. मोरू *mine*, हमारू *our*, etc. The latter contain two of the ancient gen. aff. केरू and करू, on the derivation of which see § 377. The former appears in the ordinary Pr. possess. pron. of the plur. अम्हकेरो *our*, तुम्हकेरो *your* (H. C. 2, 147); in the sing., however, the ordinary Skr. forms seem to have been used, thus Pr. मईअ *mine* = Skr. मदीय (H. C. 2, 147). The aff. करू always elides क्, and coalesces with the base; thus in the Ap. Pr. महारुड (H. C. 4, 358) or महारा (H. C. 4, 434) *mine* (for *महकरुड or *महकरा, मह being the gen. of हुड *I*, cf. H. C. 3, 113), or contracted in the Nāgara Ap. मेरो (Md. त्वदीये तेरू। मदीये मेरू); so also in Br. मेरौ or in Mw. मारो or म्हारो. The E. H. मोरू is founded on a form *महुकरो (from gen. महु, H. C. 4, 379) or has been assimilated to तोरू *thine*. Again Ap. Pr. तुहारू (cf. H. C. 4, 434) *thine* stands for *तुहकरू (from gen. तुह, H. C. 3, 99) and is contracted in E. H. to तोरू. The Br. तेरौ and Mw. मारो presuppose an original form *तहकरा (from gen. तह, see § 430, 2) or have been assimilated to मेरो, म्हारो. Again Ap. Pr. अम्हारा (H. C. 4, 434) *our* (= *अम्हकरा, from gen. or base अम्ह H. C. 3, 113. 114) becomes, by transposition of ह्, H. H. हमारा, W. H. हमारो; or, by elision of ह्, B. अमारू, G. अमारो; or, by elision of अ, Mw. म्हारो; or, by shortening अ, O. अमार, E. H. हमरा. Similarly Ap. Pr. तुम्हारा for तुम्हकरा, whence H. H. तुम्हारा, E. H. तोहरा, etc. — The P. form असा-डा (or सा-डा with loss of अ, just as in Mw. म्हारो), तुसा-डा or तुहा-डा are made with the old gen. aff. डा (= M. P. दा, see § 377, 3); as to the सू of असा, तुसा see § 430, 3. 4. It will be observed that in P. and M. the plur. only, but in S. both the plur. and sing. are made by a separate gen. aff. As regards the M. forms माका, तुका see § 430, 5. — As to आपनू or अपना, see §§ 60. 111. The Mw. आपरो contains either the gen. aff. रो, or the रू is a modification of the Pr. लू of अपुल्लो (H. C. 2, 163). — The S. पाँह-जो appears to contain the old gen. *पानह (Ap. अप्पापाहो), contracted to पान्ह = पाँह (see § 132, note).

b) Correl. pron. of quantity and quality.

452. The pron. of quant. are: एता or ऐतना *this much*,

तेता or तेतना *that much*, जेता or जेतना *as much*, केता or केतना *how much*. They are strong forms, and consequently are treated precisely as adj. of a like form; that is, they have a fem. in ई (§ 384, as एती or ऐतनी, etc.), and an obl. form in ए (§ 386, as gen. एते कै or ऐतने कै *of so much*, etc.). Sometimes also the forms ऐतेक् or ऐतिक् or ऐतक् or इतेक् इतिक् or इतक् or अतेक्, etc.; उतेक् or उतिक्, केतेक् or कितेक् or कतेक् or कैतिक् or कितिक् or कितक्, and so forth of जेत°, तेत°, are met with (see Bs. in J. R. A. S. vol. III, 490 and Kl. 141), see § 26. I have also met with the forms जैठा or जौया *as much*, कौया *how much*.

453. *Affinities.* Nearly the same forms are used in all Gds.; thus B. एत, अत, तत, यत, कत or एतक्, अतक्, etc. (S. Ch. 84); एत, etc. are sounded *etā*, etc., but एतक् *etak*; hence gen. एत-रू, but एतके-रू. O. एते, तेते, येते, केते, W. II. (Br.) इतौ or इतनौ, उतौ or उतनौ, तितौ or तितनौ, etc. or (Mw.) इतरौ, उतरौ, तितरौ, etc., P. इतना, उतना, तितना, etc., G. एटलो, अटलो, तेटलो, etc. (Ed. 44), S. एतिरौ or हेतिरौ, ओतिरौ or होतिरौ, तेतिरौ, etc. (Tr. 224), M. इतका or इतकाला, तितका or तितकाला, etc. (Man. 52; also कितौ or कितौक? as Tr. 223), N. यति, उति, तति, जति, कति.

454. *Derivation.* The quant. pron. in Pr. are एन्निओ, तेन्निओ, जेन्निओ, केन्निओ (H. C. 2, 157) or Ap. Pr. एन्निउ (H. C. 4, 341), केन्निउ (H. C. 4, 383), etc.; and in the strong form: Pr. एन्निओ, etc., Ap. एन्निउ, etc. The Mg. Pr. would have wk. f. एन्निए or एन्निइ or एन्निअ (Vr. 11, 11) or st. f. एन्निअए or एन्निअके or एन्निअकए (see § 202), etc. Now Mg. एन्निअ contracts to O. एते, N. यति, etc.; Mg. एन्निअए to E. H. एता; Mg. एन्निअक to E. II. ऐतेक् or ऐतिक् or ऐतक्, B. एतक्; Mg. एन्निअकए to M. इतका. In Pr. the pleon. suff. लो may be added: एन्निलो (for एन्निओलो, see § 58, note) or Ap. Pr. एन्नुलो, etc., whence G. एटलो, etc. (with ट् or ट् for त् or त्, as in Pr. पट्टा for Skr. पत्तन H. C. 2, 29), S. एतिरौ, etc., E. H. ऐतना (see §§ 58. 111. 214). In M., the pleon. suff. ला may be super-added to the pleon. suff. का, thus इतकाला, etc. (lit. Ap. *एन्निअकअलउ). The Gd. forms उति, उतेक् or उतिक्, आतिरौ, etc. are similarly derived from the Pr. एवन्निआ (see Wb. Bh. 422), as explained in

§ 438, 1. 7. — The Pr. forms एन्निओ, तेन्निओ, etc. are in Skr. इयतिकः, तावतिकः, etc. — The E. H. forms कोया, जौया or जैठा are perhaps derived from केवतिञ्च, तेवतिञ्च with an anomalous aspiration, as in M. केवठा, and cerebralisation, as in G. जेटलो.

455. *Cognate quant. forms.* By the side of the forms एनुलो, तेनुलो, etc. The Ap. Pr. has the forms एवडु, तेवडु, जेवडु, केवडु (H. C. 4, 407. 408), made by adding the pleon. suff. डु to the quant. pron. एव, तेव, जेव, केव, in Ved. Skr. ईवन्, कीवन्. M. has them in the strong form एवठा or (with pleon. ला) एवठाला, तेवठा or तेवठाला, etc. (Man. 52); so also G. एवडो, आवडो, तेवडो, etc.; S. also has them, but in the shorter form एडो or हेडो, ओडो or होडो, तेडो, etc. (Tr. 224), made by adding the pleon. suff. डो to the short quant. pron. ए, ते, जे, के (see § 438, 1), so also P. wk. f. एड् or ऐड्, तेड् or तैड्, etc., and st. f. एडा, तेडा, etc.; also O. एडे, तेडे, जेडे, केडे (Bs. II, 336). In this form the quant. pron. usually expresses *size*, i. e., *so large*, *how large*, etc. In S. the diminutive suff. डो may be added, as एडिडो or हेडिडो, ओडिडो or होडिडो, तेडिडो, etc. (Tr. 224), meaning *so small*, etc. — The W. H. has also तै, जै, कै which are derived from the Skr. quant. pron. ततिः, वतिः, कतिः, Pr. तर्इ, जर्इ (H. C. 1, 177), कर्इ (H. C. 1, 180?), Ap. Pr. तड्, जड्, कड् (H. C. 4, 376).

456. The pron. of qual. are: अइसन् or ऐसन् of *this kind*, तइसन् or तैसन् of *that kind*, जइसन् or जैसन् of *which kind*, कइसन् or कैसन् of *what kind*. They are the same in the masc. and fem., and are declined regularly, like any adj. (see § 386). But they may also take the strong obl. forms; viz. in the sing., m. ऐसने, f. ऐसनी, etc., in the plur. m. ऐसनन्द् (or ऐसनेन्द्), f. ऐसनिन्द्, etc.

457. *Affinities.* There is much difference among the various Gds. as regards these pron. There are four main types, the characteristics of which are: 1) स, 2) ह, 3) व or म and 4) ड or र or ल. To the first or स्-type belong: E. H. ऐसन्, तैसन् and in Bs. also ऐस् or अस् or यस्, तैस् or तस्, etc.; W. H. ऐसौ, वैसौ, तैसौ (Br.) or इस्यो, उस्यो, तिस्यो (Mw.), etc.; M. असा or असला or असलाला, तसा or तसला or तसलाला, etc. (Man. 52); and

N. यसो, उसो, तसो, etc. Of the second or ह-type are: P. एहा or इहा or अतिहा or अतेहा, तेहा or तिहा, etc., S. इहगे or हिअगे, तिहगे, etc. Of the third or व-type are: G. एवो, आवो, तेवो, etc., B. एमत् or एमन्, तेमत् or तेमन्, etc., O. एमन्त्, तेमन्त्, etc. Of the fourth or उ-type are: Mw. ऐगे or ऐरो, वैगे or वैरो, तैगे or तैरो, etc., Gw. ऐनो or ऐन् or अन्, वनो or वन्, तनो or तन्, etc. (Kl. 141).

458. *Derivation.* The qual. pron. in the Ap. Pr. are either अइसो, तइसो, णइसो, कइसो (H. C. 4, 403) or एहु, तेहु, जेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or in the strong form, एहउ or (contr.) एहो, etc., (K. I. 9, in Ls. 449). The former set produces the स-type, the latter the ह-type. M. अमला, etc. and E. II. ऐसन्, etc. add the pleon. suff. ल or न, see §§ 111. 214. M. even reduplicates the suff. ल in अमलाला, etc. The S. इहगे, etc. add the pleon. suff. उ. The P. अतिहा preserves the ह-type in a more complete form; for it stands for a Pr. form एदिहओ = Skr. ईदृशः (see § 438, 4). — The Skr. qual. pron. are ईदृशः, तादृशः, यादृशः, कीदृशः, which become in Pr. एरिसो, तारिसो, णारिसो, केरिसो (H. C. 1, 142) or एदिसो, तादिसो, etc. (see Ls. 115). As a rule र (or दृ) is elided (see § 124), whence the Ap. Pr. अइसो, etc. (see § 25, note); and स (or श्) is changed to ह; whence Ap. एहो, तेहो contracted for *अइहो, *तइहो, etc. (see Ls. 455). It may be observed, that the P. and S., which alone have the ह-type, similarly change the स (or श्) of Pr. वीसा 20, तीसा 30 (Skr. विंशति, त्रिंशत्) into ह, P. वीह, तीह, S. वीह, दीह. — The forms of the व- and उ-types were originally quant. pron. The Skr. इयत् (Ved. ईवत्), तावत्, etc. become in Pr. एव, तेव, etc. or एम, तेम, etc. (cf. Wb. Bh. 422. Ls. 458), whence G. एवो, तेवो, etc. and B. एमन्, तेमन्, etc. (with pleon. suff. अन्, see §§ 209. 214); and the O. एमन्त्, B. एमत्, etc., perhaps, are based on the Skr. इयतकः, etc., Pr. *एवन्तओ, and probably contain the suff. Skr. -वत्, मत्, Pr. वन्त, मन्त (see §§ 232. 236). — The Mw. ऐगे or ऐरो, etc. are identical with the S. quant. pron. एगे, P. एउ, etc.; and so also the Gw. ऐनो, where उ has been changed to न् (see §§ 106. 438, 2) — The forms, Br. वैसो and Gw. वनो

are founded on the Ap. Pr. forms *एवइसो (= Skr. *एवादृशः) and एवडो respectively.

c) Indefinite pronouns.

459. The indef. pron. *all, every one* is सब् or सम or emph. सबै or समै. It is the same in both genders, and is declined regularly like any other adj. of the weak form. But when plurality is to be emphasised, it has an obl. form समन् or सबहन्; thus gen. सब् or सम कै of *all* taken as *a whole*, but समन् or सबहन् कै of *all* taken *severally*.

460. *Affinities.* The forms of this indef. pron. are nearly alike in all Gds. Thus B. सब्, O. सबु, W. H. सब् or सबर्, P. सम, G. सम or सर्व (Ed. 44, 1), S. समु m., सम f., or समुको m., °की f., M. सर्व, N. सब्. S. has the emph. forms समोई and मिड्योई or मिडोई. — E. H. also uses सकर् or समर् and सारा *all, whole*.

461. *Derivation.* The original is the Skr. सर्वः, which becomes in Pr. सब्बो, in the Ap. Pr. सब्बु (II. C. 4, 366) or *सबु (cf. II. C. 4, 399, see § 135, note). The former becomes O. सबु, E. H., N., Br. सब्, the latter Br. सबर् (emph. सबरै). The form सम has an anomalous aspirate (see § 131), perhaps analogous to N. आफु *self* for आपु, आधि *before* for आनि, etc. — The S. समुको adds the pleon. suff. को. — The G. and M. सर्व is a semitats. — The strange S. मिड्योई or मिडोई, I believe, to be merely a curtailment of the emph. समोई or सबोई. The final ई is the emph. particle; the initial म् of the remainder मिडो stands for व (see § 134); the final इड्यो or इडो is a pleon. suff., the same as in S. पेहेयो° or पेहेरो° *first* (see §§ 118. 213), योरिडो *very little* (Tr. 79), एडिडो *so small* (§ 455). In S., स् often changes to ह् (see Tr. XXX); hence सब° may have become हव° or हम°, next ह्म° (by suppressing ह्र), next म° (cf. Mw. म्हारो or मारो *our* for Br. हमारो). — The E. H. समर् is the Skr. सकल° (see § 102); and सारा is, perhaps, really the past part. of सारब् *to complete*, the causal of the R. सृ (= Skr. part. सारितः), or it may be the Skr. सार्वः.

462. The indef. pron. *whoever* is तेकेहू which is both masc. and fem.; and तेकिहु *whatever*, which is used with *things* only.

They are compound forms, made of *ते* and *केहू* or *किहु*, and are declined regularly like their component parts; thus gen. sing. *तेकेहू के* of *whomsocver*.

463. *Affinities and Derivation.* This pron. is formed in the same way in all Gds. by compounding the relat. with the indef. pron. Thus S. *तेको* m., *तेका* f., *तेको* n. (Tr. 213); B. *तेकिहु* or *तेकोन्* n. (S. Ch. 127), etc. As to its derivation, see § 438.

464. The indef. pron. *some* is *केतना* or *कई* which is masc. and fem., and *किहु* or *कुहू* or *कुहु* which refers to *things* only. They are declined regularly like adj. Thus gen. *केतने लोगन् के* of *some men*, *कई घोर्न् के* of *some horses*, *किहु व्वात् के* of *some thing*. When *केतना* is used independantly, it forms the obl. *केतनन्*, and to *कई* the pleon. aff. *एक्* (§ 289) is added; thus gen. *केतनन् के* or *कईएक् के* of *some*.

465. *Affinities and Derivation.* The impersonal indef. pron. is in B. *किहु*, O. *किहि*, Br. *कहु*, H. H. *कुहू*, M. *काही*, Mw. *काई* or *कई*, S. *की*, P. *कुहू*. I know no satisfactory derivation for *किहु*, perhaps it is Pr. **किंचिहु* = Skr. *किंचित्* खलु.

466. Here may be added the E. H. *आन्* or *दूसर्* or *घउर्* or *पराई* *another*, and *एक् दूसर्* *one another*.

Note: *आन्* is the Mg. *अने* (cf. H. C. 3, 58), Skr. *अनः*; — *घउर्* is the Mg. *घउले*, Skr. *अपः*; — *पराई* seems to be connected with the Skr. *परकीयः*; it also occurs in the Ap. Pr. *पराई* (H. C. 4, 350) or *पराया* (H. C. 4, 376). — On *दूसर्* see § 271.

6. PRONOMINAL ADVERBS.

467. The E. H. pron. adv. are the following: a) of *place*, *इह* or *इहाँ* or *इहवाँ* or *एहे* or *एहाँ* or *ऐद्रेन्* or *ऐहान्* or *ऐहाँ* *here*; *तहाँ* or *तह* or *तहाँ* or *तहवाँ* or *तेहाँ* or *तेद्रेन्* *there*; *जहाँ* or *तह* or *तहाँ* or *तहवाँ* or *जेद्रेन्* *where*; *काँ* or *कह* or *कहाँ* or *कहवाँ* or *केद्रेन्* *where?* The same in emph. form are: *इहवै* or *ऐहीठे* or *ऐहीठाँ* *even here*; *तहवै* or *तेहीठे* or *तेहीठाँ* *even there*; *जहवै* or *जेहीठे* or *जेहीठाँ* *even where*; *कहवै* or *केहीठे* or *केहीठाँ* *even where?*

b) of direction, ऐह् or ऐह्व् *hither*; ओह् or ओह्व् *thither*; तेह् or तेह्व् *thither*; नेह् or नेह्व् *with*; केह् or केह्व् *with*?

c) of time, अब् *now*, तब् *then*, तब् *when*, कब् *when*? In *emph.* form: अबहीँ or अबहियैँ *even now*; तबहीँ or तबहियैँ *even then*; तबहीँ or तबहियैँ *even when*; कबहीँ or कबहियैँ *even when*?

d) of manner or cause: यूँ or एँ or एओँ or अइसे or ऐसे *in this manner* or *for this cause*; तूँ or तेँ or तेओँ or तइसे or तैसे *thus* or *therefore*, also *then*; जूँ or जेँ or जेओँ or जइसे or जैसे *in which manner* or *for which cause*, also *when*; क्यूँ or केँ or केओँ or कइसे or कैसे *how* or *why* or काहे *why*, केह् कान् or काहे न् *what fore*, काहेँ *why not*?

468. *Affinities.* Forms of the same origin are designated by the same letter. — a) *Adv. of place*; B. (a) एया or हेया, ओया or होया, तया or सेया, यया (i. e. जया), कोया or (h) ए खाने, ओ खँ, से खँ, ये खँ, कोन् खँ, or (d) हेदे *here*, or (γ) हेरो *here*. O. (a) एठा, सेठा, येठा, कोठा, or (h) ए-ठा-रे, येठे ठारे, केँ or कोँ ठारे, etc. Bs. (a) ऐह्याँ or ऐह्यन्, ओह्याँ or ओह्यन्, तेह्याँ or तेह्यन्, etc., or (b) उहँ or उहाँ or उहवाँ, इहँ, etc. (as in E. H.); (W. II.) Br. (a) इत् or इतै, उत् or उतै, तित् or तितै, जित् or जितै, कित् or कितै or कत्, or (b) यहाँ or याँ, वहाँ or वाँ, तहाँ or ताँ, जहाँ or जाँ, कहाँ or काँ; Mw. (a) अठै or अठी or ईँठै, उठै or उठी or उँठै, जठै or जठी (or जँठै?), कठै or कठी or कैँठै or कोठै (also अडे, जडे, etc., Kl. 265); P. (a) इत्ये, उत्ये, तित्ये, जित्ये, कित्ये; S. (a) इति or हिति or इते or हिते or इत्ये, उति or हुति or उते or हुते or उत्ये, तिति or तति or तितिय or तिते or तित्ये or तते, जिति or जितिय or जति or जिते or जित्ये or जते (also ज्ञाते or ज्ञात्ये), किति or कितिय or कति or किने or कित्ये (Tr. 392. 393); G. (b) हियाँ, याँहीँ, त्याँ or तहीँ or ताँहाँ, जयाँ or जहीँ or जाँहाँ, क्याँ or कहीँ or काँहाँ (Ed. 115. Bs. II, 336. 337); M. (a) येयेँ, तेयेँ, जेयेँ or जिये, केयेँ or (a) कोठेँ (Man. 100); N. (b) काँ or यहाँ or याँहाँ or आहाँ, वहाँ or वाँहाँ, तहाँ or ताँहाँ, जहाँ or जाँहाँ, कहाँ or काँहाँ.

b) *Adv. of direction*; B. (c) एमने, अमने, कमने; O. (γ) एने, केने; E. H. (c) ऐह-रू or ऐह्व-रू, etc.; in some parts also (γ) एने or (c) एमह-रू or (γ) एनह-रू, etc. (cf. Kl. 266); W. H. इधरू, उधरू, तिधरू,

निधरू, किधरू; P. unknown; S. (γ) एडे or हेडे or एउहँ or ऐउहँ or एउहुँ or हेउहुँ, ओडे or होडे or ओउहँ etc., तेडे or तेउहँ or तेउहुँ, जेडे etc., केडे etc.; G. (γ) आपी-गम्, तेपी-गम् (cf. Bs. 336. 337); M. (c) इकडे or हिकडे (Man. 127), तिकडे, त्रिकडे, किकडे; N. (b) याँहिँ, वाँहिँ, ताँहिँ, त्राँहिँ, काँहिँ. The adv. of place may also be used in all Gds.; generally with the dat. aff. added; e. g., E. H. तहाँ के, O. सेठा कु *thither*, etc.

c) *Adv. of time*; B. (c) एवे, तवे, गवे, कवे (S. Ch. 207) or (h) ए-खन्, त-खन्, य-खन्, क-खन्; O. (c) एवे, तेवे, येवे, केवे; E. II. (c) अब्, तब्, जब्, कब्; W. H. (c) अबै or अबे, तबै or तो (= तब्), जबै or जो, कबै, or (d) जदू or जदै or जदा or तदू, तदू or तदै, कदू or कदै or कदा or कदू, or (e) जरै, तरै; O. II. (c) ताम, ताम; P. (d) तदू, जदू, कदू; S. (c) ताँ, जाँ, or (γ) तडिहीँ, जडिहीँ, कडिहीँ; M. (c) एवहाँ, तँव or तेवहाँ, जँव or जेवहाँ, केवहाँ (Man. 100. 125), or (a) आताँ *then* (Man. 100); N. (c) अब्, तब्, जब्, कब्, or (c) अरले or ऐरहे, तइले or तैरहे, जइले or जैरहे, कइले or कैरहे, or (e) तरू, तरू.

d) *Adv. of manner*; B. (γ) हेन्, केन्, or (c) एमन् or एमत् or एमनि or एमने or एमते, अमनि, तेमन् or तेमत् etc., येमन् or येमत् etc., केमन् or केमत् or किमत् etc. (S. Ch. 216. 217. 218); O. (c) (एमन्त, सेमन्त, येमन्त?), केमन्त or कियॉ or काहिँ-क or काहा-र; O. II. एम or एमि, तेम or तिमि, जेम or जिमि, केम or किमि; P. (c) एउँ, तउँ, जउँ, कीउँ; S. (c) ईअ or हीअ or ईअ or हिअ or इएँ, उअ or हूअ or उअ or हुअ or उएँ or हुएँ, तोअ or तिअ or तिएँ, जोअ or जिअ or जिएँ, कीअ or किअ or किएँ; G. एम्, अम्, तेम्, जम्, केम्; M. (f) असे, तसे, जसे, कसे (Man. 101. 126); N. (f) यसै, तसै, जसै, कसै, or यस्तै, तस्तै, जस्तै, कस्तै, or (h) यसो-गरि, तसो-गरि, etc., क्वान् *why*.

I may add here, that pron. adv. implying *from* or *up-to* are made in all Gds. by adding abl. or loc. aff. to the above mentioned pron. adv. Thus O. के-हुँ *whence*, E. II. कहाँ-से or केहरू-से *whence*, कबू-से *since when*, कबू-तक् or कहाँ-तक् *how long*, S. के-सीँ or का-सीँ or के-सीअ or के-ताईँ *how long* (Tr. 394); N. काँहाँ-वाट् or काँहाँ-देखि *whence*, etc. But in P., M., Mw., S. and occasionally in the other Gds. they may be made by giving to the adv. of place or direction a different (abl.) inflection; thus P. (a) इत्योँ

hence, उत्थो *thence*, etc. (Ld. 70. 103); M. (a) एषून् (Man. 126) or इकडून् *hence*, तिकडून् *thence*, etc. (Man. 100, 2. d); Mw. (a) अठा सूँ *hence*, कठा सूँ *whence*, etc.; S. (a) इतौँ or इताऊँ or इतहूँ or इताहूँ or (γ) एडाँ or एडाऊँ or एडहूँ or एडाहूँ *hence*, etc. (Tr. 394. 39P); O. काहुँ *whence*.

469. *Derivation.* The case of the pron. adv. is similar to that of the pron. themselves (see § 438). Here also, there are six different types, marked *a* (or *α*), *b*, *c* (or *γ*), *d*, *e*, *f* respectively; and the adverbs are in reality obl. forms of what were originally qual. or quant. pron. adj. Thus: 1) the Ap. Pr. uses the obl. form (or loc. sg.) in हे of the quant. pron. एत्तिअ, etc. as pron. adv. of place (as explained in § 438, 7), एतहे, तेतहे, etc. (H. C. 4, 436); in P. and S. they are contracted to इत्थे (for *इत्तहे), तिथे or (eliding ह्) W. H. इतै, तितै or S. इते, तिते or (shortening the final ए) इति, तिति, etc. The M. येथे, तेथे, etc. are similarly contracted from Ap. Pr. एत्तहिं, तेत्तहिं (with the obl. or loc. suff. हिं H. C. 4, 357, see also § 378, 3); and the B. एया, तया (also एयाय्, तयाय्, see S. Ch. 214. 222), etc. from the Pr. एत्ताहे (H. C. 3, 82. 2, 134), etc. There is also a series of by-forms of this *a*-type (marked *α*) which substitute ह् for थ्; e. g., Mw. अहै, जहै (like S. इत्थे), E. H. ऐहै, तेहै (like M. येथे), O. एठा, सेठा (like B. एया), etc.; analogously to the change in the pron. adj., G. एतलो *so many* for E. H. ऐतना, S. एतिरो, etc. It appears, that some confusion originated at an early period between the terminations या and ठा, थे and ठे, थे and ठे and the nouns (loc.) यान् or ठान्, याई or ठाई *in a place*. The E. H. emph. forms एही-ठाई or एही-ठे, etc., and the O. येड-ठाह्, केड-ठाह् can hardly be explained on any other theory. Indeed, the real phrases, E. H. एयान् *in this place*, तेयान् *in that place*, etc., B. एखान्, तखान् (with ख् for स्प् as in Pr. खाण् for Skr. खाणुः, H. C. 2, 7) are not unfrequently used. — Again 2) Ap. Pr. uses the loc. sg. in हिं or इं of the quant. pron. एव्व as a pron. adv. of time and manner: एव्वहिं *now* (H. C. 4, 420) and एव्वइ or एव्वइ *thus* (H. C. 4, 421. 420). In B. and O. they are contracted to एवे or एवे, and in W. H. shortened to अबै *now*,

O. H. इमि *thus* (for *एमि), S. इएँ *thus* (for *इमेँ or *इवेँ). Similarly the W. H. तबै, O. H. तिमि, S. तिएँ, etc. postulate an Ap. Pr. तेम्बहिँ or तेम्बइ, etc. The Ap. Pr. also uses the plain obl. form (without suff., H. C. 4, 345) एम्ब *thus* (H. C. 4, 420), तेम or तेवँ or तिम or तिबँ *thus*, etc. (H. C. 4, 401. 397). They become in O. H. and G. एम, तेम, etc., in S. एउँ, तउँ (changing व *va* to उ) or इअँ, तिअँ (eliding म् or व्) or ईअँ, तीअँ, etc. (with ई, perhaps, to compensate for the elision of the conj. म्), in W. H. contracted योँ, ल्योँ, etc. or E. H. यूँ, ल्यूँ (for *एउँ, *तेउँ) *thus*, etc.; but also as adv. of time M. तँव *then*, E. H. and H. H. अब् *now*, तब *then*, N. अब्, तब, etc. B. adds the pleon. suff. अन्, thus एमने or एमनि or एमन् *thus*, etc. (= Ap. Pr. *एम्बउइ); so also W. H. एबन् *thus*, etc. B. also uses these forms as adv. of place or direction, thus एमने *here* or *hither*. N. adds to them the pleon. suff. ल and uses them as adv. of time; thus ऐल्हे (= Ap. Pr. *एविल्लहे) or अदले (= Ap. *एविल्लइ), etc. The O. H. and E. H. use the shorter form ए, etc. for एव or एम्ब, etc., and add the pleon. suff. ण (= Ap. उ); thus एने *here* or *hither*, etc. (for B. एमने, Ap. Pr. *एम्बउइ); so also S., which preserves the original उ; thus एउे *hither*, etc. S. also uses the obl. or loc. suff. हँ and हुँ (H. C. 4, 340, see also § 378, 3) instead of ए; thus एउहँ, or एउहुँ *hither*, etc. These last forms are purely Ap. Pr., exc. that in that language they would be loc. *plur.* Similarly the obl. suff. हँ is used in the M. एव्हँ *now*, etc. (for *एव्हअँ with transposed ह् for *एवहँ). In the M. forms एक्के *hither*, etc. (shortened for *एक्के) both the pleon. suff. क and उ have been added. The simpler forms तिको, तिको (without उ) occur in Mw. (see Kl. 132). This seems to me more **probable**, than the assumption of a compound इ + कडे *on this side* from the subst. कउ *side* (as Man. 127). S. also uses the obl. or loc. suff. हिँ (H. C. 4, 347. 357), probaby confused with the emph. aff. ई or हो, in तडिहोँ *then*, etc. — The Ap. also uses the forms ताम, ताम (for तेम, तेम = Skr. तावत्, यावत्, H. C. 4, 406) as adv. of time. They are in O. H. (Chand) ताम, ताम and in S. ताँ, ताँ. — The E. H. ऐह् *hither*, etc. (lit. ऐह-र) contain the loc. suff. र (shortened for रे,

as in O. हत-रे *in the hand*) and the obl. form ऐह् (on which see § 438, 1); similarly E. H. ऐह्वर् (transposed for ऐवह्वर्), ऐमह्वर् or ऐम्ह्वर्, ऐनह्वर् or ऐन्ह्वर् *hither*, etc. contain the obl. forms ऐवह् or ऐमह् or ऐनह् of the bases एव or एम or एन. — Again 3) the Ap. Pr. has the pron. adv. तहाँ, जहाँ, कहाँ (H. C. 4, 355). They are stated by H. C. to be abl. forms in the phrases तहाँ होतयो आगदो *he came thence*, etc. That phrase means lit. *he came being there*, i. e., *from there*. In fact, होतयो is the abl. aff. added to the adv. of place तहाँ, just as in O. II. तहाँ हुतो, E. II. तहाँ से (see §§ 376, 1. 468, p. 312). Those Ap. Pr. forms are still used as adv. of place in E. H. and W. II. तहाँ *there*, etc. or, slightly modified, in G. and N. ताँहाँ, etc. They are, I think, derived by means of the obl. suff. ह् (forming gen., abl. and loc. in Ap. Pr., see § 376, 4) from the qual. bases Ap. Pr. एह्, तेह्, etc., but shortening ए to इ or अ; thus Ap. Pr. एहह्, E. II. इहाँ (for *इहअ), W. II. यहाँ; Ap. Pr. तेहह् or तहाँ, E. H. तहाँ (compare Ap. Pr. तुम्हह् होतयो आगदो *he came from you*, H. C. 4, 373). Similarly the Ap. Pr. obl. or loc. suff. हिं is contained in the G. तहो *there*, etc. (for Ap. *तेहहिं) and perhaps in the N. ताँहिं *thither*, etc. — Again 4) the forms M. असे, N. यसे, E. H. ऐसे *thus*, etc. are obl. forms of the Ap. Pr. qual. pron. अइसो, etc. (H. C. 4, 403, the Ap. instr. would be अइसे, loc. अइसइ or अइसे H. C. 4, 342. 334, but see § 367, 2. 4 on such obl. forms). — Again 5) the W. II. forms इधर् *hither*, etc. are perhaps contracted for इदह-र् and connected with the Pr. qual. pron. एदह्, etc. (H. C. 2, 157); the medial अ being suppressed and the loc. aff. र् (for रे) added. To this type belong the B. हेदे *here* (S. Ch. 215) for *एध or *एदहे = Pr. loc. sg. एदूहे, and the W. H. adv. of time जदै or जदा or जदू or जद *when*, तदै *then*, etc. for *जदहे (eliding ह्) or Pr. जेदूहे, etc. Similarly W. H. has इधर् *hither*, etc. by the side of इधर्, etc. — Again 6) the Mw. तदै, जदै, N. तर्, जर् *then, when* are, perhaps, connected with the Skr. तर्हि, जर्हि; or they may be of the same origin as the P. तेडे *whither*, तेडे *thither* (see Nro. 2 changing इ or उ to र्); and the B. हेरो *here* (S. Ch. 215) also belongs to this type. — Lastly, the B. ए खन् *now*, etc. are com-

pounds of ए *this* and खन् *moment* (Skr. क्षण, Pr. क्षण H. C. 2, 20), and the N. यसो गरि *thus*, etc. of यसो *such* and गरि *having done* (conj. part. of the R. कर् to do, for करि); just like B. ए खान् *here* (see Nro. 1).

FOURTH SECTION. INFLECTION OF VERBS.

FIRST CHAPTER. FORMS OF THE VERB.

470. There are two *kinds* of verbs, the transitive and the intransitive; two *degrees*, the simple and the causal, of which the causal is always transitive; two *voices*, the active and the passive, of which the intransitive verb possesses only the active, but the trans. has both; four *moods*, the indicative, conjunctive, imperative, infinitive, to which may be added as a fifth mood the participles.

1. KINDS.

471. A trans. verb is formed from an intrans. by lengthening the radical vowel, viz. अ to आ, इ to ई or ए, उ to ऊ or ओ; and *vice versa* an intrans. from a trans. by shortening the same vowel. Thus from the intr. कट् to be cut comes the trans. काट् to cut; similarly गड् to be buried, गाड् to bury; मर् to die, मार् to kill; लद् to be laden, लाड् to load; मिल् to be mixed, मेल् to mix; दिख् to be seen, देख् to see; दिस् to be seen, दीस् to see; लिप् to be smeared, लीप् to smear; खुल् to be opened, खोल् to open; कुट् to be loosed, कोट् to loose; गुय् to be plaited, गूय् to plait. Again from the trans. उखाड् to pluck up comes the intr. उखड् to be plucked up; likewise नहाय् to bathe, नह् to flow, etc., see also § 351. Trans. and intr. verbs are conjugated alike, except in the 3. sg. 2nd pret. ind., where they have different forms (see § 504); e. g., tr. कइलेस् *he did*, but intr. गइल् *he went*.

472. *Affinities.* In all Gds. these sets of trans. and intr. verbs occur; but in M. and S. the trans. root may optionally end in इ; thus M. सुट् to get loose, but सोडि to loose; S. मर् to die, but मारि to kill (see Tr. 48); e. g., M. सुटतो I get loose, but सोडितो I loose or (in Konkani, see Man. 68, note) सोडतो; again सुटला it got loose, but सोडिला he loosed; again सुटत् getting loose, but सोडोत् loosing, etc.; again S. मरुणु to die, but मारिणु (or in Lári) मारुणु to kill; again मरु die thou, but मारि kill thou; again मरंदो dying, but मारिंदो killing; again S. सुनि or सुनु hear thou, सुनंदो or सुनींदो hearing, etc. But E. H. कुटतो, कुटलो, कुटत्; मरब्, मरू, मरत्; and so also कोडतो, कोडलो, कोडत्; मारब्, मारू, मारत्; सुन्, सुनत्.

473. *Derivation.* As a rule, the E. H. intrans. and its respective trans. verb correspond to the simple verb and its resp. causal in Skr., where the causal is made by lengthening the radical vowel of the simple verb with *guṇa* or *vrddhi*. In some cases, however, the E. H. trans. and intr. verbs correspond to the Skr. act. and pass. verbs; see § 351. The originally causal character of such Grd. trans. verbs is shown by their possessing the Skr. causal suff. इ in M. and S.

2. DEGREES.

474. The causal is formed from the simple verb by adding the suff. ञ्च् to the root (see §§ 339. 349). To the causal root, thus formed, the infin. suff. ञ्च् or इच् is reattached. If the simple root contains a long vowel it is shortened; viz. आ to अ, ई and ए to इ (or ऐ), उ and ओ to उ (or ओ). Thus S. V. कर्च् or करिच् to do, S. R. कर्, whence C. R. कराच्, inf. कराइच् (eliding च् by § 33) to cause to do; or S. V. मिल्च् to mix, S. R. मिल्, whence C. R. मिलाच्, inf. मिलाइच् to cause to mix; similarly S. Vs. पोयच् to drink, लेच् to take, घूमच् to turn, बोल्च् to speak, whence C. Vs. पियाइच् to cause to drink, लियाइच् or लेयाइच् to cause to take, घुमाइच् to cause to turn, बुलाइच् or बोलाइच् to call, etc.

Exception. खाच् or खाइच् to eat, R. खा, forms its causal लियाइच् to cause to eat for *खयाइच् (cf. § 55).

Note: Observe that, according to §§ 25. 33. 34, the suff. *आव्* may, in certain positions, undergo various changes, viz. *व्* is elided before *इ* or *ई*; *आ*, when antepenultimate, is shortened to *अ*, and *व्* vocalised to *उ*, while *अ + इ* may change to *ऐ* and *अ + उ* to *ओ*. Thus *चलाई* *he will cause to walk* (for **चलावी*); *चलइओ* or *चलैओ* *I shall cause to walk* (for **चलाविओ*); *चलउनो* or *चलौतो* *I cause to walk* (for **चलावतो*); but *चलावत्* *he causes to walk* (not *चलउत्*).

475. *Affinities.* The causal is formed nearly in the same way in all Gds.; but B., O., H. H. and S. use the caus. suff. *आ*, as C. R. *पढा teach* of S. R. *पढ़ read*; E. H. and G. have *आव्*, as *पढाव्*; W. H. has *आव्* or *आउ*, as *पढाव्* or *पढाउ*; P. and N. have *आउ*, as *पढाउ*; M. has *अवि*, as *पढवि*. The shortening of *आव्* to *अव्* (as in M.) also occurs occasionally in Hindi (poetry), as *पुताव्* for *पुताव् fill* (see Kl. 207) and *पुर्व* for *पुराव् fill* (Kl. 228); so also the contraction of *आव्* to *ओ*, as *रिसो* for *रिसाव् be angry* (Kl. 228); and H. H. optionally contracts *आव्* to *ओ* in *डुओ* or *डुवा immerse* of R. *डुव्*, and *मिगे* or *मिग* (for *मिगाव्*) *moisten* of R. *मीग*; also in P. *मिगे* (Ld. 67); M. occasionally changes *अवि* to *इव* in trans. verbs, as *सोडिव* or *सोडवि loose* (Man. 78, note. 110), and sometimes retains *आव्*, as *बोलावि* or *बोलवि call* (Man. 109). — Monosyllabic roots, ending in a vowel, form in most Gds. irregular caus.; thus the C. Rs. of R. *खा eat* are in B. *खानोया* (S. Ch. 129), O. *खुआ* (Sn. 37), E. H. *खियाव्*, W. H. *खवाव्* (or **खवा* Kl. 207. 217), P. *खुआउ* (Ld. 67), M. *खववि* (Man. 77), G. *खवाउ* (Ed. 114), S. *खार* (Tr. 257), H. H. *खिला*. Again of R. *दे give* they are in B. *देओया* (S. Ch. 129), O. *दिया* (Sn. 37), E. H. *दियाव्* (also Bs. *दिवाव्*), W. H. *दवाव्* or *दिराव्* (Kl. 214), M. *देववि* or *देवि* (Man. 118), G. *दवाउ*, S. *डिआर* (Tr. 256), H. H. *दिला*. Exactly analogous are the C. Rs. of the Rs. *जा go* and *ले take*; but H. H. has *लिवा cause to take*, not **लिला*. Similarly formed are the C. Rs. of *पी drink*, *सी sew*, *जी live*; thus S. *पिआरू*, *जिआरू* (Tr. 256), G. *सीवाउ* (Ed. 114), H. H. *पिला*, *सिला*, *जिला*; but E. H. regularly *पियाव्*, *सियाव्*, *जिलाव्*. Also of the Rs. *चू leak*, *सो sleep*, *रो weep*,

to *wash*, ठो *carry*, बो *sow*; thus H. H. चुला, सुला, हला, धुला, हुला, १. ववाङ् (but H. H. बोआ), S. चुआर् (Tr. 256). Some roots which end in consonants, form irregular causals in the same manner; thus R. सिख् or सीख् *learn* has in H. H. सिखला, S. सेखार् (Tr. 257) *each*, but regularly in E. H. and W. H. सिखाव्, N. सिखाउ, M. शिकवि (Man. 78), B. and O. (also optionally H. H.) सिखा; again R. देख् *see* in H. H. optionally दिखला or दिखा, P. दिखाल् or दिखलाउ (Ld. 67), S. डेखार् (Bs. I, 242) *show*, but regularly E. H. and W. H. दिखाव्, N. देखाउ, etc. Again R. कह् *speak* in H. H. optionally कहला or कहा (be called, in pass. sense, see § 354, 2), G. केहेवडा (Bs. I, 243), but regularly in E. H. कहाव्. Again R. बह् or बिह् *sit* (Skr. उपविष्) in H. H. बहला (in the sense of *amuse*, lit. *cause to sit*), P. बहाल् (Ld. 87), S. बिहार् (Tr. 256). Again R. बैह् *sit* (Skr. उपविष्ट) in H. H. optionally बिठला or बैठाल् or बैठा; and R. पैह् *enter* (Skr. प्रविष्ट) in H. H. पैठाल् (Kl. 186). Again R. पाह् *see* in M. पाहववि (cf. Man. 75); R. लिह् *write* in M. लिहववि (Man. 77); R. जोह् *regard* in H. तुहार *salute* (lit. *cause to be regarded*); R. उम् *be excited* (cf. H. C. 2, 57) in H. उमार *excite*; R. उम् *rise* in S. उयार् (Tr. 257); R. सुम् *sleep* in S. सुम्हार; R. डित् *be afraid* in S. डित्तार्; R. बिह्तिन् *bathe* in S. बिहित्तार् (Tr. 257); R. तम् *eat* in G. तमाङ् (Ed. 50); R. घट् *diminish* in G. घटाङ् (Bs. I, 243), and others.

476. *Derivation.* Caus. verbs are formed in Skr., as a rule, by adding the suff. अय (or इ) to the S. R., but exceptionally also by means of the suff. आपय (or आपि), as क्ष्मापयति *he causes to tremble* from S. R. क्ष्माय्; चापयति *he causes to collect* from S. R. चि, etc. In Pr. these two suff. become ए and आवे resp. (Vr. 7, 26. 27); in later Pr. (by a change of class, see § 347) अ and आव, and finally in Gd. अ-*quiescent* and आव् (see § 349). Besides, while in Skr. the formation with आपय is exceptional, in Pr. the two modes of formation with ए and आवे are equally common; and finally in Gd. the formation with आव् (or आव or आ) is the exclusive one, while the other is only preserved in the trans. verbs (see §§ 471--473). Thus Skr. S. R. मृ *die*, C. R. मारय (or

मारि) *kill*, Pr. मारे or मार, E. H. मार; again Skr. कृ *do*, C. R. कार्य (or *कराय), Pr. कारे or कार or कारवे or कराव, E. H. कराव; or in the 3. sg. pres. ind. Skr. मार्यति, Pr. मारेइ or मारइ, E. H. मारै; Skr. कार्यति, Pr. कारेइ or कारइ or कारवेइ or करावइ, E. H. करावै. — The Gd. suff. आव् changes व् to उ in N. and P. (cf. § 34) and drops it in B., O., H. H. and S.; it also shortens अ to अ in M. The Pr. suff. आवे becomes in M. अवि or अव (cf. § 472); the former is trans. and forms causals, the latter is intr. and forms potent. pass. (see § 483). — The irregular monosyll. verbs appear to use the double causal (see §§ 477. 478) in the place of the ordinary one; compare e. g., M. खाववि *cause to eat* (for *खावावि), B. खायोया (for *खावा with आओ for आव्), W. H. खवाव्, O. खुआ (with उ for अ) with M. निववि or निविव *cause to cause to sleep* (Man. 109); again S. खारा *cause to eat* (contr. for *खारा) with S. फेरारा *cause to cause to turn* (Tr. 258). The G. खवाइ *cause to eat* is transposed for *खवडा; the original form is preserved in G. केहेवडा *cause to speak* from R. केह्, and the suff. अवडा or अवाइ belong to the double causal, as may be seen from the M., where roots in ह्, as a rule, take the double caus. suff. अववि (Man. 77); e. g., लिह्ववि *cause to write* from R. लिह्. Similarly the S. suff. आर् or आरा (for *अवार् or *अवराव्), H. H. आल् or आला are double causal suff. The origin of these strange forms °डा, °रा, °ला which are confined to the W. Gds. (espec. G. and S.) is very obscure. The identification of ल् with the व् of the Skr. caus. suff. अय (as Bs. I, 241) is hardly correct; for the H. ल् as well as the S. र् are modifications of the G. उ (or इ)¹), but the Skr. व् could not possibly change into उ. It should be observed, that there is a remarkable similarity between the Gd. caus. formation and that of Psh. The latter language forms causals by means of the suff. अव or एद्; the former corresponding to the M. अवि, G. आव्, S. आ; the latter to the G. आड, S. आर्,

1) Not *vice versa*; उ sometimes changes to ल्, see § 105; but never ल् to उ.

H. H. *आल्*. See also the remarks in § 354, 2. A few instances of caus. in *आउ* occur in the Pr.; e. g., *भमाडेइ* or *भमाडइ* (besides the regular *भमेइ* or *भमावेइ* or *भमावइ*) of R. *भम् roam* (H. C. 3, 151); also *तमाडइ* (H. C. 4, 30. see also H. C. 4, 161); *धंसाडइ* *he looses* (H. C. 4, 91).

477. From the caus. verb an other causal may be formed, precisely in the same way, by adding the suff. *आव्* to the caus. root, the long *आ* of which is shortened to *अ*. Thus S. V. *पठव्* to read, S. R. *पठ्*, C. R. *पठ्ठाव्* *cause to read* (i. e. *teach*), whence other C. R. *पठ्ठाव्*, inf. *पठ्ठावइव्* to cause to cause to read (i. e. to cause to teach). This I shall designate the *double causal*. It may, obviously, be formed from the simple verb immediately, by adding to the S. R. the compound or reduplicated suff. *अवाव्*. These double causals are conjugated in every respect like the ordinary causals.

Note: The double caus. of a trans. verb implies that something is done by the intervention of a *third* person; as *करव्* means to do, *करावइव्* to cause an other person to do it, but *करवावइव्* to order an other person to cause a third person to do it. In the case of an intr. verb, the double caus. has the sense of an ordinary caus., and the ordinary caus. the sense of a trans.; as *बनव्* to be made, *बनावइव्* to make, *बनवावइव्* to cause an other person to make it.

478. *Affinities and Derivation.* The double caus. probably exists in all Gds., and it is formed in the same way by reduplicating the ordinary caus. suff. Thus E. II. has *अवाव्*, W. II. *अवाव्* or *अवाउ*, P. *अवाउ*, M. *अववि* or *अविव* (Man. 109), G. *अवाव्* (or *अवउ*), S. *आरा* (Tr. 257), H. II. (and probably B. and O.) *अवा*. Thus of R. *पठ्* read, double caus. R. in E. H. *पठ्ठाव्*, W. H. *पठ्ठाव्* or *पठ्ठाउ*, P. *पठ्ठाउ*, M. *पठ्ठवि* or *पठ्ठिव*, G. *पठ्ठाव्*, S. *पठ्ठारा*, H. H. *पठ्ठा* to cause to cause to read. The principle of the formation of the double caus. seems to be analogous to that of the redundant forms of subst. (see § 203). As there the pleon. suff. *क*, so here the caus. suff. *आपि* is reduplicated (i. e. **अपापि* or **अपापय*).

3. VOICES.

479. The passive voice is formed by adding to the past part. of the act. verb the auxiliary जाइब्, which is the same as the intrans. verb जाइब् to go and is conjugated in the same manner. The past part. undergoes no change whatever may be the gender or. number of the subj. Thus act. खाइब् to eat, pass. खायल् जाइब् to be eaten; or पढेला he reads, pass. पढल् जाला it is read. This I shall call the *compound passive*.

Exception. The pass. of the verbs जाइब् to go and होइब् to become is not formed with their ordinary past part. गयल् and भयल् but with the special past part. forms जायल् and होयल् (see § 304).

Note: Observe that the comp. pass. is very rarely used in E. H. or, indeed, in any of the Gds. It is commonly paraphrased by means of compound verbs; e. g., to be beaten is मारू खाइब्, lit. to eat a beating, not मारू जाइब्.

480. *Affinities.* All Gds. form this pass. by composition with the verb जाइब्, except S. and optionally Mw., N. and P. In the latter it is made by adding some suffix to the root; viz. S. इन्न, Mw. ईन्न (see Kl. 214), N. इय, P. ई. But P., Mw. and, probably, N. also use the comp. pass. The B. and O. do not use their past part. in इल् but that in अ in the formation of the pass. base, after the manner of the W. Gds. The E. H. and M. alone use the part. in अल् (or इल्) for the pass. (see § 303). Thus E. H. पढल् or पढिल् जाय् it may be said, M. पढिला (or पढला) जाए it was wont to be read (Man. 99); but B. पढा जाय् (S. Ch. 142), O. पढा जाये (Sn. 39), H. H. पढा जाए (or जावे), W. H. पढि जाए or पढ्यो or पढ्यो जाए, P. पढिआ जावे (Ld. 60), G. पढ्यो जाय्; but S. पढिने (Tr. 259. 331), Mw. पढीने, N. पढिये, P. पढीए¹). The latter kind of pass. is occasionally preserved in H. and M.; thus

1) Thus in the 3. sg. fut. pass. Mw. पढीनेलो it will be read, N. पढियेला, P. पढीएगा.

in the H. H. respectful imperatives: कीते (cf. S. कित्तागु *to be done* Tr. 260), दीते, पीते, लीते, सीते, मूते, डूते lit. *let it be done, given, drunk, taken, sewn, died, been* (cf. Kl. 164, d); also H. H. करिये, पढ़िये, etc. *let it be done, read, etc.*, W. H. करोते or करते, पढीते or पढ़ते, etc. (Kl. 212, a); again in the M. पाहिजे *it is wanted* (Man. 90). In O. E. H., O. W. H., O. P. and O. M. they are also often met with; in O. M. sometimes even in an active sense (Man. 139). Thus in O. E. H. ('Tulsi Dās) करिय or करिये or करोते *let it be done* (Kl. 220. 422), करियत *being done* (part. pres., cf. Kl. 220, a), O. P. करोयतु or करोयत; in O. M. करिते *let it be done*, करितेतो *it is being done*, करितेला *it has been done*, करितेल *it will be done* (Man. 139). Similarly in S. इडिते *it may be given up*, इडितेयो *it is being given up* (Tr. 301. 333).

481. *Derivation.* The origin of the modern comp. pass. can be distinctly traced. In Skr. the pass. is made by the suff. य. In Pr. this becomes ईअ or इअ (Vr. 7, 8. H. C. 3, 160), and in Gd. इय or ई or इत or अत or इत. Thus Skr. पठ्यते *it is read*, Pr. पढीअइ or पढिअतइ, whence P. पढीए or N. पढिये or Mw. पढीते or पढतै or S. पढिते. Again Skr. क्रियते *it is done*, P. कित्तइ (H. C. 1, 97) or करिअतइ (H. C. 4, 250) or करोअइ, whence H. H. कीते, S. किते, Mw. करोतै or करतै, O. M. करिते, P. करोए, N. करिये. In O. H. and M. H. (Bs. or Br.) the pass. forms पठि जाय्, करि जाय् are used. This shows that the old forms पढिते, करिते began to be looked upon as compounds of the past part. पठि, करि (= Pr. पठिअ, करिअ, Skr. पठित, कृत, see § 302) and the verb तै (contracted for जाय्, Pr. जाइ, Skr. याति) *it goes*. This misunderstanding, being once established, naturally led to the further step of using the ordinary past part. (in अल and यो or आ) in conjunction with the verb जा *to go* to form the pass.; thus पढितै became पठि जाय्, पढा or पढयो or पढल् जाय्. It is probable, however, that the old Skr. suff. य itself is a curtailment of the R. या (= Gd. जा) *to go*; so that the language has merely reverted to the point whence it started. It may also be observed, that there is a tendency in Pr. to shorten a final radical आ, which would facilitate the con-

fusion of the R. ग (= गा) with the suff. त्. Thus Pr. 'has गन्ति *they go* (H. C. 4, 388) for Skr. गन्ति; Pr. उयङ् *he rises* (H. C. 4, 17) from R. उत्या (= *उत्याति); Pr. यवङ् *he raises* (H. C. 4, 357) = Skr. स्थापयति; Pr. दङ् *he gives* (Wb. Spt. 59) from R. दा; etc.

482. Besides the comp. pass., made with गङ् (§ 479), E. H. possesses an other pass., the root of which is made by adding the suff. श्वा to the root of the act. verb. If the latter contains a long vowel, it is shortened, precisely as in the formation of the causal (see § 474). These pass. roots in श्वा are conjugated precisely as any other intrans. roots in श्वा. Thus act. R. पठ् *read*, pass. R. पठा *be read*, inf. पठाङ् *to be read*, just like inf. गङ् *to go* of the intr. R. ग *go*; again act. R. घुम् *turn*, pass. R. घुमा *be turned*, inf. घुमाङ् *to be turned*, etc. Though this pass. may be used in the same sense as the comp. pass., yet properly and generally it has a peculiar, viz. a potential, signification. Hence I shall call it the *potential passive*. Thus पठाला means *it can be read*, while पठल् गाला means *it is read*.

Exception. The R. खा *eat* makes its pot. pass. R. खिया *be eaten*.

Note: As the pot. pass. may have the sense of the ordinary pass., so the comp. pass. may have that of the pot. pass. Thus पठल् गाला may mean *it can be read*, and पठाला *it is read*.

483. *Affinities.* The pot. pass. also exists in M. and G. I think it probable that other Gds. also possess it, but it does not seem to have attracted the attention of grammarians. In M. it is formed by means of the suff. अय or अयव, and in G. by the suff. आ or अवा. The longer suff. अयव and अवा are used with monosyllabic roots and roots ending in ह्. Thus E. H. छोडाय् *it can be loosed*, G. छोडाय्, M. सोडवे; again E. H. कहाय् *it can be said*, G. केहेवाय्, M. कहववे. This pass. is called in the Man. 75 „the potential verb“ and in Ed. 54 „the first potential mood“, in Ed. 107 „the passive verb“ and in Ed. 51, d apparently „the deponent“. It is constructed in E. H. and G. with the instr. case of the agent, but in M. either with the act. (classically) or

the acc. (colloquially), see Man. 75, 128. note, where, however, the case is erroneously called the dative.

484. *Derivation.* A comparison of the suff. of the pot. pass. with those of the causals (§§ 474. 477) will at once show their identity. Thus the E. H. and G. pot. pass. suff. *आ* is identical with the B., O., H. H. and S. caus. suff. *आ*, and the G. pot. pass. suff. *आवा* with the H. H. double caus. suff. *आवा*; again the M. pass. pot. suff. *अव* and *अवव* are the same as the M. caus. suff. *अवि* and double caus. *अववि*, even as regards the shortening of the original *आ* of the suff. *आव* or *आवाव*. Again the pot. pass. suff. and the caus. suff. have precisely the same influence on the root; thus in E. H. the R. *खा eat* becomes *खिया* in the pass. and *खियाव्* in the caus. (see §§ 474, exc. 482, exc.). Lastly the longer pass. suff. *आवा* and *अवव* and the double caus. suff. *आवाव्* and *अववि* are used precisely in the same way; viz. they are added principally to monosyllabic roots. So far, then, there can be no question as to the identity of the forms of the pot. pass. and the two causals. But the sense and mode of construction of the pot. pass., also, prove that identity. In fact, it is merely a caus. with a peculiar reflexive sense. Thus E. H. caus. *मै पोथी पढाउलो* might be translated: *I caused (some one) to read the book*, or briefly, *I caused the book to be read*. Similarly the E. H. *पोथी पढायल्* is either *the book caused (some one) to read itself* or *the book caused itself to be read (by some one)*. It will be seen at once that, practically, this is the same as the pass. *the book was read*. It will also be noticed, that the agent who reads (*some one* or *by some one*) may be expressed either by the acc. or the act. case. Accordingly both cases may be used in M., *मत्ता* (acc.) or *माक्याने* (act.) *पोथी पढावली* *by me the book was read*, lit. *the book caused me to read itself* or *the book caused itself to be read by me*. In E. H. and G. the instr. only is employed; thus E. H. *मो से पोथी पढायल्* or G. *मारा हो पोथी पढायो*. This pass. is now commonly used in a potential sense, *by me the book could be read*; but that sense is not really inherent in the peculiar form of the verb,

but only attached to it conventionally. For even the ordinary comp. pass. may take that meaning; thus *मो से पोथी पढ़ल गयल* *by me the book could be read*. On the other hand, the pot. pass. may have the ordinary pass. sense; see § 482, note.

4. MOODS.

485. *Infinitive*. The infinitive is made by adding the suff. *अब्* or *इब्*, obl. *अबे* or *इबे* or *ऐ* to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 308—310. Thus *पढ़ब्* *to read* of R. *पढ़*; *पढ़बे से* or *पढ़े से* *by reading*; again *खाइब्* or *खाब्* *to eat* of R. *खा*; *खइबे* or *खैबे* or *खाबे* or *खाये से* *by eating*, etc.

Note: For affinities and derivation, see §§ 313. 314.

486. *Adjective participles*. The pres. part. is made by adding the suff. *अत्* c. g., and the past part. by adding the suff. *अल्* or *इल्* c. g. to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 298. 299. 302. 303. Thus *पढ़त्* c. g. *reading*, *पढ़ल्* c. g. *read*; *खत्* c. g. *eating*, *खाइल्* or *खायल्* c. g. *caten*, etc. The fut. part. is identical with the infinitive, see §§ 310. 485.

Note: For exceptions see § 304; and for affinities and derivation see §§ 300. 301. 305—307.

487. *Prayogas*. The past and fut. part. are used with a pass. sense in the pass. and the infin. respectively, but with an act. sense in the past and fut. tenses act. Thus E. H. *मै होउल तालो* *I am loosed*, *मै होउब् बाटो* *I am to be loosed*, but *घोरा के* (or *घोरा*) *मै होउलो* *I did loose the horse*, *घोरा के मै होउबो* *I shall loose the horse*, or *पोथी के* (or *पोथी*) *मै पढ़लो* *I did read the book*, *पं के मै पढ़बो* *I shall read the book*. The latter usage (with the part. in the act. voice and the subj. in the nom. case and the obj. in the acc.) is what I have called (§ 371) the *pass-act. construction*, or the *कर्तरि प्रयोग* of the native grammarians. It is peculiar to all E. Gds. Thus the above sentences are in B.: *आमि* (or *मुइ*) *होग ताइ*, but *घोग के* (or *घोगा*) *आमि होउल्लाम्* and *घं के आं होउबि*; *पोथी के आमि पढ़ल्लाम्* and *घं के आं पढ़बि*; in O. *मुहि होग ताइ*, but *घोग कु मुहि होउलि* (or *अम्मे होउल्लु*) and *घं कु मं होउबि*

(or *हो गिआ*); पोयी कु मुहि पढ़लि and प^० कु म^० पढ़लि. On the other hand, the W. and S. Gds. always use these participles in the pass. sense, and, in consequence, where they are employed to express the pret. ind. and pres. conj. (see § 509, 3) tenses act., they take the subj. in the act. case and the obj. in the nom., and agree with the latter in number and gender. This usage I call the *pass. constr.*; and it is the कर्मनि प्रयोग of the nat. gramm. Thus M. मी सोडिला जातो *I am loosed*, but घोडा मी^० सडिला *I did loose the horse* (lit. *the horse was loosed by me*) or पोयी मी^० वाचिली *I did read the book* (lit. *the book was read by me*), घोडा मी^० सोडावा *I may loose the horse* (lit. *the horse may be loosed by me*), or प^० मी^० वाचावी *I may read the book* (lit. *the book may be read by me*). The same in W. H. हो^० होइयो जावो, but घोडा मै^० ने होइयो, पोयी मै^० ने बच्चो; or in S. घाँऊं इडिओ घाँहियाँ^१), but घोडे मूँ इडिओ, पोयी मूँ पढ़िओ; or in H. II. मै^० होडा जाता हूँ, but घोडा मै^० ने होडा, पोयी मै^० ने पढ़ी. There are, however, a few verbs in M., which take the E. Gd. *pass.-act. constr.*; as पढपो^० to read, पावपो^० to obtain, पिपो^० to drink, बोलपो^० to speak, लेपो^० to take and others (see Man. 32); thus मी पोयी पढलो^० *I did read the book*, not मी^० पोयी पढली. — There is a third kind of constr. which is also confined to the W. and S. Gds. It is likewise a pass. constr., but differs from the ordinary one, by having the obj. in the acc. case, and the part. in the nom. sing. masc. or neut. It is, in fact, a sort of impersonal pass. constr., and is called by nat. gramm. the भावो प्रयोग. Thus in this constr. the above sentences would be: M. घोड्या ला मी^० सोडिले^० lit. *as to the horse, it was loosed by me*, पोयी ला मी^० वाचिले^० lit. *as to the book, it was read by me*; W. H. (Br.) घोडा कौ^० मै^० ने होइयो, पोयी कौ^० मै^० ने बच्चो; S. घोडे खे मूँ इडिओ, पोयिख खे मूँ पढ़िओ. — Lastly there is a fourth constr., which, I believe to be confined to the N. Gd. (N.). It is *pass.-act.*, but differs from

1) Here, the part. इडिओ is in the pass. voice, but in the pres., instead of the fut. tense, see § 313; but S. has also the old pass. घाँऊं इडिनाँ यो, see § 480.

that common in E. Gd. by having the subj. in the act. case, with which, however, the verb (i. e. past part.) agrees in number and gender. Thus the same sentences in N. are: घोड़े मै ले छोड़ियो lit. *as to me, I loosed the horse*, पोयो मै ले पढ़ियो lit. *as to me, I read the book*; or with a fem. subj. घोड़ी ह्वी ले छोड़ी lit. *as to the woman, she loosed the horse*.

488. *Adverbial participle.* This part. is the same as the obl. of the strong form of the adj. part., and ends, according to the tense (see § 486), in *अते*, *अले* (or *इले*), *अवे* (or *इवे*). The pres. adv. part. commonly takes the emphatic particle *ई*, which coalesces with its termination to *अतै*. In order to distinguish more clearly the resp. time, some noun or case-affix is often added; thus *समै* *time* after *अते*, *से* *from* after *अले*, *के* *to* or *बरे* *for* after *अवे*. Thus *पढ़ते* or *पढ़तै* or *पढ़ते समै* *on reading* or *during the time of reading*; *पढ़ले* or *पढ़ले से* *after reading* or *on condition of reading*; *पढ़वे* or *पढ़वे के* or *पढ़वे बरे* *for reading* or *for the purpose of reading* or *on the point of reading*.

Note: The pres. adv. part., as a rule, expresses *coincidence*; the past, *precedence* or *condition*; the fut., *imminence* or *object*. The distinction between the pres. and past, however, is not very strictly observed. — The past adv. part. and the conj. part. may be interchanged, as *पोयो पढ़ि आयल्* or *पोयो पढ़ले से आयल्* *he came, having read* or *from reading the book*. — Instead of *होते* *on being* *सते* is sometimes used.

489. *Affinities.* These adv. part., as a rule, exist in all Gds., and are used in the same manner, as in E. H. Their termin. are: in B. *इते*, *इले* (S. Ch. 148. 184. 185), O. *अते*, *इले* (Sn. 28), M. *अतै* (or emph. *अताना*, Man. 63. 64), H. H. *अते* (emph. *अते ही*), *ए*, *अवे* (Kl. 311, 2. 3. 309, d. e), P. *अदे*, *ए* (Ld. 79, 146. 78. 139), S. *अदे*, *ए* (Tr. 485. 487). See S. Ch., Kl. and Tr. for syntactical observations and examples. They apply equally to E. H.

490. *Conjunctive participle.* This part. is made by adding the suff. *ऐ* or *इ* to the root of the verb. It is, however, usually changed to *ए*, after a vowel, and dropped after a con-

sonant. In order to emphasise the part. the aff. के is commonly superadded. Thus पढे or पढि or पढ़ or पढे के or पढि के or पढ़ के *having read* from R. पढ़; खाइ or खाय् or खाइ के or खाय् के *having eaten*; होय् के etc. *having been* from Rs. जा, हो. The simple conj. part. without के is especially used in the formation of compound verbs (see § 537), as कहे देव् or कह् देव् *to inform*, खाय् लेव् *to eat up*, घाय् जाइव् *to come on*, etc.

491. *Affinities and Derivation.* The suff. of the conj. part. in Skr. are य or त्वा. The former is used for comp., the latter for simple roots; but in the Ved. Skr. य may be used for either kind. In Pr. (both in Sr. and Mg., H. C. 4, 271. 302) they become इञ् and उपा respectively. Both are preserved in Gd.; so, however, that इञ् is common to the E., W. and N. Gd., while उपा is confined to S. Gd. and, optionally, E. R. Thus B. has इया (S. Ch. 148), O. इ (Sn. 28), E. H. ऐ or इ or *quiescent*, W. H. इ or *quiescent* (Kl. 202, 378. 209, 394), P. इ or *quiescent* (Ld. 79), G. ई (Ed. 113), S. ई or ए (Tr. 280. 281), N. ई; but M. ऊन्, E. R. उने (Kl. 209, 394). Thus Skr. कृत्वा (or कर्त्तव्य) *having done*, Pr. Sr. करिञ् (H. C. 4, 272), E. H. करे or करि or कर, N. गरी, etc., or Pr. करिउपा, M. करन्न्, E. R. करन्ने. Or Skr. प्राप्य *having obtained*, Pr. पाविञ्, E. H. पाइ or पाय्, N. पाई, etc., or Pr. पाविउपा, M. पावून्, E. R. पावूने. I know no satisfactory explanation of the final ए of the E. R. form उने. Similar are the O. M. forms ओनि or ओनियौ (also उनि or उनियौ, see Man. 138. 139, as करोनियौ or करोनि *having done*), and the Mg. Pr. form दाणि (Vr. 11, 16, as करिदाणि; also Mđ. 12, 17) ¹). Analogous to the latter, there might have been a Pr. form *दूणि, from which rather than from the Mg. दाणि the modern M. and E. R. forms appear to be derived. Both Pr. forms दाणि and दूण (or उपा) are modifications of the Ved. Skr. and Pāli त्वान्, a by-form of the ordinary Skr. त्वा (see Wb. Bh. 435), which occurs in the

1) Mđ's sūtra seems to be, क्खो दाणिञ् स्यात् । पुञ्चिदाणि । पुञ्चि पुञ्चिञ् ॥ i. e., *having asked*; but both H. C. 4, 272. 302 and T. V. 3, 2. 10. 27 omit दाणि and replace it by दूण.

Pr. of the Bh. as त्राणि, just as Skr. त्वा becomes in Pr. त्रा (Wb. Bh. 435) or दुश्च (H. C. 4, 272). If त्वान्म् be (with Ls. 289) the acc. sg. of a base त्वान् (or त्वन्), the Pr. दाणि or Gd. झोनि, उने might be a loc. sg. for *त्राणे or *तूणे (cf. H. C. 3, 56); and the Gd. झोनियाँ might be an emphatic form of the same¹). — Of the Pr. form दुश्च (as in कदुश्च *having done*, गदुश्च *having gone*, H. C. 4, 271) no traces, I believe, have survived in Gd. — The aff. के is itself a contraction of the E. H. conj. part. क्य् *having done* of R. कर्. It also occurs in P. के (Ld. 24, 79), in Br. के or कै or कर् or कर् (Kl. 202); in E. R. it is curtailed to र् (for कर्); e. g., मार-र् *having beaten* for मार-कर्; खा-र् *having eaten* for खा-कर् (Kl. 209, 394). Mw. has the aff. ने for के; e. g., कर्-ने *having done* = Br. कर्-के (Kl. 209, 394). The two aff. are related to each other precisely as the G. gen. aff. नो is to the W. H. को or कौ (see § 377). In H. H. the aff. is reduplicated, कर्-के; e. g., मार-कर्-के *having beaten*; similarly E. R. reduplicates कने (Kl. 209, 394) and N. कन् (shortened for के-ने); e. g., N. गरीकन् *having done*, खाई-कन् *having eaten*, वसी-कन् *having sat*, etc.

492. *Nouns of agency.* This is made by adding the suff. अनिहार c. g. to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 315. 316. 318. Thus पठनिहार *a reader* from R. पठ्; खानिहार *eater* from R. खा, etc. According to circumstances, these nouns may have the sense of a pres. part. or a fut. part.; thus पठनिहार may mean *one who is reading* or *one who is going to read*.

Note 1: The masc. strong form in अनिहार is also used occasionally; likewise the W. H. suff. अनेवारा (for अनेवाला), fem. ०री; but the fem. strong form in अनिहारी only forms nouns, expressing an act; thus पठनेहारा *a (male) reader*, but पठनेहारी the act. of *reading* (not *female reader*), see § 319.

Note 2: For affinities and derivation see §§ 320. 321.

1) Ls. 400 supposes दाणि to have lost a final anuswāra (for *दाणिं) and to have changed the ञ् of *दाणि = त्राणि to इ.

SECOND CHAPTER. TENSES.

493. There are three tenses, the present, past and future, each of which may be either simple or periphrastic (see § 510). The indicative mood possesses all three; the conjunctive has only two, the pres. and past; the imperative has only one, the present. Every tense possesses two numbers, sing. and plur.; and three persons, first, second and third; and also, though with the exception of the pres. conj. and imper., two genders, masc. and fem.

494. Some of the tenses are formed from the root of the verb, others from the participles. From the root are formed the three pres. tenses of the ind., conj. and imp.; from the part., the past and future tenses, viz. the first and second preterite ind., the past conj. and the fut. ind. Tenses made from the root will be called *radical*; those made from the part., *participial*. A third class, made by adding an auxiliary verb to a participle, I shall call *periphrastic*.

1. RADICAL TENSES.

495. *Present conjunctive and imperative.* These are identical in every respect, and are made by adding to the root the subjoined suff., according to the number and person (but not gender) of the subj. In the 2. sing. the suff. may optionally be omitted. After roots in अ the forms of the suff. are slightly modified by coalescence with that letter,

	Sing.	Plur.		Sing.	Plur.
1. pers.	ओ	ई	after Rs. in अ	आवँ	आईँ
2. pers.	उ or quiesc. अ	अह् or अ		ओ or आ	आह् or आ
3. pers.	ऐ	ऐँ		आय्	आयँ

Note 1: The pres. conj. is occasionally used in the sense of the fut. indic.

Note 2: The 2. pl. ends throughout the conjugation either in अह् *ah* or अ *a*. The latter (अ), being the resultant of the drop-

ping of the final ह् of चह्, is always *sounded* (see § 24, exc.). It is important to observe this circumstance, as, in the future tense, it forms the only difference between the 1. pl. and the 2. pl., and affects the vowel combination. Thus पढब *parhab* we shall read, but पढब *parhaba* you will read; खाब *kháb* we shall eat, but खाब *khába* you will eat, or खाइब *kháib* we shall eat, but खाइब *khaiba* or खैब *khaiba* you will eat (see § 508). So पढ *parha* read you, but पढ *parh* read thou. Again पढैल *parhaila* you read, not पढैल् *parhail* (see § 500). — In Kellogg's Hindi Grammar (p. 201. 233—241) the forms of the 2. pl. are given, by mistake, as forms of the 2. sg. Colloquially the plur. is commonly used in the place of the sing. This practice, probably, has been the cause of the misapprehension.

496. *Affinities.* The E. H., I believe, is the only Gd. language, in which the pres. of the conj. and of the imper. are completely identical. In W. Gd. the two tenses are also alike, with the exception of the 2. sg. But in S. Gd., N. Gd. and F. Gd. (exc. E. H.) the differences are more numerous; viz. 2. and 3. sg. differ in B., 2. and 3. sg. and pl. in N., and 1., 2. and 3. sg. and 2. and 3. pl. in M. — The tense, which is *now* the pres. conj. in E. H., exists in all Gds., but in some of them it has slightly modified its original meaning. It was originally the same as the Skr. and Pr. pres. indic.; and this sense it has preserved in M., though it is now used only in a special case, viz. as a *historical present* or what practically amounts to a *habitual past* (see Man. 59, 3, e. g., तो बहेरु निघे *he sallies forth* = *he used to sally forth*); but in O. M. it is employed for the ordinary pres. indic. (Man. 138). Again in B., O. and G. it is both a pres. indic. and a pres. conj. (see S. Ch. 136. 142. Sn. 27. 32. Ed. 54). On the other hand, in E. H., W. H., P., S. and N. it is only a pres. conj. (see Tr. 284—287. Ld. 23, 74. 53)¹). As a natural

1) Even in these languages it may still be heard occasionally as a pres. ind., e. g., E. H. गुरु तोह् के बोलावै *the teacher calls you*; see also Tr. 287, note and Kl. 206. 212, 402. a; and in O. H. it is still the ordinary

consequence the W. and N. Gd. and E. H. form a new pres. indic. by adding to the old pres. some auxiliary verb (see §§ 500. 501). On the other hand, M. employs, for the purpose of expressing the pres. conj., the part. fut. (called *supine* in Man. 62, see §§ 313. 509, 3), ending in the sing. in *आवा* m., *आवी* f., *आवे* n., in the pl. *आवे* m., *आवा* f., *आवी* n. G. may do the same; there the termin. are *अवो* m., *अवी* f., *अवु* n. (called *second pres. of the second pot.* in Ed. 54, see § 509, 3)¹). — In all W. Gds. the pres. conj. (i. e., the old pres. ind.) may be used as a future. Such was the case in O. M. also (Man. 59, 3. note); but it is not so in modern M. In O. M. it was also used in the sense of the *habitual past* (Man. 59, 3. note), as it is in modern M. (see above); but of this usage there are traces even in Pr.; see Wb. Spt. 63; e. g., *तद्वा पा रमसि* *thou wast not wont to enjoy* (Spt. 91), or *तद्वा पा पोसि* *thou wast not wont to direct* (Spt. A, 38). — The following table shows the various Gd. termin. of this tense:

Present conjunctive or old pres. indic.

	M.	N.	B.	O.	E. H.	II. H.	Br.	Mw.	P.	G.	S.
1.	ए ³	उ, ए	इ	इ, अइ	ओ	ऊ	ओ	ऊ, उ	आ	उ	आ
2.	अस्, एस् ¹	इस्, ए ¹	इस् ¹	उ ¹	उ, अ॥	ए ¹	ऐ ¹	ए ¹	ए ¹	ए ¹	ऐ, ई ²
3.	ए ⁴	ए ¹⁰	ए ⁷	अइ, ए ⁷	ऐ	ए	ऐ	ए	ए	ए	ए
4.	ऊ	ओ, ए	इ	ऊ, इ	ई	ए	ऐ	आ	ये	ये	ऊ
5.	आ ⁵	ओ, ए	अ	अ	अइ, अ	ओ	ओ	ओ	ओ	ओ	ओ
6.	अत् ⁶	अन्, ए ⁸	एन् ⁸	अंति ⁹	ऐ	ए	ऐ	ऐ	अपा	ए.	अनि

¹ In the pres. imper.: 1) अ quiesc.; 2) इ or उ; 3) ऊ; 4) ओ or उ; 5) आ; 6) ओत् or उत्; 7) उ (or B. उक); 8) अन्; 9) अंत् or अंत; 10) ओस्.

pres. ind. (Kl. 221, 224). — In the various Gd. grammars this tense is called by a great variety of names; thus *second potential* or *optative* by Ed. 54, *potential* by Tr. 284, *indefinite future* of the pot. mood by Ld. 53, *contingent future* by Kl. 158. 163, *prospective conditional* by Eth. 73; but *pres. subjunctive* by S. Ch. 186. Sn. 32.

1) With trans. verbs the *karmani prayoga* must be used (see § 487), because this part. is properly pass.; but with intrans. verbs the *kartari prayoga*; in the latter case, M. adds in the 2. pers. the suff. स् sg. and त् pl., but the first and third pers. are alike. Thus M. तू सुखावास् *thou*

497. *Derivation.* 1) The Gd. pres. conj. and pres. imp. are the same as the Skr. pres. indic. and pres. imp. respectively. But in the same measure as the Skr. pres. indic. assumed a conj. sense in Gd., it also became capable of doing duty for the pres. imp. and was, consequently, confounded with it; but so, that, as a rule, the pres. conj. superseded the pres. imper., while in the 2. pers. the imp. took the place of the conj. It will be observed that M., in which the pres. indic. has fully preserved its original indic. sense, possesses both tenses (pres. ind. and pres. imp.) in a complete form, and in B. and O., where its indic. sense is predominant, the greater part of the two senses is preserved; while in W. Gd. and E. H., where its sense is almost exclusively conj., the amalgamation of the two tenses is more or less complete. This amalgamation had already begun in Pr. 1). Thus in the Ap. Pr. the suff. of the 1. sg. उं, 2. sg. हि and, possibly, 2. pl. हु of the imper. are optionally, though commonly, substituted for the suff. मि of the 1. sg., सि 2. sg. and ह 2. pl. pres. indic. (H. C. 4, 383. 384. 385; e. g., Ap. कटुं or कटुमि *I cut* = Skr. कर्तव्यामि, E. II. काटो" or कटो"; Ap. हसहि or हससि *thou weapest* = ved. Skr. हृदसि; Ap. इच्छुं or इच्छह *you wish* = Skr. इच्छ्य). On the other hand, even in the Mh. Pr. the suff. मो and ह of the 1st and 2nd pl. pres. ind. are also used for the imper. and conj. (H. C. 3, 176; e. g., M. हसह *you laugh* or *you may laugh* = Skr. हस्य or हसत or हसेत; Mh. हसामो *we laugh* or *we may laugh* = Skr. हसामः or हसाम or हसेम). — 2) *Pres. conj.* (= old pres. ind.): a) The termin. of the 1. sg. is in Skr. अमि, Pr. अमि or अमि (H. C. 3, 141. 154. Vr. 7, 3. 30), Ap. Pr. अमि or अडं (H. C. 4, 385).

mayest get loose, but त्वाँ घोडा सोडावा *thou mayest loose the horse* (lit. *by thee the horse may be loosed*); again मी or तो सुडावा *I or he may get loose*.

1) Analogous is the occasional use in Pr. of the pres. ind. as a (pret.) conj., of which Wb. Spt. 62. 82 gives a few examples; thus Spt. 326 नइ पा होंति *if they were not* (= Skr. यदि न भवन्ति). The Gds. do not use the old pres. ind. in this manner, but express the pret. conj. by means of the part. pres. (see §§ 506. 507); thus E. H. जो न होतै".

The former is preserved in the O. अइ, M. ऐ, B. इ; e. g., Skr. पठामि *I read*, Pr. पठामि or पठमि, O. पठइ, M. पहे, B. and O. पठि. The latter becomes in O. H. अउ, Br. ओ, E. H. ओ, H. H. ऊ, Mw. ऊ or उ, G. उ, N. उ; thus Ap. Pr. पठउं *I read*, O. H. पठउं, Br. पओ, E. H. पओ, H. H. and Mw. पऊ, G. पऊ, N. पऊ. The S. and P. ओ, as पओ, must be a modification either of अउ = ओ or अइ = ऐ. The Psh. and Pers. have अम्. — b) The term. of the 2. sg. is in Skr. असि, Pr. असि (H. C. 3, 140. Vr. 7, 2), Ap. Pr. असि or अहि (H. C. 4, 384). The former is preserved in the O. H. असि or (by transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, see § 148, note) ऐस, M. अस् or एस्, B. and N. (by shortening of ए) इस्; thus Skr. पठसि *thou readest*, Pr. पठसि, O. H. पठसि or पठेस्, M. पठस् or पठेस्, B. and N. पठिस्. The latter becomes in O. H. अहि (still used in Br., see Kl. 202, 380) or अइ, W. H. ऐ, H. H. and G. ए; also P. ऐ and S. ऐ or ई, but with an anomalous anunāsika; thus Ap. Pr. पठहि, O. H. पठहि or पठइ, W. H. पहे, H. H. and G. पहे, P. पहे, S. पहे or पओ. The Psh. has ए and Pers. ई. As to the E. H. and O. उ, O. H. उ or सु (Kl. 218, e. f), see Nro. 3, h. — c) The term. of the 3. sg. is in Skr. अति, Pr. अइ (H. C. 3, 139. Vr. 7, 1), which is preserved in the O. H. अइ (also अहि with anomalous ह्), O. अइ, but generally contracted to ऐ in E. H. and W. H. or ए in the rest; thus Skr. पठति *he reads*, Pr. पठइ, O. H. पठइ, O. पठइ or पठे, E. H. and W. H. पहे, B., M., N., H. H., G., P., S. पहे. The Psh. has ई and the Pers. अद्. — d) The term. of the 1. pl. is in Skr. आमः, in Pr. आमो or आमु or आम or अमो or अमु or अम (H. C. 3, 144. 155. Vr. 7, 4. 31) or इमो or इमु or इम (H. C. 3, 155. Vr. 7, 31), Ap. Pr. इमु etc. or अहुं (H. C. 4, 386). The form अहुं, probably, contains an euph. ह् for अउ for Pr. अमु (see § 127, note), perhaps to distinguish it from the 1. sg. अउ (for Pr. 1. sg. imper. अमु, see Nro. 3, g) and to assimilate it to the 1. pl. अहि¹). It becomes in N. ओ, M. and

1) Compare also the O. H. 3. sg. अहि beside अइ (Nro. 2, c). — Cw. XXIX and Ls. 385 give optional 1. pl. termin. अम्हो, अम्ह (e. g., हसम्हो, हसम्ह *we laugh*). These, if correct, would account for the ह् in the Ap. अहुं; but I know no authority for them; H. C. 3, 147. Vr. 7, 7 give only म्हो,

S. उँ, O. उँ or उ; thus Skr. पठामः *we read*, Pr. पठामो or पठामु or पठम्, Ap. Pr. पठहुँ, N. पठोँ, M. and S. पठूँ, O. पठूँ or पठु. The Pr. form इम् or इम् contracts in E. H. to ईँ (see § 127), B. and O. (shortened) इ; thus Pr. पठिम् or पठिम, E. H. पठेँ. The intermediate form would be *इञ्, which may either contract to ईँ (like M. पापोँ *water*, for Pr. पाणिञ्, § 83, exc.) or drop final ञ (like E. H. करि *having done*, for Pr. करिञ्, § 491); hence E. H. पठोँ, O. पठि. But apparently at an early period, it also became transposed to अइँ and modified to अहिँ, in assimilation, probably, to the 3. pl. अहिँ. Both अइँ and अहिँ occur in O. H. and are contracted to ऐँ in Br. and एँ in H. II.; thus O. H. पठइँ or पठहिँ, Br. पठैँ, H. H. पठेँ. In the strange G. and S. form ये, there seems to be a reminiscence of the original intermediate form *इञ्; thus G. and S. पठये, perhaps for *पठिञ् or *पठिअइँ. The Mw. अँ is a modification of the N. ओँ or the Br. ऐँ, similarly as in the case of the P. and S. 1. sg. अँ (see Nro. 3, a). The Psh. has उ, the Pers. इम्. — e) The term. of the 2. pl. is in Skr. अय, in Pr. अह (H. C. 3, 143. Vr. 7, 4) or अहं (with euph. anusvāra, see H. C. 1, 27. Ls. 336), in Ap. Pr. अह or अहु (H. C. 4, 384). The former is only preserved in E. H. अह or अ, B. and O. अ, and M. अँ (for अहं); thus Skr. पठय *you read*, Pr. पठह or पठहं, E. H. पठहं, B. and O. पठ, M. पठँ. The latter, I am inclined to explain as identical with the Skr. अयः of the 2. dual; it would regularly become in Pr. *अहो or अहु¹). In O. H. it becomes अहु or अउ, in Br. and N. ओ, in the rest ओ; thus Ap. Pr. पठहु, O. H. पठहु or पठउ, Br. and N. पठो, E. H., H. H., Mw., P., G., S. पठो. The Psh. has अइँ, the Pers. ईदू; the latter is represented by the Pr. इत्य (H. C. 3, 143 as हसित्य *you laugh*) which, however, has left no trace in Gd. — f) The term. of the 3. pl. is in Skr. अन्ति, in Pr. अंति (H. C. 3, 142. Vr. 7, 4), in Ap. Pr. अंति or अहिँ (H. C.

ह for the Skr. स्म *we are*, where ह is perfectly regular for स्म by, H. C. 2, 74. Vr. 3, 32.

1) Just as 1. pl. Pr. ग्रामो or ग्रामु for Skr. ग्रामः; see also Nro. 3, 1; Ls. 468 identifies it with the Skr. ध्वम् of the ātman. 2. pl. imper., but this would have changed to Pr. ह, as felt by himself, p. 336.

4, 382). The former is only preserved in O. अंति and M. अन् (see § 146, note); thus Skr. पठन्ति *they read*, Pr. पठेति, O. पठेति, M. पठन्. The latter becomes in O. H. अहिँ or अइँ, E. H. and Br. ऐँ, H. H. ऐँ, also Mw. ऐ and G. ए with loss of *anunásika*; thus Ap. Pr. पठहिँ, O. H. पठहिँ or पठइँ, E. H. and Br. पठेँ, H. H. पठेँ, Mw. पठे, G. पठे. The origin of the Ap. form अहिँ is disclosed by the O. H. termin. अन्हि or एन्हि (for *इअन्हि) of the pret. tense (see § 503). It appears that अंति was changed to अंदि, then to अन्ति and finally to अन्हि (see § 161). The O. H. अन्हि is preserved in the S. अनि, B. एन् (with transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, § 148, note), P. अण्, N. अन्. Thus S. पठनि, B. पठेन्, P. पठण्, N. पठन्. The Psh. has ईँ and the Pers. अद् (softened for अन्). — 3) *Pres. imper.*: g) The term. of the 1. sg. is in Skr. अनि, which, however, is a peculiar suff. and does not exist in Pr. The latter has the regular suff. अणु or अनु (H. C. 3, 173. Vr. 7, 18); in the Ap. Pr. it becomes अउँ (see § 127)¹) and becomes a suff. of the pres. conj. (or indic., H. C. 4, 385, see § 497, 2, a). In M. it contracts to उँ, but remains a suff. of the 1. sg. imper.; while in E. H. it contracts to ओँ and passes to the pres. conj., and so in all W. Gds. and in N. Gd. On the other hand, B. and O. have lost it, and use the suff. इ of the pres. conj. instead. Thus (Skr. पठानि), Pr. पठाम् or पठन् *let me read*, Ap. Pr. पठउँ *I may read or I read*, M. पठूँ *let me read*, E. H. पठोँ *I may read or I read*, etc. — h) The term. of the 2. sg. is in Skr. अहि (suff. हि) or अ; Pr. has preserved the regular termin. अणु besides अहि and अ (H. C. 3, 173. 174. 175. Vr. 7, 18), and the Ap. Pr. has, besides अहि, also ए or इ or उ (H. C. 4, 387. K. I. 62 in Ls. 453). The term. अणु must have existed in the Ap. Pr.; for it is still found occasionally in O. H., both in the sense of the imper. and the pres. conj. (see Kl. 218, f. 220, 1). Similarly the term. अहि is used also for the pres. indic. in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 383) and for the pres. conj. in W. Gd. (see

1) I prefer this explanation of the origin of the Ap. term. अउँ to that previously given in § 122, note.

§ 497, 2, b), but in the O. H. is still occurs both for the imper. and the pres. conj. (Kl. 204). The Ap. termin. ए is a contraction of अय (of the Xth class or causal imper.) and represents the Skr. and Pr. term. अ, while the Ap. term. इ is a curtailment of ए, and the term. उ perhaps a corruption of the अ. This is clearly shown by the S., which has preserved both इ and उ, and uses the former for trans. verbs (which correspond to the old caus. and Xth class verbs, see §§ 472. 473), while it adds the latter to intrans. verbs (Tr. 251). The term. उ is preserved also in O. H. (see Kl. 218, e. 220, 1), E. H. and O., but has assumed also the sense of the pres. conj.; while throughout Gd. (exc. S. and optionally O. H. and E. H.) it becomes *quiescent* (i. e. अ qu.) when used in its proper sense of the imper. Thus Pr. पठसु *read thou*, but O. H. पठसु *read thou or thou mayest read*; or Pr. पठहि *read thou*, Ap. Pr. पठहि *read thou or thou readest*, O. H. पठहि *read thou or thou mayest read or thou readest*; or Skr. पठ *read thou*, Pr. पठ, Ap. पठ, O. H. and E. H. पठ *read thou and thou mayest read*, O. पठ *thou mayest read*, E. H. पठ *read thou or thou mayest read*, all other Gds. (exc. S.) पठ *read thou*. Again Pr. पठे (cf. H. C. 3, 158) *read thou*, Ap. पठे or पठि, S. पठि. — i) The term. of the 3. sg. is in Skr. अतु, in Pr. अउ (H. C. 3, 173. Vr. 7, 18) and becomes in M. ओ or उ, O. उ, B. उ-क्, N. ओ-स् (or after vowels व-स्). The additions, क् in B. and स् in N., are pleon. suff. of obscure meaning and origin; perhaps they are enclitic pronouns, viz. indef. के or 3. pers. से (see § 503). Thus पठतु *let him read*, Pr. पठउ, M. पठो or पठ, O. पठ, B. पठक्, N. पठोस् (or जावस् *let him go*). — k) The termin. of the 1. pl. is in Skr. अम; but Pr. substitutes the termin. अमो or अमो (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20) or अमु and Ap. Pr. अहुं (K. I. 64, in Ls. 453) of the pres. indic. The same is also done in all Gds.; thus (Skr. पढाम), Pr. पढमो or पढमु *let us read*, Ap. पढहुं, N. पढौ, M. पढू, etc., see § 497, 2, d. — l) The termin. of the 2. pl. is in Skr. अत; but Pr. substitutes the termin. अह (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20) of the pres. indic. The Ap. Pr. has अउ (K. I. 63, in Ls. 453) which is

the same as ऋ of the pres. indic. (see § 497, 2, e), but has dropped *इ*¹). It occurs also in all W. Gds., and after vowels in N.; while the Pr. *ह* is preserved in the E. Gds. and M., and also, after consonants, in N. Thus (Skr. पठत), Pr. पठह *read you*, E. H. पठह् or पठ (*parha*), B., O. and N. पठ, M. पठा (for *पठथ = पठह); but Ap. पठउ, Br. पठौ, Mw., G., P., S. पठो, in fact identical with the 2. pl. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2, e). — m) The term. of the 3. pl. is in Skr. अन्तु, Pr. अंतु (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20), it is preserved in the O. अंतु or उत् (by transfer of उ into the preceding syllable, § 148, note), M. ओत् or उत्, B. and N. उन्. Thus Skr. पठन्तु *let them read*, Pr. पठंतु, O. पठंतु or पठुत, M. पठोत् or पठूत्, B. and N. पठुन्. The change of उत् to उन् is analogous to that of अत् to अन् (see § 497, 2, f). The other Gds. substitute the 3. pl. of the pres. conj. — 4) As regards the contracted E. H. terminations, they will be understood from the following examples: Skr. खादति *he eats*, Pr. खाद्यद् or खाद् (H. C. 4, 228), E. H. खाद्य्; Skr. खादामि *I eat*, Pr. खाद्यमि or खामि, Ap. Pr. खाउं, E. H. खाव्, etc.

Note: It may be observed, that B. uses the termin. of the 3: pl. for the 2. pl. in respectful address: thus pres. B. पठेन् *you read* (lit. *they read*), pret. पठिलेन् *you read* or पठियाहेन् *you have read*, पठियाहिलेन् *you had read*, fut. पठिषेन् *you will read*, etc. In M. this is always done in the 2. pl. of the pres. conj. (see § 509, 3), the termin. of which अवेत् m., अख्यात् f., अवीत् n. really belong to the 3. pl. See also § 501, footnote on p. 342.

498. The pres. imper. may optionally add the following suff. in the 2. person.; viz., sing. इहे and plur. इह; e. g., पठिहे *read thou*, पठिह् *read you*. This is a respectful form of the imper., implying request or prayer rather than command, and may be called a *precativ*e. Sometimes it is used in the sense of a simple future.

499. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. are identical with the corresponding suff. of the old Skr. and Pr. future. The use of the fut. to express the imper. is easily intelligible.

1) Ls. reads उ, which is probably a false reading for उ or हु.

The corresponding Skr. termin. are: sg. इष्यसि, pl. इष्यथ, in the Ap. Pr. sg. इहहि and pl. इहह or इहहु, in E. H. sg. इहे (for *इहइ = इहह), pl. इह (for *इहह); in O. S., and occasionally M. S., pl. इहो (for *इहुउ); e. g., कल्लिहो *seize ye* (Tr. 266). — The corresponding suff. in W. H. are: sg. इये and pl. इयो; that is, the medial ह् is elided, and the hiatus filled up by the connecting semivowel य्. P. has sg. ई, pl. ईओ (Ld. 44); B. has pl. इओ (S. Ch. 147); and S. has sg. इति or एति or इता or इताइ, pl. इतो or एतो or इताउ or इताह (Tr. 266. 267); G. sg. अते, pl. अतो; Mw. sg. अतै or ईतै or अत्ये, pl. अतो or ईतो or अत्यो (Kl. 211. 212); Br. sg. इये or इयै or ईये or इतै or इतै, pl. इयो or इयो or ईयो or इतो or इतो (Kl. 204). I am inclined to think, that the W. Gd. forms are really passive, but used actively. Thus (Skr. पठ्यसे), Ap. Pr. पठोअहि or पठित्तहि or पठेत्तहि (H. C. 3, 175), Br. पठोयै or पठियै, P. पठो, or Mw. पठोतै, S. पठिते or पठेते, G. पठते; plur. (Skr. पठ्यध्वे), A. Pr. पठोअहु or पठित्तहु, Br. पठोयौ, P. पठोओ, Mw. पठोतो, S. पठितो or पठेतो. The increment इञ्ज or इञ्जा or एञ्ज or एञ्जा is found also in Pr. All verbs in Pr. may use it in the 2. pers. of the imper. (H. C. 3, 175), while the verb हो (Skr. भू) *to be* and others ending in a vowel (H. C. 3, 178. K. I. 315, in Ls. 357) may adopt it in any tense. This shows, I think, that these forms cannot well be identified with the single Skr. precative (or benedictive) tense (as Ls. 357)¹), but constitute a regularly conjugated passive verb which, however, has assumed an active sense (see § 348). Thus *pres. tense*, Pr. होइ or होञ्जइ *he is* (H. C. 3, 178) = Skr. भवति or (pass.) भूयते. There is also a longer form होञ्जाइ, where the tendency of the pass. suff. य् to revert to its original radical state वा (which is fully developped in the Gd. pass., see § 481) already shows itself; for Pr. होञ्जाइ is, as it were, a compound of भू + याति lit. *he is going to be*; compare the real H. H. compound हो जाए *he becomes*, E. H. होयू जाय. Again in the *imper.*, Pr. होउ or होञ्जउ *let him be* = Skr. भवतु or

1) It is probable, however, that the Skr. pass. and prec. are formed on the same principle, by compounding the auxil. verb वा *to go* with the root; e. g., 3. sg. भूयात् *may he be* = R. भू and 2nd aorist यात्.

(pass.) भूयताँ (lit. *भूयतु, for the Pr. prefers the parasm. suff., see Ls. 333); also Pr. होन्ताउ (H. C. 3, 178) = *भू + यातु. Again in the *ful.*, Pr. होहिस् or होन्तहिस् *thou wilt be* = Skr. भविष्यसि or (pass.) भविष्यसे (lit. *भूयस्यसे, for Pr. incorporates the pass. suff. य, see § 346); also Pr. होन्ताहिस् (H. C. 3, 178) = *भू + यास्यसि. Again in the *imper.*, Pr. ह्यसु or ह्येन्तसु *laugh thou* (H. C. 3, 175) = Skr. हस or (pass.) हस्यस्व; also Pr. ह्येन्तहि or contr. ह्येन्ते (H. C. 3, 175), whence S. ह्येन्ति or ह्यन्ति. S. has also a longer form ह्येन्ताइ or ह्यन्ताइ lit. = *हस् + गहि. Similarly S. pl. ह्येन्तो or ह्यन्तो *laugh ye* presuppose a Ap. Pr. (not mentioned by H. C.) ह्येन्तहु. In Pr. all the personal suff. may be dropped, and that, in all tenses alike; thus leaving the mere increment इन्त or एन्त as a universal termination; and this curtailed form may be used with all roots, whether ending in a vowel or consonant; thus Pr. होन्त or होन्ता may mean: *he is* or *he may be* or *let him be* or *he was* or *he has been* or *he will be*, etc.; similarly पढेन्त or पढेन्त may mean: *he reads*, *he will read*, or *let him read*, etc. (H. C. 3, 177). Of this usage, however, I believe, there is no trace in Gd.

500. *Present indicative.* This tense is made by adding the following suff. to the root of the verb according to the gender, number and person of the subj.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. ऐलो" (or ऐल्यो") ऐल्यू	ईला	ईला	ईला
2. ऐले or ऐलेस्	ऐली or ऐलिस	ऐल or ऐलह (or ऐल्यह)	ऐल्यू
3. ऐला	ऐले	ऐले" or ऐलेन्	ऐली" or ऐलिन्

Optionally the initial ऐ may be changed to अ (§ 26); thus masc. अलो", fem. अल्यू, etc.; but 1. pl. only ईला. After roots in आ or ए and the R. हो, the initial ऐ or अ (but not ई) is dropped. Thus 1. sg. masc. लो", fem. ल्यू, etc.; but 1. pl. always ईला.

501. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) It has been stated in §§ 496. 497 that the old pres. indic. has been changed into the pres. conj. in E. H., N. and the W. Gds. Accordingly these languages (exc. P. see Nro. 2, p. 343) form a new pres. indic. by adding to the old tense some auxil. verb, viz. in Bh. लो", Mth.

हो, N. हूँ, Br. होँ or हूँ (Kl. 206, a), Mw. हूँ or हूँ (Kl. 212, 402), G. हूँ (Ed. 54), S. हो (Tr. 293). The Mth., N., Br., Mw. and G. forms हो, हूँ or हूँ, हूँ or होँ are those of the pres. tense of the auxil. verb *to be* (see § 514, 4. 5); but while Br., Mw. and G. simply add them to the unchanged termin. of the pres. conj., Mth. and N. first reduce the latter to the uniform type ऐ and अ respectively. Thus Br. करौँ होँ or करँ हूँ, Mw. करँ हूँ or करँ हूँ, G. करँ हूँ, but Mth. करै हो, N. गर हूँ or गर हूँ *I do*; Br. करै है, Mw. करै है or करै है, G. करे है, Mth. करै है, N. गर इस *thou doest*, etc. The S. form हो is the past part. of the auxil. verb चिखण *to be* (contr. for चिखो, Tr. 305, see § 514, 6), and is simply added to the pers. termin. of the pres. conj., but agrees in gender and number with the subj.; thus S. masc. करिखाँ हो *I do*, fem. करिखाँ हो, pl. masc. करिखँ या *we do*, fem. करिखँ चिखँ, etc. The E. H. form लो is the 2nd pret. of the auxil. verb आव् *to come*, curtailed from ऐलो (see § 509, 4). It is conjugated regularly (see § 504), with the exception of the 3. sg. and 1. pl., where it has ला for *ल and *लो (i. e., 3. sg. ऐल् or आयल्, 1. pl. ऐली); and the pers. termin. of the pres. conj., to which it is added, are not the ordinary ones but a uniform type in ऐ (as in Mth.) or in अ (as in N.), with the exception of the 1. pl. which preserves its regular term. ई¹). It may be observed, that in Gw. the forms, sg. लो, pl. ला, are used as an auxil. verb, in the sense of *he is, they are*, etc., by the side of the ordinary W. H. है, है, इ, etc. (Kl. 198, 200); e. g., Gw. कोई लो or कोई इ or कोई है or कोई है

1) The uniform ऐ-type can easily be explained. In Br. the 2. and 3. sg. pres. conj. ends in ऐ, the 1. pl. in ऐँ. In O., the 1. sg. ends in अई which would easily contract to ऐ. Lastly in Br. the 3. pl. एन् is also used in the 2. pl. (see S. Ch. 142 and § 497, note; e. g., करेन् *they do* and *you do*); this is sometimes also done in Bs. (e. g., अहेँ or अहेन् *they are* or *you are*; but the proper 2. pl. अहइ or अह or अहौ is also used); similarly the E. H. 3. pl. ऐँ would intrude into the 2. pl. Final anunasika is dropped. According to these analogies every person of the E. H. pres. conj. might end in ऐ. The अ-type of the N. is but a shorter form of the ऐ-type (see § 26).

is there any one? In E. H. the forms of the pres. indic. are sometimes used in the sense of a future indic.; e. g., E. H. माई आवैले तब खाईला i. e. *when mother comes, then we shall eat*. Now it will be shown in § 509, 4, that the fut. indic. is made precisely in the same way (by adding the auxil. part. ल *come* to the pres. conj.) in Mw., M. and N.; and it may be observed, that in the Br. and P. their fut. indic., which is made in an analogous way by adding the auxil. part. ग *gone* to the pres. conj. (§ 509, 5), is also used as a pres. indic. in the case of the substant. verb *to be*; thus compare Br. and P. है or हैगा (हैगो) masc. *he is*, fem. है or हैगी with Br. होयगो, H. H. होग, P. होवेगा masc., ोगी fem. *he or she will be*; again Br. है or हैगे masc. *we are*, fem. है or हैगी, P. masc. हों or होंगे, fem. हों or होंगी with Br. होयगे, H. H. होगे, P. होवोंगे masc. *we shall be*, fem. Br. ोगी, H. H. ोगी, P. ोगी, etc. Again the presence of a long vowel in the antepenultimate, as E. H. सूतैलो *I sleep* (of R. सूत्), proves the composite character of the forms of the pres. indic. (viz. सूतै + लो); for otherwise, if they were single words, such a vowel would be shortened by the rule of § 25. Lastly these composite forms naturally yield the sense of a pres. indic. Thus सूतैलो which means lit. *I have come (that) I may sleep* or *I have come to sleep*, may easily pass into *I am sleeping* or *I sleep*. Literally these forms express, that the action is the *present result* of preceding events; e. g., „I have come to be happy“ is equal to „I am happy“ now. — 2) The H. H. and P. and, optionally, the Bs., Br. are peculiar in adding the auxil. verb हूँ, हौँ, अहेउँ, होँ resp., not to the old pres. tense, but to the pres. part. in ता, दा, त्, तु resp. Thus sing. Bs. कर्त्तु अहेउँ masc., ोती अ° fem. (Kl. 241), Br. कर्त्तु हूँ or ोती हौँ m., ोति or ोती हूँ or हौँ f. (Kl. 202, a. 204, 283), P. कर्दा हौँ m., ोदी हौँ f. (Ld. 29. 37. 46), H. H. कर्ता हूँ m., ोती हूँ f. *I do*; plur. Bs. कर्त्तु अही m., ोति अही f., Br. कर्त्तु है or ते है m., ोति or ोती है f., P. कर्दे हौँ m., ोदी हौँ f., H. H. कर्ते है m., ोती है f. *we do*, etc. Sometimes the auxil. verb is omitted; but in that case, the forms are properly those of

the pret. conj. — 3) In M. the old pres. indic. has assumed the sense of a *habitual past* (§ 496). Hence it forms a new pres. indic. by suffixing the ordinary personal termin. to the pres. part. in अत् (Man. 69. 72), in the same way as in the E. H. pret. conj. (§ 506). Thus M. करितो^m, करित्ये^f, करितेⁿ. *I do*; करितोस्^m, करितोस्^f, करितेस्ⁿ. *thou doest*, etc. — 4) In B., O. and optionally in G., the old pres. indic. having retained its original indic. sense (§ 496), is still used as such (S. Ch. 142. Sn. 27. Ed. 54). Thus B. करि, O. करइ, G. कहँ *I do*; B. करिस्, O. कह, G. करे *thou doest*, etc. — 5) I add a comparative table of the terminations:

Singular.

	B.	O.	E. H.	Mth.	Br.	Mw.	G.
1.	इ	अइ	एँ लो	ऐ की	ओ हौ	ऊँ हूँ, ऊँ हूँ	उँ, उँ हूँ
2.	इस्	उ	एँ लेस्	ऐ के	ऐ हे	ऐ हे, ऐ के	ए, ए के
3.	ए	अइ	एँ ला	ऐ अकि	ऐ हे	ऐ हे, ऐ के	ए, ए के
	N.	S.	M.	Bs.	Br.	H. H.	P.
1.	अहुँ, अहुँ	ओँ थो	अतो	अत् अहेउँ	अत् हुँ ¹⁾	अता हूँ	अदा हाँ
2.	अ इत्	एँ थो	अतोस्	अत् अहेस्	अत् है	अता है	अदा है
3.	अ इ	ए थो	अतो	अत् अहे	अत् है	अता है	अदा है

Plural.

	B.	O.	E. H.	Mth.	Br.	Mw.	G.
1.	इ	उँ	ई ला	ऐ की	ऐँ है	ओँ हाँ, ओँ हाँ	ये, ये हूँये
2.	अ	अ	एँ लइ	ऐ की	ओ हौ	ओ हौ, ओ हौ	ओ, ओ हौ
3.	एन्	अंति	एँ लेन्	ऐ अयि	ऐँ है	ऐ है, ऐ के	ए, ए के
	N.	S.	M.	Bs.	Br.	H. H.	P.
1.	अ हूँ ²⁾	ऊँ था	अतो	अत् अही	अत् है	अते है	अदे हाँ
2.	अ हौ	ओ था	अता	अत् अहइ ³⁾	अत् हौ	अते हौ	अदे हौ
3.	अ इन्	अनि था	अतात्	अत् अहेन् ³⁾	अत् है	अते है	अदे इन्

In the fem., S. changes थो and था to थी and थिऊँ, Br. अत् to अति, H. H. अता and अते to अती, P. अदा and अदे to अदी and अदीअँ; M. sg. 1. अये^m or अते^m, 2. अयेस् or अतेस् or अतोस्, 3. अती

1) Or, masc. अतौ हौ, fem. अती हौ, etc.

2) Or, अ हूँ.

3) Or, 2. अत् अही, 3. अत् अहे.

or अत्ये or अते; pl. fem. like masc. — In the neut., M. has sg. 1. अते, 2. अतेस्, 3. अते; pl. neut. like masc.

2. PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

502. *First preterite indicative.* A past tense indic., which I shall call the *first preterite* to distinguish it from the other form of the past indic. (§ 504), is made by modifying the termination of the past part. in इश्च or इ (see § 302) in the following manner according to the number and person (but not the gender) of the subj.

Sing. 1. यो, 2. इस्, 3. इस्. Plur. 1. आ, 2. यो, 3. इन्.

There is no difference in meaning between the first and second preterites; they only differ in usage; the first pret. is said to be confined to the language of towns (*nāgarī bhāshā*).

Exception. As to some verbs which use an irregular past part. see § 304. E. g., कर्त्तु to do uses the forms किय (for किइश्च) in the 1. sg. and 1. 2. pl., and किहि in the 2. 3. sg. and 3. pl.; thus sing. 1. कियौ, 2. किहिस्, 3. किहिस्; plur. 1. किया, 2. कियो, 3. किहिन्. Like कर्त्तु are conjugated धर्त्तु to place, देव् to give, लेव् to take.

503. *Affinities and Derivation.* This tense exists in all Gds., exc. M.; but it is formed in a variety of ways. — 1) In O. H., E. H. and N. it is made by adding the suff. of the pres. conj. to the weak past participial form in इश्च or इ (§ 302). These suff. (after subtracting the initial अ of the terminations, see § 497) are: 1. sg. उँ or ई (as in O. H. कर्त्तुँ, O. कर्त्तुई I do); 2. sg. सि or हि or उ (as in O. H. कर्त्तुसि or कर्त्तुहि or E. H. कर्त्तु thou doest); 3. sg. इ or (with anomalous इ) हि (as in O. H. कर्त्तुइ or कर्त्तुहि he does); 1. pl. उँ (as in N. कर्त्तुँ we do for *कर्त्तुँ or N. जाँ we go); 2. pl. हु (as in O. H. कर्त्तुहु you do); 3. pl. न्हि or नि (as in S. कर्त्तुनि or कर्त्तुनि they do, Tr. 287). The part. termin. इश्च is generally contracted to ऐ and, sometimes, to अ in O. H. — a) The 1. sg. suff. उँ occurs in O. H. and E. H.; thus पठिश्च + उँ = O. H. and Bs. पठेँ or पठेँ, Bh. पठुँ I read; the 1. sg. ई in N.; e. g., पठिश्च + ई = N. पठेँ I read or पिश्च + ई = N. येँ or यियेँ I was. —

Again b) the 2. sg. हि or उ occur in O. H.; thus पठिष्य + हि = O. H. पठेहि or पठिष्य + उ = O. H. पठेउ or पठउ *thou readst*; the 2. sg. सि in O. H. and Bs., thus पठिष्य + सि = O. H. पठेसि, Bs. पठिसि; in E. H., N. and, optionally, in Bs. it is shortened to स्, Bs. पठेस्, Bh. and N. पठिस्, or यिष्य + सि = N. ध्येस् or थियेस् *thou wast*. — Again c) the 3. sg. suff. हि occurs in O. H.; thus पठिष्य + हि = O. H. पठेहि *he read*. The 3. sg. इ does not exist in this tense. The E. H. adds the aff. स्, which in the longer form सि, occurs also in O. H. and Bs.; thus पठिष्य + aff. सि = O. H. पठेसि, Bs. पठिसि or पठेस्, Bh. पठिस् *he read*. Though these 3. sg. forms outwardly resemble those of the 2. pers., they can scarcely have the same origin¹). The same 3. sg. aff. स् exists also in P.; e. g., पठिष्योस् *he read*, कीतोस् *he did* (Ld. 69); and also in N., though not in the pret. but the imper. (see § 497, 3. i, p. 338); e. g., पठोस् *let him read*. It is possibly a shortened form of the 3. pers. pron. से, enclitically attached in a manner similar to the more general S. practice of affixing curtailed pron. forms to the verb (see Tr. 345 ff.); thus S. पठित्त-सि *he read*, फिरित्त-सि *he turned round* (Tr. 368). The N. adds in the 3. sg. no suff. at all, but uses the strong instead of the weak part. form; thus N. masc. पठ्यो or पठियो *he read*, fem. पठो *she read*, or masc. ध्यो or थियो *he was*, fem. थिर् *she was*. — Again d) the 1. pl. उँ occurs in N.; thus पठिष्य + उँ = N. पठ्यूँ or पठ्युँ *we read*, or यिष्य + उँ = N. थिउँ or थ्यूँ or थ्युँ *we were*. The O. H. and Bs. use (just as in the pres. conj.) the suff. of the 3. pl. न्हि or नि, thus पठिष्य + न्हि (for न्ति) = O. H. पठेन्हि, Bs. पठिनि or पठेन्. The E. H. (Bh.) 1. pl. termin. ञ is, perhaps, a modification for *वँ, containing the same 1. pl. termin. वँ as the 1. pl. of the Mw. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2. d, p. 336); thus E. H. पठा *we read* for *पठ्यवँ = पठिष्य + वँ. — Again e) the 2. pl. हु occurs in O. H., E. H. and N.; thus पठिष्य + हु =

1) O. H. has, in the 3. sg., forms in अउ or ऐउ resembling those of the 2. pers., e. g., पठेउ or पठउ *he read*, but here उ is, probably, not a conjugational, but a pleon. suff. = Ap. Pr. पठिष्यउ, Pr. पठिष्यो, Skr. पठितकः, corresponding to the S. 3. sg. पठिष्यो, N. पठ्यो.

O. H. पढेहु, N. पढिउ or पढ्यो, Bh. पढ्यो, Bs. पढिउ *you read*, or N. यिअ + हु = यियउ or यो *you were*. — Again f) the 3. pl. न्हि occurs in O. H., as पढेन्हि *they read*, and नि in Bs. पढिनि and न् in E. H. and N. पढेन्, Bh. पढिन्. The N., however, has more usually a suff. ए, which is perhaps a modification of *ये or *ये", containing the same 3. pl. suff. ए or ऐ as the 3. pl. of the G. and H. H. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2. f, p. 337); e. g., N. पढे *they read* for *पढ्ये or *पढ्ये" = पढिअ + ऐ, or N. ये or ये *they were*. Sometimes N. omits the suff. altogether, and uses only the strong form of the past part.; thus N. पढ्या *they read*, यिया or य्या *they were*. — It will be observed, that this mode of forming the pret. indic. practically amounts to treating the past part. as a denominative verbal root. The treatment, generally, of past part. as denominative roots is not uncommon in E. H. (see § 352), and existed even in Pr. (see Wb. Bh. 429). In this particular case, no doubt, the practice originated from the similarity, in Pr., of participles, used denominatively, to participles accompanied by the auxil. verb अस् *to be*. Thus compare the denom. form, 1. sg. Pr. पढिअमि, Ap. Pr. पढिअउं (= Skr. *पढितामि) *I read* with the common compound form, Pr. पढिअ म्हि (H. C. 3, 147) = Skr. पढितोऽस्मि. — 2) In B. and O. this tense is made by adding the pres. tense of the auxil. verb आहि or अहि *I am* to the past part. in इअ or इ resp.; thus 1. sg. B. पढियाहि *I read* for पढिअ or पढि + आहि, O. पढिअहि = पढि + अहि; 2. sg. B. पढियाहे, O. पढिअहु *thou readst*, etc. — 3) S. combines these two methods in the formation of this tense; viz., in the 1. sg. and pl. it adds (like the B. and O.) the auxil. verb सि *I am* and सो" *we are* (for हि and हो", § 11); e. g., 1. sg. S. हलिउ-सि masc., हलिअ-सि fem., or (in poetry) हलिओ-सि m., हलिआ-सि f. *I went* (= O. चलिअहि), pl. masc. हलिआ-सो", fem. हलिउ-सो" *we went* (हलिउ being the masc. and हलिअ the fem. nom. sing. of the weak and हलिओ, हलिआ of the strong form of the past part.). In the 2. sg. and pl. it adds (like the E. H.) the person. term. of the pres. conj., sg. ऐ" and pl. उ; thus 2. sg. हलिऐ" masc. (i. e., base हलिअ + suff. हि), हलिऐ" or हलिअौ"

fem. *thou wentest*; pl. masc. हल्यउ (= E. H. चलयौ), fem. हलिउँ *you went*. In the 3. sg. and pl. it adds (like the N.) no suff. at all, but uses the strong instead of the weak participial form; thus 3. sg. हलिओ masc., हली fem. *he or she went* (= N. चलियो, चली); pl. masc. हलिआ, fem. हलिउँ *they went* (= N. चल्या, चली). These remarks, however, apply only to intrans. verbs. In the case of trans. verbs, S. never adds any suff. or auxil. verbs, but uses only the strong past part. form; that is, in effect, trans. verbs have in S. only a 3. pers. sg. and pl. (but no 1st and 2nd persons)¹). It is a circumstance in which all W. Gds. agree with S., and which explains the peculiarity, that for the 1. and 2. pers. they can only employ the *Bhāvi prayoga* or impers. pass. construction (see § 487); e. g., *the disciple left me* is in Br. चेला ने मो कौं छोड़्यो, S. चेले मूँ खे इडियो lit. *by the disciple in regard to me it was left*, „me“ being either masc. or fem.; but not the *Karmani prayoga* or personal pass. contr. चेला ने हौं छोड़्यो masc. or हौं छोड़े fem., S. चेले आँउं इडियो masc. or आँउं इडी fem., lit. *by the disciple I was left*. On the other hand, for the 3. pers., both the *Bhāvi* and *Karmani prayoga* may be used; thus *the disciple left that book* may be in Br. चेला ने ओह पोयो कौं छोड़्यो, S. चेले हुन् पोयो खे इडियो lit. *by the disciple, in regard to the book, it was left (Bhāvi)* or Br. चेला ने उ पोयो छोड़े, S. चेले हू पोयो इडी lit. *by the disciple that book was left (Karmani)*. — 4) With regard to intrans. verbs, the W. H., P. and G. use (like S.) the past part. in the *Kartari prayoga*, but, (unlike S.) they do not add any suff. or auxil. verb; thus *I walked* is in W. H. हो चलयौ m., हौं चली f., G. हुँ चलयो m. or चली f., but S. आँउं हलिउसि m. or हलिअसो f. — 5) I add a comparative table of the terminations:

1) It should be recollected that, in W. Gd., trans. verbs admit only of the pass. constr., which converts what, with us, is subj. into the obj. Thus our 1. pers. ging. „I left him“ becomes, in W. Gd., 3. pers. sg. „by me he was left“. Accordingly, in W. Gd., there could be a first person only we should have the accus. of the 1. pers. pron. as obj.; e. g., our 3. pers. „he left me“ ought to become, in W. Gd., 1. pers. „by him I was left“. But even here W. Gd. has no first pers., but employs the impersonal constr. „by him in regard to me it was left“.

Singular.

	B.	O.	O. H.	E. H.	N.	S.
	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. tr.
1.	इयाहि ¹⁾	इअहि	ऐउ	यो	एँ	इउसि ²⁾
2.	इयाके	इअकु	ऐसि	इस्	इस्	इएँ
3.	इयाके	इअकुइ	ऐ-सि	इ-स्	यो	इओ इओ

	P.	G.	W. H.	H. H.
	intr. tr.	intr. tr.	intr. tr.	intr. tr.
1.	इआ	यो	यो	आ
2.	इआ	यो	यो	आ
3.	इआ	यो	यो	आ आ

Plural.

	B.	O.	O. H.	E. H.	N.	S.
	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. tr.
1.	इयाहि	इअहुँ	ऐन्हि	आ	यूँ	इआसी ³⁾
2.	इयाह	इअह	ऐहु	यो	यो	यउ
3.	इयाकेन्	इअकंति	ऐन्हि	इन्	या ³⁾	इआ इआ

	P.	G.	W. H.	H. H.
	intr. tr.	intr. tr.	intr. tr.	intr. tr.
1.	ए	या	ए	ए
2.	ए	या	ए	ए
3.	ए	या	ए	ए

1) These B. term. are, ordinarily, pronounced एहि, एके, etc.; thus करियाहि is pronounced करेहि *karechhi*, not *kariyachhi*. In fact, the old way of spelling has been retained, though the pronunciation has changed; just as in English we still write „night“, but pronounce „nite“. The old past part. करिअ is contracted to करे (just as in E. H. the conj. past करिअ becomes करे, see § 491); and अहि curtailed into हि. The older forms इयाहि, etc. may occasionally be heard in solemn addresses (sermons, etc.). The cons. ह *chh* is always pronounced *ts*, or even *s* (as in M. and Mw., see § 11); e. g., करियाहि (or rather करेहि) is pronounced *karetsi* or even *karesi*. — Similarly the B. term. of the conj. part. इया is ordinarily contracted into ए; e. g., करिया *having done* is pronounced करे.

2) Or इओसि m., इआसि f.

3) Or ऐन् or ए com. gen.

In the fem. sg., N. यो, S. इओ, P. इआ, G. यो, W. H. यौ and H. H. या are changed to ई; and S. has 1. इअसि, 2. इएँ or इअँ; fem. pl., N. या, P. ए, G. या, W. H. and H. H. ए are changed to ई, and S. has 1. इअँसी, 2. and 3. इअँ.

Note: The plusperf. is a periphrastic tense in E. H. (see § 510, 7), exc. in Mth. which, like the B. and O., forms it by adding the past tense of the auxil. verb, Mth. इकलो, B. आदिलाम्, O. थेलि *I was*, etc. (see § 514, 6) to the past part. in इअ or इ. The part. termin. इअ is contracted in Mth. to ऐ. Thus 1. sg. Mth. पढइकलो, B. पढियादिलाम्, O. पढियेलि *I had read*, etc. The resp. termin. are: 2. sg. Mth. ऐकले, B. आदिलि, O. इथेलु; 3. sg. Mth. ऐकल्, B. आदिलि, O. इथेल; 1. pl. Mth. ऐकलो, B. आदिलाम्, O. इथेलु; 2. pl. Mth. ऐकलो, B. आदिले, O. इथेल; 3. pl. Mth. ऐकलाह्, B. आदिलेन्, O. इथेले.

504. *Second preterite indicative.* This tense is made by modifying the termination of the past part. in अल् or इल् (§ 302) in the following manner according to the gender, number and person of the subj.

Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1. अलो (or अल्यो)	अल्यु
2. अलेस् (intr.) or अले	अलिस् or अली
3. अल् (intr.) or अलेस् (tr.)	अल् (intr.) or अलेस् (tr.)
Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1. अली	अली
2. अलह् or अल (or अल्यह्)	अलग्
3. अलेन् or अलै	अलिन् or अली

In the 3. sg., trans. verbs take the suff. अलेस्, while the intrans. take अल्. Again in the 2. sg. masc. the suff. अलेस् is confined to intrans. verbs. The other suff. are common to both.

Note: In the eastern parts of the E. H. area the termin. are pronounced with इ, as इलो, इल्यु, etc. — The forms enclosed in brackets are less usual.

505. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) This tense exists only in E. and S. Gd. It is made, like the first pret. indic., by

adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. (see § 503) to the weak form of the past part. in अल् or इल्, except in M., which adds them to the strong form in अत्ता. It should be remarked, however, that B. and O. omit the suff. in the 3. sg. of all verbs, and E. H. in the 3. sg. of intrans. verbs. Again M. omits the suff. in the 3. sg. and pl. of intrans. verbs and in all persons, sg. and pl., of trans. verbs¹). E. g., *he read the book* is in E. H. उ पाथो पठलेस्, B. ओ पोथो पठिल्, O. से पोथो पठिला, M. त्या ने पोथो वाचिलो (Man. 65, 2, or exceptionally तो पोथो पठला Man. 81, 133). On the whole the pers. suff. are added quite regularly. Thus a) 1. sg. उँ in E. H. and M.; e. g., wk. form, masc. पठल् + उँ = E. H. पठलोँ *I read*, fem. पठलि + उँ = E. H. पठल्यूँ; here the final उँ is anomalous; it is possibly founded on the strong form पठलो = पठलिश्च + उँ. Again strong form, masc. पठला + उँ = M. पठलोँ; but in the fem. M. adds the 1. sg. suff. ई; this may be clearly seen in the pres. indic.; e. g., पठलोँ = पठलिश्च (Skr. पठन्तिका) + ई = M. पठलेँ or पठलेँ *I read*; similarly पठलो = पठलिश्च + ई = पठलेँ *I read*. In the neut., M. uses either उँ or ई; thus पठलोँ or पठलेँ. O. shows the same. 1. sg. termin. इ (a shortened form of अइ), as in its pres. indic.; thus पठलि *I read*, just as अइँ or अइ *I am*. The B. has the 1. sg. termin. अम्, which appears to have preserved the original pres. indic. termin. अमि (see § 497, 2); thus पठलाम् (= Mg. *पठिदामि denom.). — Again b) the 2. sg. suff. सि or, shortened, सू occurs in E. H. and M.; thus wk. f. masc. रहल् + सि = E. H. रहलेँ with transfer of इ into the preceding syllable; fem. रहलि + सू = E. H. रहलिसू *thou remainedst*; or st. f. masc. पठला + सू = M. पठलासू, fem. पठली + सू = M. पठलीसू, neut. पठलेँ + सू = M. पठलेँसू with an anomalous anunásika; for the suff. सू is anomalously added to the nom. sg. neut. पठलेँ instead of to the neut. base पठले

1) M. which constructs transitive verbs passively, like the W. Gds. (see § 487), not actively, like the E. Gds., follows the usage of the former languages (see § 503, 3, p. 348) in adding no suff. to the past part. of such verbs.

(= *पठल्य = Mg. पठिद्य = Skr. पठितक). The 2. sg. हि is found in E. H. and B.; thus wk. f. masc. पठल + हि = E. H. पठले or (shortened) B. पठलि; fem. पठलि + हि = E. H. पठली *thou readst*. The 2. sg. उ is peculiar to O.; thus पठलु, just as in the O. pres. indic. पठु (see § 497, pp. 335. 336). — Again c) the 3. sg. सि occurs in the E. H. पठलेस्. But there is no suff. in M., B., O. or in intrans. verbs of E. H.; thus M. पठलाम्, पठलो f., पठले n. *he read*, गेला m., गेली f., गेले n. *he went*, O. पठिला, गला c. g., B. पठिल्, गेल् c. g., E. H. गयल् c. g., but पठलेस्. — Again d) the 1. pl. उँ is found in M. and O.; thus M. पठलो c. g. or (shortened) O. पठलु c. g. *we read*. The E. H. shows the same 1. pl. termin. ई (but without anunásika) as in its pres. conj. (§ 497, 2, d, p. 336); thus E. H. पठलो c. g. *we read* just as पठो *we read*. And the B. has preserved the original pres. indic. termin. ञम्; thus पठिलाम् (= Mg. *पठिदाम् denom., or *पठिदाम्). — Again e) the 2. pl. हु is preserved in the E. H. fem., thus पठलि + हु or, perhaps, st. f. पठलिञ् + हु = E. H. पठलू *you read*. Otherwise the 2. pl. ह् or हं is used; thus wk. f. masc. पठल + ह् = E. H. पठलह् or (dropping ह्, § 32) पठल *parhala*, O. पठिल c. g.; the B. पठिले c. g. apparently contracts final अह *aha* to ए or stands for पठले, properly a 3. pl. form (see § 497, footnote and O. 3. pl. पठिले). Or st. f. पठला + हं = M. पठला c. g. — Again f) the 3. pl. नि or, shortened, न् is preserved in E. H. and B.; thus wk. f. masc. पठल + न् = E. H. पठलेन्, B. पठिलेन् with transfer of final इ into the preceding syllable; fem. पठलि + न् = E. H. पठलिन्. The E. H. also shows the other 3. pl. termin. ऐ in the masc. पठलै *they read* and, slightly modified, in the fem. पठली, just as in the E. H. pres. conj. पठै *they read*. O. omits the anunásika, पठिले for *पठिले. M. uses the strong form, but without any suff., पठले. — 2) As regards the E. H. optional forms, 1. sg. अल्यो and 2. pl. अल्यह्, they contain probably the strong part. termin. अल्य, with euph. य् for अल्यञ्; thus Skr. denom. *पठितकामि (= पठितकोऽस्मि), Mg. *पठिद्यमि or *पठिद्यमि, Ap. *पठिद्यउं, E. H. पठिल्यो or पठल्यो. — 3) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

Singular.

	B.	O.	E. H.	M.
1.	इलाम्	इलि	अलो ^{m.} , अल्यू ^{f.}	अलो ^{m.} , अले ^{f.} , अलो ^{n.} or अले ^{n.}
2.	इलि	इलु	अलेस् ^{m.} , अलिस् ^{f.}	अलास् ^{m.} , अलीस् ^{f.} , अले ^{n.}
3.	इल्	इला	अलेस् ^{c. g.} , अल् ^{c. g.}	अला ^{m.} , अली ^{f.} , अले ^{n.}

Plural.

1.	इलाम्	इलू	अली ^{c. g.}	अलो ^{c. g.}
2.	इले	इल	अलह् ^{m.} , अल्यू ^{f.}	अलो ^{c. g.}
3.	इलेन्	इले	अलेन् ^{m.} , अलिन् ^{f.}	अले ^{m.} , अल्या ^{f.} , अली ^{n.}

Note: The B. and O. forms are of common gender.

506. *Preterite conjunctive.* This tense is made by modifying the termination of the pres. part. in अत् (§§ 298. 486) in the following manner, according to the gender, number and person of the subject.

Singular.

Plural.

	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	अतो ^{m.} (or अयो ^{m.})	अत्यू ^{f.}	अतो or इत्	अती or इत्
2.	अतेस् or अते	अतिस् or अती	अतह् or अत (or अत्यह्)	अत्यू
3.	अत् or अतै	अत् or अतै	अतेन् or अतै ^{m.}	अतिन् or अतै ^{f.}

Note: The forms enclosed in brackets are more usual in Bs., than in Bh. — Occasionally this tense is used as a pres. indic.

507. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) This tense exists in all Gds., with the exception, apparently, of S. But while W. Gd. uses the strong form of the pres. part. without addition, to express the pret. conj., the E. and S. Gds. make it by joining to the same part. the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. These composite forms are made exactly on the same model as those of the second pret. indic., see § 505, where the matter has been fully explained. The E. Gds. use the weak, but M. the strong form of the part. Thus 1. sg. masc. O. H. पठतेड् or पठतड्, E. H. पठ्यो^{m.} or पठतो^{m.} (if) *I read*, B. पठिताम् (S. Ch. 147); O. पठन्ति (Sn. 32), M. पठतो^{m.} (Man. 60, 4. 73); but W. H. पठतो or पठतो, H. H. पठता (Kl. 167, a), P. पठता (Ld. 37. 46, etc.), G. पठतो (Ed. 54); fem. O. H. पठतिड् or पठतिड्, E. H. पठत्यू^{f.}, B. and O. like masc.,

M. पठते°, but W. H., H. H., G. पठती, P. पठद्दी; neut. M. पठन्ते°, but G. पठन्तु, etc.; see the table of termin. below. The optional E. H. termin. इत् of the 1. pl. is, evidently, an intrusion from the B., where the pres. part. ends in इत्, instead of in अत् (see § 300). — It will be observed, that the M. termin. of the pret. conj. are nearly identical with those of its pres. indic.; the only difference being in the 3. sg. and plur. (e. g., 3. sg. masc. conj. अता, but indic. अते; 3. pl. masc. conj. अते, but indic. अतान्) and in the 2. sg. masc. (viz. conj. अतास्, but indic. अतोस्). The indic. has more nearly preserved the old Pr. forms; and moreover, probably, uses the weak form of the part. Thus the M. 2. sg. indic. पठतोस् *thou readest* is the same as the Pr. पठतो सि; while the M. 2. sg. conj. पठतास् (*if thou readst*) is rather a denom. formation पठता + सि = Pr. *पठतश्-सि; see the remarks in § 503, 1, p. 347. — In the other Gds. the pret. conj. itself may be occasionally used as a sort of indefinite pres. indic.¹⁾ Examples of this usage, of expressing the pret. conj. by means of the part. pres. with or without the auxil. verb अस् *to be*, are already found in Pr. (see Wb. Spt. 62. 63). Thus Spt. 26 ज्ञापांतेऽसि वा कुपांते *if thou knewest, thou wouldst not do*. This would be in M. ज्ञा ज्ञान्तास् न कर्तास्, E. H. ज्ञो ज्ञान्तेस् न कर्तेस्. Of the two Pr. methods, that which dispenses with the auxil. verb appears to have given rise to the W. Gd. form of the pret. conj., while the other which uses that verb apparently led to the S. and E. Gd. denom. forms of the same tense. The fact that the Gd. pret. conj., and the analogously-formed tenses of the 1st and 2nd pret. and fut. indic., have different forms for the several genders, is thus explained by the Pr. For the part. with or without the auxil. verb, must, of course, agree with the subj. in regard to gender. — 2) S., apparently possesses no special pret. conj., but uses instead of it the ordinary pres. indic. (see Tr. 501). — 3) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

1) Called *indefinite imperfect* by Kl. 167, §23, *frequentative* by S. Ch. 147, *first present subjunctive* by Ed. 54.

Singular.					
	B.	O.	E. H.	M.	
1.	इताम्	अंति	अतो ^० m., अत्यू ^० f.	अतो ^० m., अते ^० f., अतो ^० n.	
2.	इतिस्	अंतु	अतेस् m., अतिस् f.	अतास् m., अतीस् f., अते ^० स् n.	
3.	इत्	अंता	अन् c. g.	अता m., अती f., अते ^० n.	
	G.		W. H.	H. H.	P.
1.	अतो m., अती f., अतु ^० n.		अतौ m., अती f.	अता m., अती f.	अदा m., अदी f.
2.	dto		dto	dto	dto
3.	dto		dto	dto	dto
Plural.					
	B.	O.	E. H.	M.	
1.	इताम्	अंतु	अती or इत् c. g.	अतो ^० c. g.	
2.	इत	अंतः	अतह् m., अत्यू f.	अता ^० c. g.	
3.	इतेन्	अंते	अतेन् m., अतिन् f.	अते m., अया f., अती ^० n.	
	G.		W. H.	H. H.	P.
1.	अता m., अती f., अता ^० n.		अते m., अती ^० f.	अते m., अती f.	अदे m., अदीअ ^० f.
2.	dto		dto	dto	dto
3.	dto		dto	dto	dto

508. *Future indicative.* This tense is made by modifying the termination of the fut. part. in अच् or इच् (§§ 308. 486) in the following manner, according to the gender, number and person of the subject.

Singular.		Plural.	
Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1. अचो ^०	अच्यू ^०	अचे or अच्	अचै or अचू
2. अचेस् or अचे	अचिस् or अची	अचह् or अच	अच्यू or अचू
3. ई	ई	इहै ^०	इहै ^०

With the part. termin. इच् precisely similar suff. are formed; thus इचो^० m., इच्यू^० f., etc. As to the manner of adding them to the root, see § 308.

Note: Optionally the masc. termin. may be used with a fem. subj. — Occasionally this tense is used in the sense of the imperative.

509. *Affinities and Derivation.* The fut. is formed in six different ways in Gd., the distinguishing marks of which are the following consonants: 1) ह्, 2) स् or ण्, 3) ब् or व् or म्, 4) ल् or न्, 5) ण्, 6) द्. — 1) The first two types are derived from the old Skr. and Pr. fut. In Skr. the fut. is formed by the suff. इष्य (i. e., स्य with the connecting vowel इ), which changes in Pr. either to इस्स (Mg. इस्सा) or to इहि or इह (Vr. 7, 12—15. H. C. 3, 166—169, see also Wb. Bh. 431. Ls. 349—353). The Pr. इहि or इह becomes in Gd. इहि or इह or अह, and the fut. of this ह्-type is preserved in O. H., W. H., and the 3. sg. and pl. of the E. H. Thus 3. sg. Skr. पठिष्यति *he will read*, Pr. (a) पठिहिइ or (b) *पठिहइ, whence O. H. (b) पठिहइ or पठिहिहि (with euph. ह् §§ 69. 503, 1, p. 345), Br. पठिहै, Mw. (a) पठहो, E. H. पठो. (contracted for *पठिई for *पठिहो); 3. pl. Skr. पठिष्यन्ति *they will read*, Pr. (a) पठिहन्ति or (b) *पठिहन्ति, whence O. H. (b) पठिहहिं, Br. and E. H. पठिहै, Mw. (a) पठहो (for *पठहो). The forms of the 2. sg. and pl. of this type also occur in E. H., but only in the sense of the precativ (§ 498). — 2) The Pr. इस्स becomes in Gd. ईस् or अस् (or ईण् or अण्), and the fut. of this स-type is preserved in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gth. CXXVI), Mw. and G. Thus 1. sg. Skr. पठिष्यामि, Pr. (a) पठिस्सामि (H. C. 3, 167) or (b) पठिस्सं (H. C. 3, 169) *I shall read*, O. P. (a) पठसा, Mw. पठिस्सू (= Ap. Pr. *पठिस्सउं), G. (b) पठोण्; again 3. sg. Skr. पठिष्यति *he will read*, Pr. पठिस्सइ, O. P. पठसो, Mw. पठसो, G. पठणे. — The remaining four types of the fut. are purely Gd. formations; thus 3) the fut. of the ब्-type is confined to the E. Gds. and is made by adding to the fut. part. the personal suff. of the old pres. ind. (§ 503), exactly on the same model as in the case of the second preterite (see § 505). In O. the ब् or व् may be changed to म् (see § 134, note). Thus 1. sg. masc. E. H. पठबो *I shall read*, B. पठिब (S. Ch. 146), O. पठिबि or पठिमि (Sn. 28); fem. E. H. पठवू, B. and O. like masc. In B. and O. the 3. sg. and pl. also are of the ब्-type, while in E. H. they are of the ह्-type (see Nro. 1); thus 3. pl. B. पठिबेन्, O. पठिबे or पठिमे, but E. H.

पडिहै. A tense of the ल्-type also exists in M. and G.; but it is used as a pres. conj., not as a fut. indic. Moreover it is constructed passively (see § 496, p. 333). Thus M. मगँ सोडावा (Man. 73), G. मारे होडवो (Ed. 54) *I may loose* (lit. *by me he may be loosed*) = E. H. मै होडवो *I shall loose*. There is apparently in Pr. an instance of a fut. (or imper.) of this type, mentioned by Ls. 422, देव you will give or give ye; the same in E. H. would be देब *deba*. — 4) The fut. of the ल्-type exists only in M., Mw. and N. (incl. Gw. and Km.) and 5) that of the ग्-type only in Br. (incl. Kn.), H. H. and P. Both types are formed on the same principle, viz. by respectively adding the past part. ऐल (wk. f.) or ऐलो (st. f.) *come* and गयो (or गया) *gone* to the old pres. indic. (= habit. past in M., and pres. conj. in the others, see § 496) and, for this purpose, curtailing ऐल् and ऐलो to इल् or ल् and लो respectively and contracting गयो to गो (or गया to गा). M. uses the weak form इल् or ल्, Mw. the strong form लो, and N. either of the two. Moreover, N. sometimes adds the personal suff. of the old pres. (§ 503) or the auxil. verb हूँ *I am* (e. g., पढ़े-नेहूँ *we shall read*); on the other hand M. omits the part. ल in the 1. pl. (e. g., पढ़ें *we shall read*). Lastly in both M. and N. the characteristic ल् is sometimes changed to न्. A tense of the ल्-type exists also in E. H., but it expresses the pres. indic. (see § 500). Similarly the auxil. verb हूँ *I am* forms in Br., Kn. and P. a tense of the ग्-type with the sense of the pres. indic. (Kl. 200.197, 367). Thus 3. sg. masc. पढ़े-ल् or -लो = M. पढ़ेल्, Mw. पढ़ैलो, N. पढ़ला (with पढ़ for पढ़े, cf. § 501, 1, footnote, p. 342) *he will read*, but E. H. पढ़ैला *he reads*; fem. M. पढ़ेल्, Mw. पढ़ैली, N. पढ़ली *she will read*, but E. H. पढ़ैले *she reads*; or 3. pl. masc. M. पढ़ति + इल् = पढ़तील, Mw. पढ़ैला, N. पढ़लान् (st. f.) or पढ़लन् (wk. f.) or पढ़नन् (= पढ़ + ल or ला + न्) *they will read*; fem. M. पढ़तील, Mw. पढ़ैली, N. पढ़लीन् (st. f.) or पढ़लन् or पढ़नन् (wk. f.). Again 3. sg. masc. पढ़ै + गो = Br. पढ़ैगो, H. H. and P. पढ़ेगा *he will read*; fem. Br. पढ़ैगी, H. H. and P. पढ़ेगी; or 3. pl. masc. Br. पढ़ैगे, H. H. पढ़ैगे, P. पढ़पागे *they will read*; fem. Br. पढ़ैगी, H. H. पढ़ैगी, P. पढ़पागी, etc. But 3. sg. Kn. हैगो, P.

हैगा *he is*, 3. pl. Kn. हैगे, P. हनगे *they are*; fem. sg. Kn. and P. हैगी, pl. Kn. हैगी, P. हनगी; P. has optionally है *he is*, हन् *they are*; H. H. has है, है, etc.; but fut. H. H. होगा *m.*, होगी *f.* *he (she) will be*, pl. होंगे *m.*, होंगी *f.* *they will be*, Kn. होंगे, होंगी *m.*, ोगी *f.*; P. होवेगा, होवगे *m.*, ोगी, ोगी *f.*, etc. Literally, these futures mean: पढ़ेगा *he is gone (that) he may read*, पढ़ेल् or पढ़ेली *he is come (that) he may read*, etc., compare the English: *he is going (or coming) to read*. — 6) The fut. of the *ट*-type is confined to S., and is formed by adding to the pres. part. in अंद् or इंद् the same termin., as are used for the first pret. indic. (see § 503, 3. 5). Thus 1. sg. masc. हलंद् + सि = S. हलंदुसि, fem. हलंदिसि *I shall go*; 2. sg. masc. हलंदे, fem. हलंदिए or हलंदिसी; 3. sg. masc. हलंदो, fem. हलंदी. This fut. lit. means: *I may be reading*, etc. — 7) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

Singular.

	G.	Mw.	Br.	E. H.	B.	O.
1.	ईशू	असू or अहू	इहो	अयो or इयो	इय	इवि
2.	अशे	असी or अही	इहै	अयेस् or इयेस्	इयि	इवु
3.	अशे	असी or अही	इहै	ई	इये	इव्
	Br.	H. H.	P.	M.	N.	S.
1.	औगी	उंगा	अंगा	एन्	उला or अनेकुं	अंदुसि
2.	ऐगी	एगा	एंगा	असील्	अलास् or अनस्	अंदे
3.	ऐगी	एगा	एगा	एल्	अला or अनेक्	अंदो

Plural.

	G.	Mw.	Br.	E. H.	B.	O.
1.	ईशू	असाँ or अहाँ	इहै	अबै or इबै	इय	इवा
2.	अशो	असो or अहो	इहो	अबह् or इबह्	इया	इव
3.	अशे	असी or अही	इहै	इहै	इबेन्	इवे
	Br.	H. H.	P.	M.	N.	S.
1.	ऐगी	एंगे	अंगे	ऊ	उला or उनेकुं	अंदासी
2.	औगे	ओगे	ओगे	आल्	अलउ or उनेकौ	अंदउ
3.	ऐगी	एंगे	अपागे	अतील्	अलान or अनन्	अंदा

In the fem. sing., Br., H. H., P., N. final ओ or आ changes to ई, as Br. औगी, P. अंगी, etc.; plur. Br., H. H., N. ए or आ

changes to ई, and P. ए to ईअ, as Br. ऐंगी, N. उली, P. अंगीअ, etc. For the E. H. fem. form see § 508. S. has fem. sg. 1. अदिअसि, 2. अदिऐ or अदिअ, 3. अदी; pl. 1. अदिउसी, 2. and 3. अदिउ. In the rest, the forms are com. gen.

3. PERIPHRASTIC TENSES.

510. Ten additional tenses are made in E. H., by adding the pres. indic. or conj., or the pret. indic. or conj., or the fut. indic. of an auxil. verb to the pres. part. in अत् (§ 298) or to the past part. in अल् (§ 302). These tenses are the following:

1) The *definite or durative present indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pres. indic. to the pres. part.; as पठत् चाटे or पठत् होवै *he is reading*.

2) The *future conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pres. conj. to the pres. part.; as पठत् होय (if) *he be reading*.

3) The *definite preterite or the perfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pres. indic. to the past part.; as पठले चाटे or पठले होवै *he has read*.

4) The *future exact conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pres. conj. to the past part.; as पठले होय (if) *he have read*.

5) The *durative or habitual preterite or the imperfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pret. indic. to the pres. part.; as पठत् रहल् *he was reading*.

6) The *durative present conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pret. conj. to the pres. part.; as पठत् होतै (if) *he were reading*.

7) The *pluperfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pret. indic. to the past part.; as पठले रहल् *he had read*.

8) The *preterite conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pret. conj. to the past part.; as पठले होतै (if) *he had read*.

9) The *durative future indicative or present dubitative*, made by adding the auxil. fut. indic. to the pres. part.; as पठत् होई *he will be reading*.

10) The *future exact indicative* or *preterite dubitative*, made by adding the auxil. fut. indic. to the past part.; as पढ़ले होई *he will have read*.

Note: For the purpose of expressing the *present conditional* the pret. conj. (§ 506) is used. Thus पढ़लै (if) *he read*. This completes the series of tenses of the condit. mood, which is merely a special application of the conj.

511. If the verb is a trans. one, the termin. of the past part. assumes the form अले, instead of अल्, in the formation of the additional tenses; but if the verb is intrans. the termin. is अल्, as usual; e. g., trans. पढ़ले बाटो *I have read*, but intr. रहल बाटो *I have remained*. The termin. of the part. never suffers any change; but that of the auxil. verb changes in agreement with the number, person and (where possible) gender of the subj.; thus 1. sg. masc. पढ़ल् बाटो, fem. पढ़ल् बाटू *I am reading*; 3. pl. masc. पढ़ले होवै, fem. पढ़ले हई *they have read*.

Note: The form in अले is really the adv. part. (see § 488), i. e., the loc. or obl. form of the past part. Thus पढ़ले बाटो means lit., *on having read I am*. Similarly B. uses the adv. pres. part.; e. g., B. पढ़िने छि lit. *on reading I am*, i. e., *I am reading*; B. पढ़िने छिलाम् lit. *on reading I was*, i. e., *I was reading*.

512. *Affinities*. Periphrastic tenses exist in all Gds. and are made in the same way as in E. H. But while B., O. and, in the case of the past part. of trans. verbs, E. H. add the auxil. verb to the adv. part. (S. Ch. 135. 194. Sn. 30. 31, see § 511, note), N. and, generally, E. H. add it to the weak, H. H., P., G., S. to the strong, and W. H. to either form of the adj. part. (see Ld. 37 etc. Ed. 54 etc. Tr. 316 etc. Kl. 167 etc.). Again M. adds it to the weak or strong form of the adj. part. or to one of the ordinary tenses (Man. 92—96), somewhat analogous to the formation of the pres. indic. in E. H. and the W. Gds. (see § 501, 1). They also vary as to the particular auxil. verb which they employ (see §§ 513. 514): Thus 3. sg. masc. pres. definite: O. पढ़ु अइ *he is reading*, B. पढ़िने छे or पढ़ि अइ; but E. H.

पठ्ठ् खाटे or होवै, N. पठ्ठ् ह, Gw. पठ्ठ् or पठ्ठो ह, Br. पठ्ठु or पठ्ठौ है, Mw. पठ्ठो है, H. H. पठ्ठा है, P. पठ्ठा है, S. पठ्ठो आहे, G. पठ्ठो होयहे; again M. पठ्ठ् आहे or पठ्ठो आहे or पठ्ठ् असतो (Man. 93, 1. 2. 3); fem. O., B., E. H., N. like masc.; Gw. पठ्ठ् or पठ्ठ दी ह, Br. पठ्ठि or पठ्ठी है, H. H. पठ्ठी है, P. पठ्ठ दी है, S. पठ्ठो आहे, G. पठ्ठी होयहे, M. पठ्ठ् आहे or पठ्ठी आहे or पठ्ठ् असती.

513. The auxil. verbs which are employed to form the periphrastic tenses are the following: 1) खाटे or खाटे *he is*, 2) रहल् *he was* and 3) होवै *he is*. The verb खाटे is defective; there exists only the pres. indic. The verb रहल् is the ordinary second pret. indic. of the regular verb रहल् *to remain*; but it is used as the past tense of the defective खाटे. The verb होवै is a regular verb with a complete conjugation, from which the remainder of the defective tenses of the verb खाटे are supplied. Examples see in § 510.

Note 1: When the past tense रहल् is used as an auxil. verb, it expresses past action generally, „he was“, precisely like था in H. H. But according to circumstances, it may retain its ordinary meaning „he remained“, as the past tense of रहल् *to remain*, and express past action as enduring, precisely like रहा in H. H. Thus E. H. कहल् रहल् *he had said* = H. H. कहा था, or *he remained saying, he kept saying* = H. H. कहा रहा.

Note 2: The past tense भइल् or भयल् of the verb होव् *to be* is never used as a mere auxil. verb, but always has its full meaning „he became“, and expresses the commencement and continuation of an action (§ 538, g). Thus E. H. कहत् भयल् *he began saying*, but कहत् रहल् *he was saying*. The corresponding Gd. forms are: W. H. भयो (auxil. यो), M. काला (aux. होता or असे), G. हवो (aux. हतो).

514. *Affinities and Derivation.* The various verbs which are used as auxiliaries, in Gd. are the following: 1) The verb खाटे. It occurs as a defective auxil. in E. H. and B.; in both only in the pres. indic.; but in M. and S. it is a *principal* verb with a complete conjugation, and is used to form compound verbs; viz.,

M. *वाटणे* to appear (Man. 92; in W. H. in the denom. form *वातानी*), S. *वतणु* to continue (Tr. 344). It is derived from the Skr. R. *वृत्*, Pr. *वृत्* or *वट्*. The B. pres. indic. (sg. 1. *वटि*, 2. *वटिस्*, 3. *वटे*; pl. 1. *वटि*, 2. *वट*, 3. *वटेन्*) is, as usual, identical with the old Pr. pres. indic. (see § 501, 4). Thus 3. sg. Skr. *वर्तते*, Pr. *वट्ते*, B. *वटे*. From the other Pr. form *वर्त्त* comes the E. H. *वाय्* (for *वाइ*) or *वा* by the elision of *त्* (§ 153). As regards the other E. H. forms *वाटे*, *वाटा*, etc. which are different for the two genders, it is more probable that they are denominatives, made by adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. (§ 503, 1, p. 345) to the part. Skr. *वृत्*, P. *वट्* (H. C. 2, 29) existing (of R. *वृत्*). Thus 1. sg. masc. Skr. *वृत्तोऽस्मि*, Pr. *वट्स्मि*, Ap. Pr. **वट्ते*, E. H. *वाटो* I am; fem. Skr. (st. f.) *वृत्तिकास्मि*, Pr. *वट्तिस्मि*, Ap. Pr. **वट्तिस्मि* or **वट्तिस्ते*, E. H. *वाय्*, etc. — 2) The verb *रह्* is used only in E. H. as an auxil., and only in the 2nd pret. indic. Otherwise it is in E. H. as well as in all other Gds. a regular principal verb, „to remain“. It is commonly (in E. H., W. H., P., S.) used to make a kind of (continuative) compound verb (see § 538, b). — 3) The verb *हो* to be occurs in E. H. as well as in all other Gds., both as an auxiliary and as a principal, with a complete conjugation. It is derived from the Skr. R. *भू*; thus 3. sg. pres. conj. E. H. *होए*, Pr. *होइ* or *हवइ* (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. *भवति*. As an auxil., however, it has in E. H. a special pres. indic., which is made by adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. (§ 503, 1) to the part. Skr. *भूत*, Pr. *ह्विस्मि* (§ 307, 7) being or been. Thus 1. sg. masc. Skr. *भूतोऽस्मि*, Pr. *ह्विस्मि*, Ap. Pr. **ह्विस्ते*, E. H. *हउओ* or *होओ* or *होओ* (§§ 122. 69. 28); fem. Skr. *भूतास्मि*, Pr. *ह्विस्मि*, Ap. Pr. **ह्विस्ते*, E. H. *हउई* or *हू* (§ 123) I am, etc. On the other hand, as a principal verb, it has a regular pres. indic. *होलो* I am, etc. (see § 500). There is in E. H. a peculiar pleonastic form of this verb, which may be used optionally for its simple form, both when it is an auxil. and when it is a principal. It is made by adding the increment *ख* to the root *हो*: and the pleon. R. *होख* thus made. is conjugated regularly.

Thus infin. होखच् to be; pres. indic. 2. sg. masc. होखैलेस् or °ले, fem. होखैलिस् or °ली; 2. pl. masc. होखैलह् or °ल, fem. °ल्यू, etc. (see § 517). There is also a peculiar negative form of this verb, which exists, however, only in the pres. tense and is the same for all three moods. It also shows the peculiar increment ख; thus 3. sg. masc. नैखै he is not, fem. नैखै or नैखी she is not, etc. (see § 518)¹). The origin of these forms is obscure. Perhaps they are derived from the Skr. R. भू by means of the inchoative suff. क्त or स्क. Just as the R. अस् to be forms in Pr. an inchoative अक्छ (= अक्त = अस्क), so the R. भू or Pr. हुव or हव or हो (cf. H. C. 4, 60) might form in Pr. an inchoative *हुक्ख or *हक्ख or *होक्ख (= भुक्त or भुस्क), in E. H. होख. The negative form नैख appears to have arisen by incorporating the negative particle न not. There are similar negative verbal forms in M., see Nro. 4. — 4) The verb अहै or अहै or है he is. It occurs in the S. Gd., N. Gd. and W. Gd. (exc. G.), but not in the E. Gd. (exc. Bs.); and it exists only in the pres. indic. (see Man. 88. Tr. 300. Kl. 201. Ld. 25), as shown in the following table:

Singular.

	O. II.	Bs.	M.	S.	Br.	Mw.	P.	N.	H. H.
1.	अहउं or हो"	अहउं or हो"	अहै"	अहियॉ"	हौ"	हूँ"	हॉ"	हुँ"	हूँ"
2.	अहसि or अहहि or है	अहसु or अहे	अहसु	अहै" or अही"	है	है	है"	हसु?	है"
3.	अहइ or अहे or अहि	अहे	अहे	अहे	है	है	है	ह?	है

Plural.

1.	अहहिं or हहिं	अही	अही"	अहियू"	है"	हॉ"	हॉ"	हूँ?"	है"
2.	अहहु or हहु	अहहु or अहो or अहे"	अहॉ"	अहियो	हो	हो	हो	हो	हो
3.	अहहिं or हहिं or अहै"	अहेनु or अहै"	अहेनु	अहनि or अहीनि	है"	है	हनु or हैनु	हुनु	है"

¹) Beames in J. R. A. S. III, 495 mentions a negative form नाखै he is not and an affirmative खै he is, and Kl. 199, 378 follows him. But my authorities deny the existence of either form.

The origin of this auxil. verb is uncertain. It is commonly identified with the Skr. R. *अस्* to *be* (e. g., Tr. 300. 304). This view must assume a change of *स्* to *ह्*, and also a change of class; for the Skr. R. *अस्* is of the II. cl., while the Gd. verb is of the VI. cl.; e. g., 1. sg. O. H. *अहँ* represents a Skr. form **असामि*, Pr. **अहमि*, Ap. **अहँ* (see H. C. 4, 385); or Gd. *अहै* = Skr. **असति*, Pr. **अहइ*. None of the Pr. gramm., however, as for as I am aware, notice any such change in the R. *अस्*. There would be also a difficulty in accounting for the initial *अ* in M. and S. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to identify this Gd. auxil. verb with the pres. indic. of the R. *भू* to *be*. This root may become in Pr. *हव* (H. C. 4, 60) and in Gd. *हु*; thus 3. sg. Skr. *भवति*, Pr. *हवइ*, Mw. *है* (Kl. 232). The form *है* would easily become *है*. On the other hand, instead of suppressing *अ*, it (or rather *ह्*, see § 132) may be transposed; thus the Pr. R. *हव* might become in Gd. *अह* and thence *अह*, with *अ* as compensation for the elided *व्*; e. g., 3. sg. Pr. *हवइ* = **अहइ* = Bs. *अहै* or M. *अहै*, etc. It may be observed, that the Skr. 3. pl. *भवन्ति* is even in Ap. Pr. contracted to *भन्ति* or *हन्ति* (H. C. 4, 406. 416), which would regularly become *है* in W. H. (see § 497, 2. f, p. 337). The M. possesses a negative form of this verb. It is defective, occurring only in the pres. ind.; viz., sing. 1. *नाही*, 2. *नाहीस्*, 3. *नाही*; plur. 1. *नाही*, 2. *नाही*, 3. *नाहीत्*. There is an other defective negative verb in M., which occurs only in the pres. and pret. indic.; viz., *pres. sing.* 1. *नव्हे*, 2. *नव्हेस्* or *नव्हस्*, 3. *नव्हे*; plur. 1. *नव्हो* or *नव्ह*, 2. *नव्हो* or *नव्हत्*, 3. *नव्हत्* or *नव्हत्*; *pret. sing. masc.* 1. *नव्हतो*, 2. *नव्हतास्*, 3. *नव्हता*; plur. 1. *नव्हतो*, 2. *नव्हता*, 3. *नव्हते*. See Man. 88. 89. This negative form, however, really belongs to the verb *होइ* (M. *होणे*), see Nro. 3. Besides M. has a complete negative form of the verb *असणे* (see Nro. 5), which is made by changing the initial *अ* to *न*; e. g., inf. *नसणे*; 1. sg. pres. ind. *नसतो* *I am not*, from *असतो* *I am*, etc. See Man. 89. — 5) The verb *अहइ* or *अहै* or *है* *he is*. It occurs in the S. Gd. and N. Gd., in all W. Gds. (exc. Br.), and in all E. Gds. (exc. Bh.

and Ba.). In M. it has a complete conjugation (Man. 84—86), even in a negative form, see Nro. 4; in B., Mth., Mw., P., Km. it exists in the pres. and pret. tenses; and the rest have it only in the pres. tense. In S. even the pres. is fragmentary. In M., P. and S., ह् is changed to स् (see § 11). In B., though ह् is written, स् is commonly pronounced, see footnote on p. 349. The following comparative table shows the various forms of this auxil. verb :

Present. Singular.										
	O.	B.	Mth.	N.	Km.	Mw.	G.	P.	S.	M.
1.	अहि or छि	अहि	हो	हुँ	हो	हूँ	हो	साँ	सि	असे
2.	अहु	अहिस्	हे	हस्	हा	हूँ	हो	सी	—	असस्
3.	अहइ	अहे	अहि	ह	हन्	हूँ	हो	सी	—	असे
Plural.										
1.	अहुँ	अहि	हो	हूँ	हो	हूँ	हो	साँ	सी or तू	असूँ
2.	अह	अह	हो	हो	हा	हो	हो	साँ	—	असाँ
3.	अहंति	अहन्	हयि	हन्	हन्	हूँ	हो	साण्	—	असन्
Preterite. Singular.										
1.		अहिलाम्	हिलो*		हियो	हो		सा	तुनsep	असलो m., ले f., लो n.
2.		अहिले	हिले*		हियो	हो		सा	तुनsep	असलास् m., लोस् f., लेस् n.
3.		अहिल्	हिल्		हियो	हो		सा	तुनsep	असला m., लो f., ले n.
Plural.										
1.		अहिलाम्	हिलो*		हिया	हा		से	तुनsep	असलो c. g.
2.		अहिलेन्	हिलेन्		हिया	हा		से	तुनsep	असलो c. g.
3.		अहिलेन्	हिलेन्		हिया	हा		से	तुनsep	असले m., ल्या f., ली n.

The forms of the pres. have assumed in M. and P. the sense of the (habit.) past (see § 496); thus M. *असे*, P. *साँ* *I was* (Man. 84. Ld. 25). The forms of the pret. sg. Km. *झिया*, Mw. *झो*, P. *सा* are masc. and change in the fem. to *झी* and *सी*; they are really past part.; those of B. and Mth. are of com. gen. and made according to the 2nd pret. ind. (see § 505). In M. the pres. ind. (also used as pres. conj.) is *असतो*, etc. (conjug. regularly, see § 501, 3. 5); the pres. conj. *असावा*, etc. (see § 496); the imper. *असू*, etc. (see § 496); the fut. *असेन्*, etc. (see § 509, 4. 7). I have observed in N. the 2. sg. fut. *हेन्स* = M. *अससील्* (see § 509, 4. 7). The infin. is in M. *असू* or *असपो* (see § 313. 314); the pres. part. *असत्* (see § 486); the adv. part. *असताँ*, which I have also found in N. as *हेदा* on *being* (see § 489). — This verb also exists in Pr. (H. C. 4, 215. Ls. 346); e. g., 3. sg. *अइ* *he is*, etc. The R. *अइ* (= *अत्त* or *अस्क*) is probably an inchoative form of the R. *अस्* *to be* or (according to some MSS. of H. C.) *आस्* *to dwell, exist*. — The only remnant of the original R. *अस्* which has survived in Gd. is the S. 3. sg. and pl. *अय* = Pr. *अत्ति*, Skr. *अस्ति*. It is, however, used only in conjunction with pronom. suff. (Tr. 349), as *अयमि* *it is* or *they are to me*. Even in Pr., *अत्ति* is used for both numbers and all three persons (H. C. 3, 148); e. g., *अत्ति अहं* *I am*, *अत्ति अम्हे* *we are*, etc. — 6) The verb *आय्* or *यि* *he is*. It occurs only in the W. Gd. and O. In G. and S. it has a complete conj. (see Ed. 72—81. Tr. 305—312). In the others it exists only in the pret. indic. tense (or past part., see Sn. 26. Ld. 25. Kl. 200), as shown in the following comparative table:

Preterite. Singular.

	O.	Naip.	S.	Kn.
1.	येलि c. g.	यिये ^० or ये ^० c. g.	यिउसे m., यिअसे f.	यो m., यी f.
2.	येलु c. g.	यियेस् or यिस् c. g.	यिर् ^० m., यिअ ^० f.	यो m., यी f.
3.	येल्ला c. g.	यियो or य्यो m., यिर् ^० f.	यिअो m., यी f.	यो m., यी f.
		H. H.	P.	G.
1.		या m., यी f.	या m., यी f.	ययो m., ययी f., ययुं n.
2.		या m., यी f.	या m., यी f.	ययो m., ययी f., ययुं n.
3.		या m., यी f.	या m., यी f.	ययो m., ययी f., ययुं n.

Preterite. Plural.

	O.	Naip.	• S.	Kn.
1.	थेलुँ c. g.	थिऊँ or थूँ c. g.	थिन्नासी m., थिऊँसी f.	थे m., थी f.
2.	थेल c. g.	थियौ or थ्यौ c. g.	थिन्नाउ m., थिऊँ f.	थे m., थी f.
3.	थेले c. g.	थिये or थे c. g.	थिन्ना m., थिऊँ f.	थे m., थी f.

	H. H.	P.	G.
1.	थे m., थी f.	थे m., थोन्नौ f.	थया m., थयो f., थयौ n.
2.	थे m., थी f.	थे m., थोन्नौ f.	थया m., थयो f., थयौ n.
3.	थे m., थो f.	थे m., थोन्नौ f.	थया m., थयो f., थयौ n.

The pres. conj. is: 1. sg. G. थाउँ, S. थिन्नौ; 2. sg. G. थाय्, S. थिरँ or थौ; 3. sg. G. थाय्, S. थिर; 1. pl. G. थये or थैये, S. थिऊँ; 2. pl. G. थायो, S. थियो; 3. pl. G. थाय, S. थिन्न or थोन्. The pres. indic. is in G. थाउँ छुँ, etc., S. थिन्नौ थो, etc. (see § 501, 1. 5); the fut. indic. in G. थेश्, etc., S. थोदुसे, etc. (see § 509, 2. 6. 7); the imper. G. था or थाते, etc., S. थोउ or थोते, etc. (see §§ 497. 499); the infin. in G. थवुँ, S. थिन्नु; the part. pres. in G. थतो, S. थोदो; the adv. part. in G. थते or थतौ, S. थोदे. — The original of this verb appears to be the Skr. R. स्था *stand, exist*, which in Pr. becomes ठा or था (H. C. 4, 16); e. g., 3. sg. Pr. ठाड् (H. C. 4, 436) or थाड्, G. थाय्; 3. pl. Pr. थन्ति (H. C. 4, 395) or *थाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), G. थाय्. The S. थिन्नु *to be* is derived from the R. स्था, just as S. पिन्नु *to drink*, from R. पा, S. डिन्नु *to give*, from R. दा; i. e., it is founded on a reduplicated radical form *स्थित (for the ordinary Skr. तिष्ठ), analogous to पिब, दद.

THIRD CHAPTER. CONJUGATION.**1. THE DEFECTIVE AUXILIARY VERB.**

515. There is only a pres. tense; the pret. is supplied from the verb रह् *to remain* and the rest from the complete auxil. verb हो *to be* (see §§ 513. 516).

a) Present tense: *I am*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem. •	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. बाटो ¹⁾	बायू	बाटी	बाटी
2. बाटेस् or बाटे	बाटिस् or बाटी	बाटह् or बाट	बायू
3. बाटै or बाय् or बा	बाटै or बाय् or बा	बाटै	बाटी

b) Preterite tense: *I was*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. रहलो	रहल्यू	रहलो	रहली
2. रहलेस् or रहले	रहलिस् or रहली	रहलह् or रहल	रहल्यू
3. रहल्	रहल्	रहलेन् or रहलै	रहलिन् or रहली

2. THE WEAK COMPLETE AUXILIARY VERB.

516. This verb is complete with the exception of the pret., which is supplied from the verb *रह्य्* to remain, to dwell; see § 513, note 2.

Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I am*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होवो ²⁾	हयू	हई	हई
2. होवे	होनी	होवह् or होव	हयू
3. होवै or हो	होवै or हो	होवै	हई

b) Preterite tense: *I was*, etc.

This is the same as the pret. of the def. auxil. verb; see § 515, b.

c) Future tense: *I shall be*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. होवो ³⁾ or होइवो	होवै or होइवै or होव् or होइव्
2. होवेस् or होइवेस् or होवे or होइवे ³⁾	होवह् or होइवह् or होव or होइव
3. होई	होइहै

1) Throughout, the initial consonant may optionally be *व्* or *ब्*, and in the low forms of E. H. the medial cons. may be *ह्* or *र* (§ 145).

2) The masc. form may throughout be used also as fem.

3) Fem. also: होविस् or होवी or होइविस् or होइवी.

Conjunctive mood.

d) Present tense: *I be*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. हो ^{हुँ}	हो ^ई
2. हो	हो ^इ or हो
3. होय	हो ^य

e) Preterite tense: *I were*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होतो [ँ] or होतो [ँ]	होतूँ	होइत्	होइत्
2. होतेस् or होते	होतिस् or होती	होतइ or होत	होत्यू
3. होत् or होतै	होत् or होतै	होतेन् or हेतै [ँ]	होतिन् or होती [ँ]

Imperative mood.

f) Present tense: *let me be*, etc.; the same as pres. conj.

3. THE STRONG COMPLETE AUXILIARY VERB.

517. This verb is conjugated regularly throughout; see § 514, 3.

Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I am*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होखँलो [ँ]	होखँलूँ	होखोला	होखोला
2. होखँलेस् or °ले	होखँलिस् or °ली	होखँलइ or °ल	होखँल्यू
3. होखँला	होखँलै	होखँलै [ँ]	होखँलौ [ँ]

b) First preterite: *I was*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. होख्यो [ँ]	होखा
2. होखिस्	होख्यू
3. होखिस्	होखिन्

Or: Second preterite.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होखलो [ँ]	होखलूँ	होखली	होखली
2. होखलेस् or °ले	होखलिस् or °ली	होखलइ or °ल	होखल्यू
3. होखल्	होखल्	होखलै [ँ]	होखलौ [ँ]

c) Future tense: *I shall be*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होखबो ¹⁾	होखबूँ	होखबू or ^० बै	होखबू or ^० बै
2. होखबेस् or ^० बै	होखबिस् or बो	होखबहू or ^० ब	होखबू
3. होखी	होखी	होखिहै	होखिहै

Conjunctive mood.

d) Present tense: *I be*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. होखो ^०	होखो ^०
2. होखु	होखहू or होख
3. होखे	होखै ^०

e) Preterite tense: *I were*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होखतो ^० or ^० व्यो ^०	होखतूँ	होखतो or ^० खित	होखतो or ^० खित
2. होखतेस् or ^० ते	होखतिस् or ^० ती	होखतहू or ^० त	होखतू
3. होखतै or ^० तू	होखतै or ^० तू	होखतै ^०	होखती ^०

Imperative mood.

f) Present: *let me be*, etc. Like the pres. conj.

Precative forms: 2. sg. होखिरे, 2. pl. होखिह or होखी.

g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are formed like those of the regular active verb पढ़ to read, see § 521; e. g., मैं होखतू चाटो *I am being*, etc.

Participles.

Adjectival: pres. होखतू *being*, past होखलू *been*.Conjunctive: होखे के *having been*.

Adverbial: pres. होखतै or होखतै *on being*, past होखले *on having been*.

Infinitives.

Nom. होखतू *to be*, acc. होखे के or होखे के, etc.

4. THE DEFECTIVE NEGATIVE AUXILIARY VERB.

518. This verb exists only in the present tense of the three moods; see § 514, 3.

1) Or: होखिबो^०, होखिबेस्, etc.

a) Present indicative: *I am not*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. नैखो ¹ or नैखूँ	नैख्युँ ¹)	नैखी	नैखी
2. नैखेस् or नैखे	नैखिस् or नैखी	नैखह् or नैख	नैख्यु ¹)
3. नैखे	नैखी ¹)	नैखै ¹	नैखी ¹)

b) Pres. conj. and imp. like the pres. indic.

5. THE REGULAR ACTIVE VERB.

519. There is only one conjugation. With the exception of a very few irregular verbs (see §§ 525—527), all verbs, whether ending in a consonant or a vowel, are conjugated precisely alike. One example, therefore, of an active verb, fully conjugated, is sufficient. For the sake of convenience, however, a list of the first persons sing. and plur. of a few typical verbs will be added; the remainder to be supplied by the student. It may be noted, as a practical rule, that an euphonic semicons. may be added to any verb which ends with a vowel; viz. *य्* to verbs in ई, and *त्* to verbs in ऊ or ओ. Thus every verb may be made to have a consonantal termination; and after the required verbal form has been made, the euph. cons. may be again omitted; and the resultant form will be that of the verb as ending in a vowel.

520.

The elements.

पठ्ठ् to read; root पठ्; bases पठ्ण्, पठल्.

The radical and participial tenses.

Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. पठ्ठेलो ¹ or °ल्यो ¹	पठ्ठेल्युँ	पठ्ठेला	पठ्ठेला
2. पठ्ठेलेस् or °ले	पठ्ठेलिस् or °ली	पठ्ठेलह् or °ल or °ल्यह्	पठ्ठेल्यु
3. पठ्ठेला ²)	पठ्ठेले	पठ्ठेलेन् or पठ्ठेलै ¹	पठ्ठेलिन् or °ली ¹

1) Or like masc.

2) Or पठ्ठेलो¹, पठ्ठेलेस्, पठ्ठेला, and so on throughout.

b) First preterite: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. पठ्यो ^१	पठ्वा
2. पठिस्	पठ्यौ
3. पठिस्	पठिन्

Or second preterite: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. पठलो ^२ or ०ल्यो ^२	पठल्यू ^२	पठली	पठली
2. पठले	पठलिस् or ०ली	पठलह् or ०ल or ०ल्यह्	पठल्यू
3. पठलेस्	पठलेस्	पठलेन् or ०ले ^२	पठलिन् or ०ली ^२

c) Future: *I shall read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem. ¹⁾	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. पठ्यो ^{२)}	पठ्यौ	पठ्य् or ०त्रे	पठ्य् or ०त्रे
2. पठ्येस् or ०त्रे	पठ्यिस् or ०त्री	पठ्यह् or ०त्र	पठ्यू or ०त्रू
3. पठ्ये	पठ्ये	पठ्ये ^२	पठ्ये ^२

Conjunctive mood.

d) Present: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. पठो ^१	पठो ^१
2. पठु or पठ	पठु or पठ
3. पठे	पठे ^२

e) Preterite: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. पठतो ^१ or ०त्यो ^१	पठत्यू ^१	पठतो or पठित्	पठतो or पठित्
2. पठतेस् or ०ते	पठतिस् or ०ती	पठतह् or ०त or ०त्यह्	पठत्यू
3. पठत् or ०ते	पठत् or ०ते	पठतेन् or ०ते ^१	पठतिन् or ०ती ^१

Imperative mood.

f) Present: *let me read*, etc. Like pres. conj.

Precative forms: 2. sing. पठिहे, 2. plur. पठिह.

1) Throughout the masc. forms may be used for the fem.

2) Or पठिओ^२, पठिओस्, and so on throughout.

521.

The periphrastic tenses.

Indicative mood.

g) Durative or definitive present: *I am reading, etc.*

Sing. Masc.

Sing. Fem.¹⁾

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 1. पठ्न् बाढो" or प° होवो" | पठ्न् बायू" or प° हयू" |
| 2. पठ्न् बाटेस् or बाटे or होवे | पठ्न् बाटिस् or बाटी or होवी |
| 3. पठ्न् बाटे or बाय् or बा or होवै or हो | पठ्न् बाटे or होवै etc. |

Plur. Masc.

Plur. Fem.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. पठ्न् बाटी or प° हई | पठ्न् बाटी or प° हई |
| 2. पठ्न् बाटह् or बाट or होवह् or होव | पठ्न् बायू or हयू |
| 3. पठ्न् बाटे" or होवै" | पठ्न् बाटी" or हई" |

h) Durative pret. or imperfect: *I was reading, etc.*

Sing. Masc.

Sing. Fem.

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. पठ्न् रहलो" | पठ्न् रहलू" |
| 2. पठ्न् रहलेस् or °ले | पठ्न् रहलिस् or °ली |
| 3. पठ्न् रहल् | पठ्न् रहल् |

Plur. Masc.

Plur. Fem.

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. पठ्न् रहलो | पठ्न् रहली |
| 2. पठ्न् रहलह् or °ल | पठ्न् रहल्यू |
| 3. पठ्न् रहलेन् or °ले" | पठ्न् रहलिन् or °ली" |

i) Durative future: *I shall be reading, etc.*

Sing. Masc. and Fem.

Plur. Masc. and Fem.

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1. पठ्न् होवो" or प° होववो" ²⁾ | पठ्न् होवै or प° होववै |
| 2. पठ्न् होवेस् or प° होववेस् | पठ्न् होवह् or प° होववह् |
| 3. पठ्न् होई or प° होवी | पठ्न् होइहै" or प° होविहै" |

k) Definite pret. or perfect: *I have read, etc.*

Sing. Masc.

Sing. Fem.¹⁾

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. पठले बाढो" or प° होवो" | पठले बायू" or हयू" |
| 2. पठले बाटेस् or बाटे or होवे | पठले बाटिस् or बाटी or होवी |
| 3. पठले बाटे or बाय् or बा or होवै or हो | पठले बाटे or होवै etc. |

1) Optionally the masc. forms may be used for the fem.

2) Or प° होइवो" or प° होखिवो", etc.; in fact any of the forms given in §§ 516, c. 517, c may be used.

Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1. पढ़ले बाटो or प ^० हई	पढ़ले बाटो or प ^० हई
2. पढ़ले बाटह or बाट or होवह or होव	पढ़ले बायू or हयू
3. पढ़ले बाटै or होवै	पढ़ले बाटो or हई

1) Pluperfect: *I had read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1. पढ़ले रहलो	पढ़ले रहल्यू
2. पढ़ले रहलेस् or ले	पढ़ले रहलिस or ली
3. पढ़ले रहल्	पढ़ले रहल्

Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1. पढ़ले रहली	पढ़ले रहली
2. पढ़ले रहलह or ल	पढ़ले रहल्यू
3. पढ़ले रहलेन् or लै	पढ़ले रहलिन or ली

m) Future exact: *I shall have read*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. पढ़ले होयो or प ^० होखयो	पढ़ले होयै or प ^० होखयै
2. पढ़ले होयैस् or प ^० होखयैस्	पढ़ले होयह or प ^० होखयह
3. पढ़ले होई or प ^० होखी	पढ़ले होईहै or प ^० होखिहै

Conjunctive mood.

n) Future conditional: *(if) I be reading*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. पढ़त् होहु or प ^० होखु	पढ़त् होई or प ^० होखो
2. पढ़त् हो or प ^० होखु	पढ़त् होह or हो or प ^० होखह or होख
3. पढ़त् होय or प ^० होखे	पढ़त् होय or प ^० होखे

o) Durative pres. condit.: *(if) I were reading*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1. पढ़त् होतो	पढ़त् होत्यू
2. पढ़त् होतैस् or प ^० होतै	पढ़त् होतिस or प ^० होती
3. पढ़त् होत् or प ^० होतै	पढ़त् होत् or प ^० होतै
Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1. पढ़त् होइत्	पढ़त् होइत्
2. पढ़त् होतह or प ^० होत	पढ़त् होत्यू
3. पढ़म् होतेन् or प ^० होतै	पढ़त् होतिन् or प ^० होती

p) Fut. exact condit.: (if) *I have read*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.

Plur. Masc. and Fem.

1. पढ़ले हो-हुँ or प° होखो

पढ़ले होई or प° होखी

2. पढ़ले हो or प° होखु

पढ़ले होइ or प° होखइ etc.

3. पढ़ले होय or प° होखे

पढ़ले होय or प° होखे

q) Preterite condit.: (if) *I had read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.

Sing. Fem.

1. पढ़ले होतो

पढ़ले होतू

2. पढ़ले होतेस् or प° होते

पढ़ले होतिस् or होती

3. पढ़ले होत or प° होतै

पढ़ले होत or होतै

Plur. Masc.

Plur. Fem.

1. पढ़ले होइत

पढ़ले होइत

2. पढ़ले होतइ or प° होत

पढ़ले होतइ

3. पढ़ले होतेन् or प° होतै

पढ़ले होतिन् or प° होतै

522.

Participles.

a) Adjectival: pres. पढ़त् *reading*, past पढ़ल् *having read* or *read*.

b) Conjunctive: पढ़ के or पढ़े के *having read*.

c) Adverbial: pres. पढ़ते or पढ़तै *on reading*, past पढ़ले *on having read*.

Infinitives.

Nom. पढ़् to *read*, acc. पढ़वे के or पढ़े के *for to read* or *for reading*, instr. पढ़वे से or पढ़े से, etc.

Noun of agency.

Masc. or fem. पढ़निहार *reader*, or fem. पढ़निहारो.

6. LIST OF TYPICAL REGULAR ACTIVE VERBS.

523.

Elements.

a) रहब *dwel*, root रह्, bases रहत्, रहल्

b) पीयब *drink*, " पी or पीय्, " पीयत्, पीयल्

c) चूखब *drip*, " चू, " चूखत्, चूखल्

or चूवब, " (चूव्), " चूवत्, चूवल्

d) रोखब *weep*, " रो, " रोखत्, रोखल्

or रोवब, " (रोव्) " रोवत्, रोवल्

a) Present indicative.

	Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a) रहैला	रहैले	plur.	रहैलेन्	रहैलिन्
	b) पोयैला	पोयैले		पोयैलेन्	पोयैलिन्
	c) चूऐला	चूऐले		चूऐलेन्	चूऐलिन्
	d) रोऐला	रोऐले		रोऐलेन्	रोऐलिन्

b) First preterite.

	Masc. and Fem.		Masc. and Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a) रहिस्	plur.	रहिन्
	b) पोयिस्		पोयिन्
	c) चूइस्		चूइन्
	d) रोइस्		रोइन्

Second preterite.

	Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a) रहल्	रहल्	plur.	रहलेन्	रहलिन्
	b) पियलेस्	पियलेस्		पोयलेन्	पोयलिन्
	c) चूअल्	चूअल्		चूअलेन्	चूअलिन्
	d) रोअल्	रोअल्		रोअलेन्	रोअलिन्

c) Future indicative ¹⁾.

	Masc. and Fem.		Masc. and Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a) रहै	plur.	रहिहै
	b) पो or पोई		पोहै
	c) चूई		चूइहै
	d) रोई		रोइहै

d) Pres. conj. or f) Pres. imper.

	Masc. and Fem.		Masc. and Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a) रहै	plur.	रहै
	b) पोयै		पोयै
	c) चूऐ		चूऐ
	d) रोऐ		रोऐ

1) 1. pers. sing. masc. रहबो^० or रहिबो^०; पियबो^० or पोबो^०; चुअबो^० or चइबो^०; रोअबो^० or रोइबो^०.

e) Preterite conjunctive.

	Masc. and Fem.		Masc.		Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a) रहत् or रहतै	plur.	रहतेन्		रहतिन्
	b) पीयत् or पीयतै		पीयतेन्		पीयतिन्
	c) चूषत् or चूषतै		चूषतेन्		चूषतिन्
	d) रोषत् or रोषतै		रोषतेन्		रोषतिन्

f) Precative forms.

	Masc. and Fem.		Masc. and Fem.
2. pers. sing.	a) रहिहे	plur.	रहिह
	b) पीहे		पीह
	c) चूइहे		चूइह
	d) रोइहे		रोइह

g) Durative or definite present.

	Masc. and Fem.		Masc.		Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a) रहत् बाटै or र ^० होवै	plur.	रहत् बाटै or होवै		र ^० बाटी or हई
	b) पीयत् बाटै or प ^० होवै		पीयत् बाटै or होवै		प ^० बाटी or हई
	c) चूषत् बाटै or चू ^० होवै		चूषत् बाटै or होवै		चू ^० बाटी or हई
	d) रोषत् बाटै or र ^० होवै		रोषत् बाटै or होवै		र ^० बाटी or हई

1) Pluperfect indicative.

	Masc. and Fem.		Masc.		Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a) रहल् रहल्	plur.	रहल् रहलेन्		रहल् रहलिन्
	b) पीयले रहल्		पीयले रहलेन्		पीयले रहलिन्
	c) चूषल् रहल्		चूषल् रहलेन्		चूषल् रहलिन्
	d) रोषल् रहल्		रोषल् रहलेन्		रोषल् रहलिन्

The remaining periphrastic tenses are made after the analogy of Nro. g and l.

524.

Participles.

	Adjectival.		Conjunctive.		Adverbial.
a)	रहत् रहल्		रह के ¹⁾		रहते रहले
b)	पीयत् पीयल्		पी के		पीयते पीयले
c)	चूषत् चूषल्		चूय के		चूषते चूषले
d)	रोषत् रोषल्		रोय के		रोषते रोषले

1) Or: रहे के, पीरे के, etc.

Infinitives.

a) रहब्	Acc. रहै के or रहबे के
b) पीयब्	" पीये के or पीबे के
c) चूम्बब्	" चूऐ के or चूम्बे के
d) रोम्बब्	" रोऐ के or रोम्बे के

Noun of agency.

a) रहनिहार, b) पीयनिहार, c) चूम्बनिहार, d) रोम्बनिहार; fem. °रो.

7. IRREGULAR ACTIVE VERBS.

525. There are three kinds of irregularities. *Firstly*; some verbs add the suffixes ल्, त् and व् instead of ऐल् or अल् (of the pres. indic.), अत् (of the pres. part.) and अच् or इच् (of the future). This is done by all verbal roots in आ and ए and by the root हो be. But the roots in आ and the R. हो may optionally take इच्.

Secondly; some verbs have a special form of the past participle (and of all tenses derived from it), of the conjunctive part., and of the first preterite tense. These are the verbal roots: कर् do, धर् put, आव् come, पाव् find, जा go, दे give, ले take, हो be.

Thirdly; the two verbal roots दे give and ले take add no suffix in the 2. and 3. pers. sing. pres. conj. and imper.

Note also, that आव् or अच्, आग or अय, आइ or अइ are often contracted into ओ or ऐ respectively (see § 34).

The following verbs will serve as types: खाच् to eat, जाच् to go, देच् to give, होच् to be, करच् to do, आवच् to come. All other verbs in आ are conjugated like खाच्; लेच् to take is conjugated like देच्, धर्च् to put like करच्, पावच् to find like आवच्.

526.

a) Present indicative.

1. sing.	3. sing.	1. plur.	3. plur.
a) जालो	जाला	जाईला	जालेन्
b) देलो	देला	देईला	देलेन्
c) होलो	होला	होईला	होलेन्

b) First preterite.

	1. sing.	3. sing.	1. plur.	3. plur.
a) गयो ^०	गयिस्	गया	गयिन्	
b) दियो ^०	दिहिस्	दिया	दिहिन्	
c) भयो ^०	भयिस्	भया	भयिन्	
d) कियो ^०	किहिस्	किया	किहिन्	
e) आयो ^०	आइस्	आया	आइन्	
f) लायो ^०	लाइस्	लाया	लाइन्	

Second preterite.

a) गइलो ^{० 1)}	गयल् ¹⁾	गइली ¹⁾	गइलेन् ¹⁾
b) दिहलो ^०	दिहलेस्	दिहली	दिहलेन् ¹⁾
c) भइलो ^{० 1)}	भयल् ¹⁾	भइली ¹⁾	भइलेन् ¹⁾
d) कइलो ^{० 1)}	कइलेस् ¹⁾	कइली ¹⁾	कइलेन् ¹⁾
e) अइलो ^{० 1)}	आयल् ¹⁾	अइली ¹⁾	अइलेन् ¹⁾
f) लइलो ^{० 1)}	लइलेस् ¹⁾	लइली ¹⁾	लइलेन् ¹⁾

c) Future.

a) जावो ^{० 2)}	जाई	जाव् or जावै ²⁾	जइहै ²⁾
b) देवो ^०	देई	देव् or देवै	देइहै ^०
c) होवो ^{० 3)}	होई	होव् or होवै	होइहै ^०

d) Pres. conj. and f) Pres. imper.

	1. sg.	2. sg. ⁴⁾	3. sg.	1. pl.	2. pl. ⁵⁾	3. pl.
a) जाव्	जा	जाय	जाई ^०	जाह्	जाव्यै	
b) दो	दे	दे	देई ^०	देह्	दे	
c) हो ⁶⁾	हो	होय्	होई ^०	होह्	होय्यै	

1) Or: गैलो^०, गइल्, गैली, गैलेन्, ऐलो^०, आइल्, etc.

2) Or: जइवो^० or जैवो^०, जाइव् or जइवै or जैवै, जैहै^०.

3) Or: होइवो^० or होखवो^० or होखिवो^०, etc. The verb आव् come formes regularly अइवो^० or ऐवो^० or अउवो^० or औवो^०, आई, आइव् or आउव् or आउव्, अइहै^० or ऐहै^०, etc.

4) Or: जो; but not देउ.

5) Or: जा; यह् or य; हो.

6) Or: होहु^० or होखो^०, as in §§ 516, d. 517, d.

e) Preterite conjunctive.

1. sg.	3. sg. masc.	1. pl.	3. pl. masc.
a) ज्ञातो ^७	ज्ञात् ^{१)}	ज्ञात् ^{२)}	ज्ञातेन् ^{३)}
b) देतो ^७	देत्	देइत्	देतेन्.
c) होतो ^७	होत्	होइत्	होतेन्

f) Precative forms.

2. sing.	2. plur.
a) जइहे or जैहे	जइह or जैह
b) देइहे	देइह
c) होइहे	होइह

g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are made regularly by means of the pres. and past part. and the auxiliary verb; provided only, that trans. verbs use the past part. in ले, and intrans. verbs that in ल्. Thus, 3. sg. pluperf. गयल् रहल् *he had gone*, but दिहले रहल् *he had given*.

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Participles.

Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
a) ज्ञात्, गयल् ^{४)}	ज्ञाय् के ^{५)}	ज्ञातै, गैले ^{४)}
b) देत्, दिहल्	दे के	देतै, दिहले
c) होत्, भयल् ^{४)}	होतै के	होतै, भैले ^{४)}
d) कर्त्, कयल् ^{४)}	कय् के	कर्तै, कैले ^{४)}
e) आयत्, आयल् ^{४)}	आय् के	आतै, ऐले ^{४)}
f) खात्, खायल् ^{४)}	खाय् के	खातै, खैले ^{४)}

Infinitives.

Nouns of agency.

a) ज्ञाब् ^{६)} , ज्ञाये के or ज्ञाये के	ज्ञानिहार, fem. ०री
b) देब्, देए के or देबे के	देनिहार, " ०री
c) होब्, होए के or होबे के	होनिहार, " ०री

1) Or: ज्ञातै, देतै, होतै.

2) Or: ज्ञाती, देती, होती.

3) Or: ज्ञातै^७, देतै^७, होतै^७.

4) Or: गइल्, गइले; भइल्, भइले, etc.

5) Or contr. जै के, दै के, कै के, etc.

6) Or: ज्ञाइब्, ज्ञाइबे or ज्ञाबे के; होइब्, होइबे के; आइब्, आइबे or ऐबे के, etc.

8. THE REGULAR COMPOUND PASSIVE VERB.

528. The forms of the pass. verb are composed of the past part. in *अल्* of the principal (i. e. active) verb and the tenses of the verb *जाच्* to go (§ 479). The formation of the past part. is explained in §§ 302—307; and the conjugation of the verb *जाच्* is given in §§ 525—527. The form of the past part. never changes, but the forms of the verb *जाच्* vary, as usual, according to the person, number and gender of the subject.

Present indicative.

Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1. पठल् जालो ^०	पठल् जाल्यु ^०
2. पठल् जालेस् or प ^० जाले	पठल् जालिस् or प ^० जाली
3. पठल् जाला	पठल् जाले
Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1. पठल् जाईला	पठल् जाईला
2. पठल् जालह् or प ^० जाल	पठल् जाल्यु
3. पठल् जालेन् or प ^० जालै ^०	पठल् जालिन् or प ^० जाली ^०

The rest of the tenses may be formed after the above manner.

Participles.

Adjectival. .	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
पठल् जात्, प ^० गयल्	पठल् जाय् के	पठल् जातै प ^० गैले
Infinitives.	Nouns of agency.	
पठल् जाच्, प ^० जाये के or प ^० जाये के	पठल् जानिहार; fem. ^० री	

9. IRREGULAR COMPOUND PASSIVE VERBS.

529. There are only two irregular verbs; viz. *जाच्* to go and *होच्* to be (§ 479, exc.). The former uses the participial form *जायल्*, instead of *गयल्* in the formation of the compound pass., the latter the part. form *होअल्* or, optionally, *भयल्*. All other active verbs, which form an irregular past part. (see §§ 527. 304), use the same also in the compound pass. Thus, *कयल् जाला* it is done; *दिहल् जाला* it is given; but *जायल् जाला* it can go (lit. it is gone); *होअल् जाला* it can be, see § 530.

530. The pass. voice of intrans. verbs is only used in an impersonal and potential sense. Thus, *मो रो बइठल् नाही* जाला lit. *by me it cannot be sat*, i. e., *I cannot sit*; or *मो से खरा नाही* होयल् (or भयल्) जात् खाटे *I cannot stand up*.

Note: The compound pass. verbs should be carefully distinguished from the compound intensive verbs; see § 538, a.

10. THE POTENTIAL PASSIVE VERB.

531. The potent. pass. verb, as to the formation of which see § 482, is conjugated precisely like any other (active) verb in *भा*, e. g., like *खाब्* to eat, the conjugation of which is given in §§ 525—527.

a) Present: *I can be read*, etc.

	Sg. Masc.	Fem.	Pl. Masc.	Fem.
1.	पढालो	पढाल्य	पढाईला	पढाईला
2.	पढालेम् ¹⁾	पढालिम् ¹⁾	पढालह् ¹⁾	पढाल्य
3.	पढाला	पढाले	पढालेन् ¹⁾	पढालिन् ¹⁾

b) Preterite: *I could be read*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढइलो or पढेलो; 3. sg. पढायल् or पढाइल्, etc.
There is no first preterite form of the potent. pass.

c) Future: *I shall be able to be read*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढइयो or पढेयो or पढायो, 3. sg. पढाई; pl. पढइहे or पढेहे, etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may be able to be read*, etc.

Sing. 1.	पढाव्	2. पढा or पढो	3. पढाय्
Plur. 1.	पढाई	2. पढाह् or पढा	3. पढाव्

e) Pret. conj.: *I would be able to be read*, etc.

1. sing. masc. पढालो; plur. पढाली or पढाइल्, etc.

Periphrastic tenses.

g) Dur. pres. 1. sg. masc. पढात् खाटो or प⁰ होवो, etc.

h) Dur. pret. " " पढात् रहलो, etc.

i) Dur. fut. " " पढात् होवो or प⁰ होखवो, etc.

1) Or: 2. sg. m. पढाले, f. पढाली; pl. m. पढाल; 3. pl. m. पढालै, f. पढाली.

k) Perfect 1. sg. masc. पढायल् बाटो^० or प^० होवो^० or पढाइल् ब^० or प^० ह^०, etc.

l) Pluperfect " " पढायल् रह्लो^० or पढाइल् र^०, etc.

Participles.

Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
पढात्, पढायल् or पढाइल्	पढाय् के	पढाते, पढइले or पढैले
Infinitives.	Nouns of agency.	
पढाव् or पढाइव्, पढाये के or पढैये के	पढनिहार, fem. ०री	

11. IRREGULAR POTENTIAL PASSIVE VERBS.

532. There is only one anomalous case; viz. the verb खाव् to eat. It forms its potent. pass. root irregularly, viz. खिया; but the root, thus formed, is conjugated quite regularly. Observe also, that the verbs देव् to give and लेव् to take make their potent. pass. roots दिया and लिया (§ 482). The verbs आव् to come, जाव् to go and होव् to be possess no potent. passive.

12. THE SIMPLE CAUSAL VERB.

533. The simple causal verb, as to the formation of which see § 474, is conjugated regularly like any other (active) verb in व्; provided that ०आवो^० becomes आई (§ 33) and antepenultimate ०आव^०, ०आय^० become अउ or औ, अइ or ऐ (§ 34).

a) Present: *I cause to read or I teach*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढावैलो^० or पढावलो^०; pl. पढाइला, etc.

b) First pret.: *I caused to read or I taught*, etc.

Sg. 1. पढायो^०, 2. and 3. पढाइय^०; pl. 1. पढाया, 2. पढायी, 3. पढाइन्.

Second preterite.

1. sg. पढउलो^० or पढौलो^०; pl. पढउली or पढौली, etc.

c) Future: *I shall cause to read or I shall teach*, etc.

Sg. 1. पढइबो^० or पढैबो^० or पढउबो^० or पढौबो^०, 3. पढाई, etc.

Pl. 1. पढाइव् or पढाउव्, 3. पढइहै^० or पढैहै^०, etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may cause to read*, etc.

Sg. 1. पढावो^०, 2. पढाव् or पढावु or पढाउ, 3. पढावै.

Pl. 1. पढाई, 2. पढावह् or पढाव, 3. पढावै.

e) Pret. conj.: *I would cause to read, etc.*

1. sg. masc. पढउतो or पढौतो, 3. पढावत् or पढौतै; pl. 1. पढाइत्, etc.

g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are made regularly by means of the pres. and past part.; provided only, that causal verbs, being trans., use the past part. in ले. Thus 3. sg. masc. imperf. पढावत् रहल् *he was causing to read or he was teaching*; again 3. sg. masc. perf. पढौले बाटे *he has caused to read or he has taught, etc.*

Participles.

Adjectival.

Conjunctive.

Adverbial.

पढावत् पढावल्

पढाय् के

पढौतै पढौले

Infinitives.

Nouns of agency.

पढाइच् or पढावच्, पढावै के or पढेवै के

पढौनिहार; fem. ०री

13. THE DOUBLE CAUSAL VERB.

534. The double caus. verb, as to the formation of which see § 477, is conjugated precisely like the simple causal verb (§ 533).

a) Present: *I cause to teach, etc.*

1. sg. masc. पढावेलो or पढावलो; pl. पढाइला, etc.

b) First. pret.: *I caused to teach, etc.*

1. sg. पढावयो, 2. and 3. पढाइस्; pl. 1. पढाया, 3. पढाइन्, etc.

Second preterite.

1. sg. masc. पढवउतो or पढवौतो, 3. पढवउलेस् or पढवौलेस्, etc.

c) Future: *I shall cause to teach, etc.*

1. sg. masc. पढवइवो or पढवैवो or पढवउवो or पढवौवो, 3. पढवाई, etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may cause to teach, etc.*

1. sg. पढावो, 2. पढाव् or पढावु or पढाउ; 1. pl. पढाई, etc.

e) Pret. conj.: *I would cause to teach, etc.*

1. sg. m. पढवउतो or पढवौतो, 3. पढावत् or पढवौतै; 1. pl. पढाइत्, etc.

Participles.

Infinitive.

पढावत् पढावल्

पढाइच् or पढावच्

14. THE PASSIVE OF THE SIMPLE AND DOUBLE CAUSAL VERBS.

535. Causal verbs cannot form the potent., but only the compound passive. The latter is formed and conjugated precisely like that of any other (active) verb. Thus, simple caus. pass. infinit. पढावलु तान् *to be caused to read or to be taught*; and double caus. pass. inf. पढावलु तान् *to be caused to teach*, and so forth.

15. IRREGULAR CAUSAL VERBS.

536. 1) The verb खाच् *to eat* forms its simple causal लियावच् *to cause to eat or to feed*, and its double causal लियावावच् *to cause to feed*. Similarly the verbs लेच् *to take* and देच् *to give* form लियावच्, लियावावच् and दियावच्, दियावावच् respectively (§ 474, exc.).

2) The verbs आवच् *to come* and जान् *to go* possess no causals. Instead of them, the intensive compound verbs लेआवच् *to bring* (= *to cause to come*) and लेजानच् *to remove* (= *to cause to go*) are used (see § 538, a). These two compound verbs are conjugated precisely like the two simple verbs आवच् and जान्. Thus their infinit. pass. are लेआयलु तान् *to be brought* and लेजायलु तान् *to be removed*.

3) Of the verb होच् *to be* there is no causal in use, whether simple or double, active or passive.

FOURTH CHAPTER. COMPOUND VERBS.

537. Compound verbs are made by adding to the principal verb, which takes the form of the conj. part. (§ 490) or the oblique infinit. (§ 485) or the adj. part. (§ 486), certain auxiliary verbs. In conjugating, the latter only are inflected, while the former remains unchanged.

538. The verbs most commonly used as auxiliaries to form such comp. verbs are :

a) For making *intensitives*; देब् to give (implying intensity), उलब् to throw (violence); आइब् to come and जाइब् to go (completion); पर्ब् (or W. H. पड्) to fall (chance); उठब् to rise (suddenness); लेब् to take (reflexiveness). In such intensitive comp. verbs the auxil. verb has no significance of its own, but merely serves to modify the meaning of the principal verb. The latter takes the form of the conj. part. Thus, फेक्कब् to throw, but फेक्क देब् to throw away; तोर् उलब् to break into pieces, from तोर्ल् to break; बन् आइब् or बन् जाइब् to be made up, completed, from बनब् to be made; बाय् जाइब् to eat up, from खाइब् to eat; आय् पर्ब् to come accidentally, to turn up, from आइब् to come; बोल् उठब् to speak suddenly, from बोलब् to speak; कार् लेब् to cut for oneself, from कारब् to cut; र्ख् लेब् to place for oneself, to lay by, from र्खब् to place.

b) For making *continuatives*; रहब् to remain and जाइब् to go. In composition with रहब्, the principal verb may take the form either of the conj. or the adj. pres. part.; in conjunction with जाइब्, it may have only the form of the latter participle. Thus, बइर् रहब् or बइठर् रहब् to continue sitting; again पठर् जाइब् to continue reading.

c) For making *frequentatives*; कर्ब् to do. The principal verb takes the form of the obl. infin. Thus, पढै कर्ब् or पढबे क° to read often; आवै कर्ब् or अइबे क° or ऐबे क° to be in the habit of coming.

d) For making *potentials*; सकब् to be able, जानब् to know. The principal verb takes the form of the conj. part. or, less usually, of the obl. infin. Thus, पढ् सकब् or पढै स° or पढबे स° to be able to read; खइबे जानब् or खैबे ज° to be able to eat.

e) For making *completives*; चुकब् to finish. The principal verb takes the form of the conj. part. Thus पढ् चुकब् to finish reading, खाय् चुकब् to finish eating.

f) For making *desideratives*; इहब् (or चाहब्) to wish. The principal verb takes the form of the adj. past part. or the obl. infin. Thus, पढल् इहब् or पढै इ° or पढबे इ° to wish to read.

Very often these derivatives are idiomatically used to express merely *immediate futurity*, as घड़ी बजलुं काहलुं बादै *the clock is about to strike*; बेरू बिसबे काहैला *the time is about to pass*.

g) For making *inchoatives*; लगबू to be applied and होइबू to become. The latter occurs only in the past tense भयलुं *he became*, and, in composition with it, the principal verb takes the form of the adj. pres. part., as पठलुं भयलुं *he began to read*. With लगबू it takes the form of the obl. inf., as पढै लगबू or पढबे लुं to begin to read.

h) For making *permissives*; देबू to give. The principal verb takes the form of the obl. inf. Thus, पढै देबू or पढबे देबू to allow to read; आवै देबू or अइबे दूँ or ऐबे दूँ to allow to come.

i) For making *acquisitives*; पाइबू to obtain. The principal verb takes the form of the obl. inf. Thus, पढै पाइबू or पढबे पौं to be allowed to read.

539. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) The form of the principal verb in intens., contin., potent. and complet. compound verbs is not, as sometimes said (see Kl. 188—191. Eth. 102. 103. Ld. 70), the root of the verb, but the conj. part. This can be clearly seen in E. H., especially in the case of verbs with vocal roots, where the root and the conj. part. have different forms; e. g., to eat up is खाय् (conj. part.) जाइबू, not खा (root) जाइबू; but also in others; e. g., फेँके देबू or फेँक् दूँ to throw away. In fact, these compounds literally mean to come after having eaten; to give after having thrown. Thus, लेआवै lit. means to come after having taken, i. e., to bring; पढे चुकबू or पढ चुँ to give up after having read, i. e., to have done with reading. The H. H., too, has preserved the full conj. part. form in its causals, where it optionally adds य् to roots in आ (see Kl. 188. 192); e. g., बताय् देना or बता दूँ to show. Again O. H. always uses the conj. part. in its original form in इ; as पढि चुकन् to have done reading. Finally M. uses in these compounds the conj. part. in ऊन्; e. g., टाकून् देपोँ to cast away, घेऊन् येपोँ to bring, lit. having taken (from घेपोँ to take) to come (see Man. 92); and likewise B. uses the conj.

part. in इया, G. in ई, S. in ई or ए, O. in इ; e. g., B. खाइया चूकन् *to have done eating* (S. C. 193); G. नाली देवुं *to throw away* (Ed. 113); S. बही बजणु *to take off*, करे चुकणु *to have done doing* (Tr. 339. 342), O. करि बाउं *I am in the habit of doing* (Sn. 42). In the ordinary P., as in H. II., the form of the conj. part. does not differ from that of the root; e. g., बाच सकणा *to be able to read*, खा हटणा *to finish eating* (Ld. 70, d). — 2) As regards those compounds in which the principal verb takes the form of the obl. infin., the latter is the acc. case of the infin. governed by the auxil. verb. Thus पढै करव् *to read often* is lit. *to do reading*, मरवै हाइव् *to be about to die* is lit. *to desire dying*. This is clearly seen from the O., which actually adds the acc. affix कु to the obl. inf. मरिवा कु चाहि *I desire to die*, करिवा कु लागि *I begin to do* (Sn. 41. 12). The termination of the obl. inf. is वा in G., इया in P., ण in S.; e. g., G. जेवा लग्यो *he began to see* (Ed. 51), P. पढिया करदा *he is in the habit of reading* (Ld. 70, e), S. रुमण लगणु *to begin to cry* (Tr. 344, 4). The B. alone forms an exception, in using the obl. form of the pres. part. in इते (or the adverbial part.) in the place of the obl. inf.; e. g., B. मरिते चाहि *I desire to die*, करिते पारि *I am able to do* (S. Ch. 192, 4. 5). Kellogg's conjecture (p. 192), that the H. II. form in या (as पढा करना *to be in the habit of reading*) is not the masc. sing. of the past part. but a „gerund“ (i. e., obl. infin.) and identical with the B. obl. inf. in या (S. C. 149), is quite true. — 3) In those compounds, where the principal verb is in the form of an adj. part., the latter really stands in the position of a *predicate* to the subject or object of the (auxil.) verb. Thus उ पढतु जातु बाटै *he continues reading* is lit. *he is going as a reader*, or उ मरलु चाहतु बाटै *he wishes to die* is lit. *he wishes (himself) as dead*. It appears, therefore, that, strictly speaking, none of these so-called compound verbs are really compounds, but in every case the part. or infin. of the principal verb is in ordinary grammatical construction of some sort with the (so-called) auxil. verb. — 4) These various comp. verbs occur in all Gd. languages, and are generally

formed in the same way, though sometimes a different auxil. verb is used. Thus B. and O. use *पारू* *cross* for *सकू* in potent. (S. Ch. 192, 4. Sn. 41, 2), B. *याक्*, O. *या* *stand* for *रहू* in contin. and for *करू* in frequent. (S. Ch. 191, 1. 192, 3. Sn. 42); P. has *हर्* *with draw*, S. *वर्* *take*, beside *चुक्*, in complet. (Tr. 342, c. Ld. 70, d); S. *वज्* *go* for *जा* in intens. (Tr. 339, a). One exception has been already mentioned in Nro. 2. — 5) Traces of these comp. verbs already occur in Prākrit. Thus there are desideratives in the *Bhagavati*, made by constructing the R. *इच्छ* *wish* with the past part. pass. in *इय*; e. g., *इच्छामि सयम् एव मुंडावियं सयम् एव सिक्खावियं सयम् एव धम्मम् आइक्खियं*, i. e., *I wish myself to shave, myself to instruct, myself to teach the law*, E. II. *इहाहो आपही मूँउल् आपही सिखावल आपही धाम् कै आयसु दिहल्*. See Wb. Bh. 275. 433¹⁾.

FIFTH SECTION. INDECLINABLES.

540. There are four kinds of indeclinables or words incapable of inflexion: 1) adverbs, 2) postpositions, 3) conjunctions, 4) interjections.

1. ADVERBS.

541. Adverbs may be either nominal, pronominal, numeral, verbal or original, according as they are derived from nouns, pronouns, numbers, verbs or from none of these. Again each of these classes may be divided into adv. of time, place and manner. Most adv. are native Hindī, but there are a very few of foreign

1) *आइक्खियं* may be derived from R. *आ-दोच्* (or *आ-दिच्*, for Skr. *आ-दिश्*, cf. Pr. *देख* = *दृच्*, for Skr. *दृष्*) „to instruct, to initiate“. — The E. H. root *इहा* or *चाह* may be better derived from the noun *इच्छा*, by the loss of initial *इ* and the transfer of the aspiration of *छ* (§ 192). Thus Skr. **इच्छायति*, Pr. *इच्छायइ*, Gd. *इहाए* or *चाहै* or *इहै*. Accordingly § 173 should be corrected.

origin, whose native equivalents are obsolete. Again most adv. consist of only one word; but there are some that consist of a phrase or of a repetition of the original word. The following list of adv. lays no claim to completeness. The Sanskrit or foreign source of each is added in brackets.

542. *Nominal adverbs of time.* 1) नर्सौ^० *four days ago* or *four days hence* (for चर्सौ^०? Skr. चतुर-ग्रस्); तर्सौ^० *three days ago* or *three days hence* (Skr. त्रि-ग्रस्); परसौ^० *the day before yesterday* or *the day after to-morrow* (Skr. पर-ग्रस्); काल् or काल्ह or काल्हि *yesterday* or *to-morrow* (Skr. कल्य); बिहान् *to-morrow, at daybreak* (Skr. विभात); अन्नू or अतवा *to-day* (Skr. अय); अतौ^० *hitherto* (Skr. अयापि); पर्यार *the past year* (Skr. पर-काल or पर-वार, cf. §§ 69. 30); तर्के or भिनुसार *at daybreak, at down* (W. H. तटके, Skr. तटक, भिन्-वासर्); निन्न *always* (Skr. नित्य); अगू or अगे *before* (§§ 77, exc. 78, exc.); पाङ् or पाइ or पाइ^० *afterwards* (§§ 77, exc. 78, exc.); पुन् or फुन् or फिन् (§§ 61. 131) or बहुरि *again* (Skr. पुनर्, बहु); निदान् *lastly* (Skr. dto). — 2) Adverbial phrases; ओ दिन् or पर के दिन् *yesterday* (lit. *that day* or *day of before*); लोहिया लाग् (lit. *becoming red*) or आँधसुधारे (lit. *on clearing off of darkness*) *at down, early*; दिन् चरू के (lit. *the day having risen*) *late in the morning*; सच् दिन् *always* (lit. *every day*); बहुत् बेर *frequently*; एक बेर *once* (etc., see § 409); अन्न काल् or एन्हन् दिन् *now-a-days*. — 3) Repetitions; दिन् दिन् *every day*; कबही^० or कब्बो^० कब्बो^० *sometimes*; बार बार *frequently*. — 4) Foreign; आबिर् *lastly* (arabic آخر).

543. *Nominal adverbs of place.* 1) अगारी or अगार^० *before* (§§ 210. 77, exc. 78, exc.); प्हारी or प्हार^० or प्हवारे or पिह^० *behind* (§§ 210. 77, exc. 78, exc.); उपरिया *above* (Skr. उपरि); नीचू or निचइया *below* (Skr. नीच, of नि-अंच्); संसुह or ससुह *in front* (Skr. सम्मुख); अहिर् or अहिर^० *without* (see § 217, p. 110); बीच or बीचू *amidst* (Skr. वृत्य, of वृ surround, cf. § 374, p. 223, or from वि-अंच् surround); नगीच् or नगीचै (see § 545) or नियरे or नेरे or नियर *near* (Skr. निकट, cf. § 104); कौट् or लामे *far* (see §§ 172. 144); सबन्नर *every where* (Ap. Pr. सबन्न, Skr. सर्वन्न). — 2) Phrases; काले कोस् *far* (lit. *some*

miles = W. II. कित्ते कोस्, Skr. कियत्-कोश, Pr. काला, H. C. 3, 65, cf. §§ 438, 4. 464).

544. *Nominal adverbs of manner.* 1) अचानक् (Skr. अचेतनक?) or संतोग (Skr. संयोग) *accidentally, suddenly*; अलग् *separately* (Skr. अलग्न); बहुत् *much* (Skr. बहुत्र); हाली or हलदे or तुरंत *quickly* (see § 545); तावर्तोर् *very quickly*; साँचे *truly* (Skr. सत्य); अकार्ण् (§ 545) or बिथी (Skr. वृथा) *in vain*; नीमन् (Skr. नियमन?) or नीके (persian نیک) *well*; निर्फुल् or केवल *merely* (Skr. दतो); बड़ *very* (§ 145, exc. 2); सभिहै or सम्मे *altogether* (Skr. सर्व). — 2) Phrases; कर्म से *accidentally* (lit. *by fate*); आपुस् से *mutually*; similarly, by adding रीति से or भाँति से or तरह (arab. طرح) *in... manner*, adverbs may be formed from any adj., as भली रीति से *in a good manner, well*. — 3) Repetitions; अलग् अलग् *severally*; रसे रसे or गवै गवै or धीरे धीरे or कले कले *slowly, by and by*; साची *truly*; लग् भग *almost*; कूँह मूँह *falsely*; सचे मुच् *surely*. — 4) Foreign; जरूर *necessarily* (arab. ضرور); जलदी *quickly* (pers. خلدی); कम *a little* (pers. کم); खाली *only* (pers. خالی); अदब् दै के *especially* (lit. *giving respect*; arab. ادب); आस्ते आस्ते or अस्ते अस्ते *slowly* (pers. آهسته).

545. *Derivation.* Adverbs in ए or ऐ or ई are modifications of the Ap. Pr. loc. sing. in अहिं, as explained in §§ 77, exc. 378. — Adverbs in ऊ are modifications of the Ap. Pr. abl. or loc. sing. in अहुं, see §§ 78, exc. 376. 378. — Adv. in इ are modifications of the Ap. Pr. loc. sing. in ए or इ, see §§ 45. 378; e. g., Skr. कल्ये, Pr. कल्ले, Ap. कल्ले or कल्लि, E. H. कालि or कालिह. — Adv. in a quiescent are modif. of the Ap. Pr. acc. sg. or loc. sg.; see §§ 41. 45; e. g., Skr. कल्यं, Pr. कल्लं, E. H. काल्; the latter, however, might have arisen by the quiescence of the final इ in the Ap. Pr. कल्लि or E. H. कालि. — The element 'सौ' (in परसौ, etc.) appears to be the contraction of an Ap. Pr. abl. or loc. सहुं (see § 376), of सो (Skr. श्रुः), formed irregularly after the analogy of nouns (e. g., abl. दिवसहुं, of दिवसो *day*). — E. H. अतवा is derived with the pleon. suff. अवा from आतू, and अतवा is contr. to आतू, see § 199. — E. H. भिनुसार contains an anomalous meta-

thesis of *आ*, if it is correctly derived from Skr. *भिन्नुवासर* „broken day“, „day-break“; whence Pr. **भिखवसार* or **भिखोसार*, E. H. *भिनुसार*. — In *फिन्* and *फुन्* the *फ* and *इ* are, perhaps, assimilations to *फिर्* (§ 547); S. has regularly *पिखि* or *पुखि* or *पुपु* (Tr. 410). — E. H. *बहुर्* is formed by the addition of the pleon. suff. *र्* to Skr. *बहु*, just as in E. H. *बाहिर्*, see §§ 543. 217. — E. H. *अगार*, *पङ्गार*, etc. contain the pleon. suff. *अग्रउग्र* (i. e., *क* + *उ* + *क*), as explained in §§ 210. 217. — E. H. *उपरिया* and *निचर्या* contain the pleon. suff. *इया*, see § 199. — E. H. *नगीच्* is, probably, a corruption of the persian *نزدیک*, which may be heard in Hindī as *नजीक्* (see § 21, 2), and whence by transposition (see § 133) would arise *नगीन्*; the *क्* being now medial, is regularly softened to *ग्*, see § 102. — E. H. *हाली* and *हलदे* are really W. Gd. adverbs; the former is the conj. part., the latter the obl. form of the pres. part. of the verbal root *हाल्* (M.), *हल्* (P.), *हल्* (S.), *हिल्* or *हल्* (H.) *move, go*. Thus conj. part. S. *हली* (Tr. 313), pres. part. *हलन्दे* (Tr. 313), P. *हल्दे*. — E. H. *तुरत्* is the pres. part. of the verbal root *त्वर* or *तुर* *be quick*. — E. H. *अकार्य* is regularly derived from the Skr. *अकृतार्थ* *having one's object not done, unsuccessful*, Pr. *अकअर्थ* or Ap. Pr. *अकअर्थ*, whence contr. E. H. *अकार्य* or *अकार्य* (see §§ 137. 138).

546. The *pronominal* and *numeral adverbs* have been already enumerated in §§ 467—469 and in §§ 402. 417. 419 respectively.

547. *Verbal adverbs*. Many conjunctive participles may be used as adverbs; e. g., *फिर्* or *फिर् के* *again* (Skr. *परि-इ* *go round*), *मिलि* or *मिल् के* *together*, *ज्ञान् के* *knowingly*, *हाली* *quickly* (§ 545), etc. By the addition of the conj. part. *क्य के* or *कै के* *having done* to nouns, adjectives and numerals adverbial phrases may be formed; e. g., *खुसी क्य के* *gladly* (lit. *having made joy*); *एक् एक् कै के* *singly* (lit. *having made one by one*), etc.

548. *Particles of affirmation and negation*. The former are *तो* or *तो तो* or *जी* or *हो* or *हाँ* *yes*, *काह* or *काहे* lit. *why not*. The latter are *न* or *नाह* or *नाहि* or *नाही* or *नाहिन्* *no, not*.

The prohibitive particle is *जिन्* *do not*, used with the imper. only. Thus *ऐसन् जिन् करह्* *do not act thus*, but *ऐ^० न* or *नाही^० क^०* *you do not act thus*.

549. *Affinities and Derivation.* *तो* is a contr. of the Pr. *ताव* (Vr. 4, 6), Skr. *तावत्*. — E. H. *तो*, S. *तोड* (Tr. 419) is the Skr. *तोव*, used (like Skr. *आत्मा*, E. H. *आप्*) as a term. of respect and, hence, of assent; cf. the English „sir“. — The other affirm. and negat. particles were originally various forms of the auxiliary verb „to be“. Thus E. H. *हाँ* and *हौ^०*, S. *हउ* or *हाँ* (Tr. 418), B. *हाँ* or *हुँ* (S. Ch. 218) are the 1. sing. pres.; see § 514, 4. The 3. sing. pres. occurs in S. *अहि* (Tr. 418) and M. *होय्* (Man. 101). B. also uses the 3. sing. pres. *बटे* of the other auxil. verb, see § 514, 1. The particles *नाह* or *नाहि* are compounds of the negative particle *न* and the 3. sing. pres. *अहि* *he is* (§ 514, 4); similarly *नाही^०* and *नाहिन्* are compounds of *न* and the 3. plur. pres. *अहो^०* and *अहिन्*; *नाहिं^०* occurs in Pr. (H. C. 4, 419). As to the *anunāsika* preceding *ह*, see § 67. All these particles, however, are now used without respect to the person and number originally expressed by their form. — Instead of the E. H. *जिन्*, W. H. uses *यत्* or *मति*, S. *म* (Tr. 415), G. *मा* (Ed. 115); in Pr. *मा* or *मं* or *म* (H. C. 4, 418), Skr. *मा*.

550. *Particles of emphasis.* These are *ई* or *ही* *only*, *very* and *उ* or *हूँ* *also*. They are always used enclitically and often coalesce with the final *अ* of the principal word to *ऐ* or *ओ*. E. g., *क बाबू एह पारी खाली रात्रै बनवैय की गुरौ* i. e., *what, father! shall you, this time, make only syrup or also molasses*; here *रात्रै* = *रात्र ई*, and *गुरौ* (or *गूओ*) = *गूर उ*.

551. *Affinities and Derivation.* *ई* is, perhaps, connected with the Skr. *एव*, Pr. *वेअ* or *विअ* (Vr. 9, 3); but as the true Pr. form is *वेअ*, *विअ* (H. C. 2, 184), the derivation is doubtful. O. has *इ* or *हिँ* or *हे^०* (Sn. 48), M. *ही* (Man. 101), H. H. *ही*. — E. H. *उ*, B. *ओ* (S. Ch. 237) are modifications of the Pr. *वि*, Skr. *अपि* (or *ऽपि*); Pr. has also *पि* (H. C. 2, 218); S. preserves both *बि* and *पि* (Tr. 410), and even aspirates *मि* or *भी* (Tr. 410); so also H. H. *भी*.

552. *Particles of interrogation.* क *what*; e. g., क बाबू! का करैल। i. e., *what, father! what are you doing?*

553. *Affinities and Derivation.* S. uses कि or की (Tr. 418), B. कि (S. Ch. 218), W. H. कि, क्युं. They are all connected with the interrogative pronom. base, see §§ 437, 5. 467, d.

2. POSTPOSITIONS AND AFFIXES.

554. Postpositions supply in E. H. (and Gd. generally) the place of *what*, in other languages, are prepositions. They are placed after the noun or pronoun which they govern; and the noun or pronoun takes the oblique form with or without the genitive affix कै or के. Postpositions constructed without a gen. aff. are *affixes* (§ 374, p. 222).

555. The following postpositions are commonly constructed without a gen. aff.; तरे *beneath* (Skr. तल *bottom*); पाहीँ (§§ 77, exc. 116. 375) or कने (§ 375) *at, near*; माँ or माँहीँ or माँक् *in, within* (§ 378); ले (conj. part. of R. लम् *take*) or तक् (dto of R. तक् *see*) *till*; संगे or संग् *with* (Skr. सङ्ग); काहीँ *towards* (§§ 375. 116).

556. The following postpositions are commonly constructed with a gen. aff.; लागि *near, at* (§ 374); साथे *with* (Skr. संस्य); सनती (often spelled सन्ती, cf. § 6, note) or पलटे *instead of* (§ 557); बारे or बारे or बरे or बदे *for, by reason of* (§ 374); ओर (Skr. अवर्) or मुहेँ (Skr. मुख) *towards*; नाईँ *like* (§ 557); besides many of the adverbs, enumerated in §§ 541—544. Also जातिर *for, by reason of* (arab. خاطر).

557. *Affinities and Derivation.* Most of these have mentioned in §§ 374 ff. — The origin of बारे is obscure; it is probably derived from the Skr. वर्त्त *being*; cf. the Pashtu *vatak*; or perhaps it may be a corruption of the Urdú वास्ते (arab. واسطی), see § 143; it is peculiar to E. H.; the W. H. has लिये. — E. H. बदे is sometimes used like the arabic بدل in *exchance for*. — E. H. सनती lit. *sacrifice, substitute*, see § 18, p. 23. — E. H. पलटे is Skr. परस्ते *in return for*, see § 143. — नाईँ is probably connected with the root ज्ञा *know*; the Pr. has नाइ or नावइ (H. C. 4, 444).

3. CONJUNCTIONS.

558. *Copulative conjunctions*; अउ or ओर or अ (§§ 5, b. 26) or औ *and*; पुन or पुनि or कुनि or किन् *moreover*; का — का *as well — as*.

559. *Affinities and Derivation*. E. H. ओर, अ, Bs. ओर or ओ is the Pr. अवर् or Ap. अवर्, Skr. अपर्; B. has अर् (S. Ch. 237), Br. अर्, H. H. ओर, P. अर् (Ld. 71), N. र. The latter rejects the initial अ (of अर्) and is used enclitically; e. g., उन् ले जाने — र मन्या *he knew and said*, or ऊ — र मॉक मा उमि *get up and stand in the middle!* — E. H. अउ or औ, B. ओ, also compounded आरओ or आरो (S. Ch. 237), O. आउ or ओ (Sn. 46), M. व (Man. 103), Br. ओ, S. अउ (Tr. 410), are, probably, the Pr. अवि (H. C. 1, 41), Skr. अपि or अपिच. — S. has also अई or ऐ (Tr. 410), P. अति or ति, O. H. (Chand) ति = Pr. अइ or ति, Skr. अति. — M. has also आषि or अषाषी (Man. 103), G. अने or ने (Ed. 117); they are probably the Pr. अष or अन्, Skr. अत्यत् or अत्यश्च *lit. another*. — E. H. पुनि, etc. (§§ 61. 131), O. पुणि (Sn. 46), S. पुणि or विणि or पुणु (Tr. 410), are the Pr. पुणो or पुणु (Spt. 276. H. C. 4, 426), Skr. पुनर्. — W. H. has क्या — क्या *as well — as*, S. तिअ — तिअ (Tr. 410).

560. *Adversative conjunctions*; अर्कि or बाकि or अर्क (§ 561), लेकिन (arab. لیکن), पर वै, बर्न् *but*.

561. *Affinities and Derivation*. अर्कि etc. are corruptions of the Persian بلكى, see § 143; W. H. अलकि, बाकि, बलुक् (Kl. 276), P. वळ्क् (Ld. 71). — E. H. पर is the Skr. परम्, Pr. पर्; also W. H., P., S. पर; on E. H., W. H. वै see § 124; P. has also अपर् or एपर् (Ld. 71) = Skr. अपरम्. — E. H. बर्न्, W. H. बरण, P. बर् is Skr. वरम् or वरणम्. — W. H. has also मगर्, P. मगवर् or मगो (Ld. 71), S. मगर् (Tr. 412) = Pers. مگر. — O. has पुणि (Sn. 46), M. पण (Man. 103), G. पण (Ed. 117), S. पण (Tr. 412) = Pr. पुणु, Skr. पुनर्. — N. has तर, also M. तर (Man. II, 26), probably a corruption of Skr. तर्हि (or of तर्म् *beyond, across*). — S. has also बिगिर् (Tr. 412), a corruption of the arab. بغير; also हयौ or हयो (Tr. 413), apparently connected with Skr. हस्त. — H. H., H. B., etc. use the Skr. परन्तु, किन्तु, etc.

562. *Disjunctive conjunctions*; **ओ** or **की** or, *either-or*; e. g., **क! ई लेबह् की उ** *will you take this or that*; **बछेरा ओ बछेरी** *a colt or a filly*; **न — न** or **न तो — न** *neither-nor*; e. g., **न तो ई लेबो** *I shall take neither this nor that*; **चाहै — चाहै** or **की — की** *whether-or*; e. g., **चाहै ई ले चाहै उ** *take either this or that* (2. sg. imp.) or *whether he take this or that* (3. sg. pres. conj.).

563. *Affinities and Derivation*. E. H. **ओ** is the Pr. **व** or **वा** (H. C. 1, 67), Skr. **वा**; H. H., H. B., H. O., etc. have **वा**, also **अवा**; the latter is preserved in O. **अवा**, contr. form Pr. **अहवा** (H. C. 1, 67), Skr. **अवा**. — E. H. **की**, B. **कि** (S. Ch. 240), O. **कि** or **कि अवा** (Sn. 46), M. **की** (Man. 103), W. H. **कि**, P. **के** or **अके** (Ld. 71), S. **कि** or **की** (Tr. 412), N. **कि** are probably the Pr. **किं**, Skr. **किम्** *what*. — E. H. **चाहै** is the 3. sg. pres. conj. of the verb **चाह्** *to desire*. — B. also uses **ह्य-न्य** *either-or* (S. Ch. 240), S. **तोडे-न त** or **तोपो-न त** or **तौ-तौ** (Tr. 412); B. **ना-ना** or **न्य-न्य** *neither-nor* (S. Ch. 240), P. **ना-ना** (Ld. 81). — S. has **तौ** or (Tr. 412). — W. H. and P. also use **या**, arabic **يا** (Kl. 275. Ld. 71).

564. *Conditional and concessive conjunctions*; **तो** or **तौ** *if, then*; **जो** *although*; **तबो** *yet, nevertheless*.

565. *Affinities*. 1) *Condit.*; B. **तदि** — **तबे** or **तो** (S. Ch. 238), O. **तेबे** — **तेबे** (Sn. 46), M. **तरू** — **तरू** (Man. II, 17), W. H. **तो** or **तो — तौ** or **तो**, P. **ते** or **ते करू** — **तौ** (Ld. 71), G. **ते** or **तो — तो** (Ed. 117), S. **ते** or **ते करू** — **त** or **तौ** (Tr. 417), N. **भन्या** — **ता**. — 2) *Concess.*; B. **तदिओ** — **तबेओ** or **तबुओ** or **तरू** (S. Ch. 240), O. **तेबे** — **तेबे** or **तेबेहे** (Sn. 46), M. **तरौ** or **तरौ — तरौ** or **तरौ** (Man. II, 17), W. H. (Br.) **तो हूँ** — **तौ हूँ** (Kl. 275), P. **भावे** — **तौ भी** (Ld. 71), S. **तोड** or **तोपो** or **ते** or **ते तोडे** or **ते तोपो** — **त** or **तौ** or **त बि** or **तडेही बि** (Tr. 411), N. **ता** — **तरू**.

566. *Derivation*. 1) *Condit.*; a) Skr. **यदि** (or **यदा**), Pr. **तइ** (Vr. 1, 11), E. H. **जे**, P., S. **जे**. — b) Skr. **यर्हि** (Pr. **तरि**?), M. **तरू**; similarly Skr. **तर्हि** (Pr. **तरि**?), M. and N. **तरू**. — c) Skr. **यावत्**, Pr. **ताव** (H. C. 1, 11) or **ताम्व** (H. C. 4, 395) or **तेम्व** (H. C. 4, 401), E. H. and W. H. **तो**, G. **तो** or S. **तौ** (see § 563) or O. **तेबे** (§ 468, c); similarly Skr. **तावत्**, Pr. **ताव** or **ताम्व** or **तेम्व**, E. H., W. H. **तौ**, B., W. H., G. **तो** or P. **तौ**, S. **तौ** or (shortened) **त**,

N. ता or O. तेबे, B. (shortening ए) तबे. — d) The N. भन्या is the conj. part. of the verb मननु *to say* (Skr. भणित्वा), and is always placed at the end of the conditional sentence; thus, वाँहँ कल्याण को पुत्र इ भन्या, ता तिमिहेर को कल्याण उस् मायि रहला है; न भन्या, ता फरू कि छाउला, i. e., *if (lit. having said that) a son of peace be there, then your peace will remain upon him; if not, then it will again come.* — 2) The concessive conj. are made by adding to the condit. conj. some emphatic particle (see § 550); thus a) ओ or उ in B. जदिओ, Ap. Pr. जदिवि, Skr. यद्यपि; B. तबेओ = Pr. तेम्बइ वि, Skr. तावत्यपि (loc. sg.); B. तबु, E. H. तबो for तब + उ. — b) हूँ in W. H. जो हूँ, तो हूँ. — c) ईँ or होँ in M. जरीँ or जरी for जरी-ईँ, तरीँ or तरी for तरी-ईँ. — d) बि or भी in S. ज बि, P. ताँ भी, H. H. तौ भी. — e) The emph. particle is reduplicated in O. तेबेहेँ for ते-बे-हेँ, S. तडेहोँबि for तडे-हीँ-बि. — f) The P. भावेँ is the Skr. भावेन *indeed, truly*; similarly N. uses ता, E. H., W. H. etc. तौ or तो; e. g., N. म ता परमेश्वर देखि उराउँदि न, तरू म दिउँला, i. e., *I indeed am not afraid of god, yet I shall give.*

567. *Causal and final conjunctions*; a) जो or जेहूँ से *since*, तो *therefore*. — b) जेहूँ से or तेहूँ से *therefore*. — c) काहे की *because, for*. — d) जेहूँ से *in order that, so that*. — e) का जाने *lest*. — f) नाहीँ तो *else, otherwise* (lit., *if not, then*).

568. *Affinities and Derivation*. a) B. जाइ — ताइ or ताइ ते (S. Ch. 239), O. जेणु — तेणु (Sn. 46), W. H. जिस्तेँ — तौ, P. जाँ — ताँ, S. जो — सो or जेलौ — तेलौ, etc. (see Tr. 414. 415); not uncommonly paraphrased, e. g., B. and O. जे हेतु — ते हेतु, M. ज्ञापकीँ — त्यापकीँ, N. जस् कारण — तस् कारण, etc. — b) B. एमत् से or एमन् से, O. एणु, एनिमन्ते, M. त्यास् or ह्यणुन्, W. H. जिस्तेँ or तिस्रतेँ, P. ताँ, S. सो (Tr. 415); or paraphrased, e. g., B. ए जन्ये, ए निमित्रे (S. Ch. 239), O. जे हेतु (Sn. 46), N. यस् कारण, etc. — c) B. केनना, M. काँकीँ, W. H. क्यौँकि or क्योँकि, H. H. क्यूँकि, N. क्यान्; or paraphrased, e. g., B. कारण कि, M. कारण कीँ, etc. — d) B. एमत् से, एमन् से (S. Ch. 238), W. H. जिस्तेँ, P. ताँ. — e) B. कि जानि, O. कि जाणि, H. H. क्या जाने, lit. *what do I or does he know*; or B. पाहे, lit. *afterwards* (S. Ch. 240); H. H. न हो कि, S. म ह्यो or म ह्यो, lit. *may*

it not be that (Tr. 415). — f) B. नयू तो or न तु वा or नहि ले or ने ले (S. Ch. 240), O. न तु, न तु वा, नोहि ला (Sn. 46. 125), M. नाहो^१तू (Man. 103), W. H. नाहो^१तो, S. मतौ (Tr. 415). — Most of these conj. have a pronom. origin which has been explained in §§ 437. 469.

4. INTERJECTIONS.

569. The following are some of the most usual interjections; हे or हो or ओ or अरे or रे in addressing; राम् राम् in greeting; झी झी *fie!* for *shame*, in remonstrance; घुरी घुरी (or घुड़ी घु^०) or घू घू *fit to be spitted on*, धिक्कार *fit to be cursed or abused*, in disgust or abhorrence; हा हा or अह ह or बापरे *ah! alas!*, in surprise or grief; वाह वाह in admiration; हॉय हॉय in sorrow; भला or अहा *well!* in consent; दुत् or दुर् हो *be off!*; ले *lo!*

570. *Affinities and Derivation.* These interj. are common to all Gds. — Some occur in Pr.; e. g., झि झि and धिग् धिक् (H. C. 2, 174); घू घू (H. C. 2, 200), which, by adding the pleon. suff. री or जी, becomes घुरी घुरी; हा हा, अह ह (H. C. 2, 217); अरे, रे (H. C. 2, 201); हे, हो (H. C. 2, 217?); हॉय हॉय is probably the Pr. and Skr. हा (H. C. 2, 192). — बापरे is probably बाप् रे *oh father!*

SIXTH SECTION. SPECIMENS OF EAST HINDÍ.

1. VOCABLES AND PHRASES.

571. The following nouns, current in E. H., are, I believe, not mentioned in any Hindí dictionary.

अदह्वा <i>weak</i>	इन्हन् ^१ <i>fuel (of grass,</i>	उत्तर् ^१ <i>white</i>
अहिवाती <i>wife</i>	etc.)	ओअद् <i>wet</i>
इनारा <i>a well</i>	उत्तर् ^१ or उत्तबक् <i>rude</i>	ओट् <i>soft</i>

1) Bate in his Hindí dictionary gives: इन्हन्, उत्तल, उफत्.

कचलोह् <i>unripe</i>	जेवाय् <i>husband</i>	बीय् <i>wolf (tiger?)</i>
करवात् <i>sweepings</i>	कूर <i>dry</i>	भइन् <i>sister</i>
करिया <i>black</i>	ठउर ¹⁾ <i>place</i>	भकुआ <i>simpleton</i>
कुनह ¹⁾ <i>enemy</i>	ठंई <i>coldness</i>	भयो <i>younger brother's</i>
कोहउमी <i>sweet pumpkin</i>	उरपोक ³⁾ <i>cowardly</i>	<i>wife</i>
वनहन <i>good</i>	उहर or उडो <i>footpath</i>	भयने <i>sister's son or hus-</i>
खबोर or खब्बू <i>glutton</i>	धूसीस् <i>dirty</i>	<i>band's sister's son</i>
खरखुद् <i>sweepings</i>	निउरा or नेओरा <i>finished</i>	भिका <i>alms</i>
खरपात् <i>dried leaves</i>	निचार <i>solitary</i>	भीखार <i>beggar</i>
गउदा or गबदा <i>fool</i>	नेबर <i>bad</i>	भुखर <i>hungry</i>
गउही <i>cavity</i>	पाहंडी ¹⁾ <i>footpath</i>	भुलकड <i>negligent</i>
गदहाबसंत ²⁾ <i>fool</i>	पतई <i>dried leaves</i>	मंडवी <i>company</i>
गर <i>heavy</i>	परसिया <i>neighbouring</i>	मटमइल् <i>dirty</i>
गँवई <i>village</i>	पाकर <i>clever</i>	मनई <i>man</i>
गोईठा <i>fuel of cowdung</i>	पराय् की वात् ⁴⁾ <i>nonsense</i>	मनसेट् <i>man</i>
गोहार <i>calling</i>	पालो <i>tree (branch?)</i>	मिरकुटहा <i>weak</i>
घटिहा <i>worthless</i>	पीयल् <i>yellow</i>	रचिक् <i>little</i>
धमोच् <i>fool</i>	पूरा <i>village</i>	लउर <i>long, heavy stick</i>
चउआ ¹⁾ <i>quadruped</i>	पेटास् <i>glutton</i>	ललतहा <i>weak</i>
चिपरा or ०री <i>fuel of</i>	पोका <i>wet</i>	लेनुर or ०री <i>cord, string</i>
<i>cowdung</i>	पोच् <i>bad</i>	संघत् <i>friendship</i>
चिरई <i>bird</i>	फोट् <i>hard</i>	संघती <i>friend</i>
चोमर <i>hard</i>	बतोलिया <i>buffoon</i>	सधुअई <i>honesty</i>
चोक् <i>excellent</i>	बरधा <i>ox, bullock</i>	सुगाव् <i>sight</i>
काईपोई <i>family, race</i>	बाबू or बापू <i>father</i>	सुबोता or ०भीता <i>convenient</i>
जावत् <i>all</i>	बिगत् <i>individual</i>	सूखल् <i>dry</i>
जावत् जगत् <i>every body</i>	बिपत् मरुआ ⁵⁾ <i>miserable</i>	सेवर <i>unripe</i>
जूगस् or जूमी <i>coldness</i>	बिरई or बीरो <i>small plant</i>	हरियर ¹⁾ <i>green</i>

1) Bate in his H. dict.: कुन्ह, चौवा, ठौर, पागंडी, हरियर.

2) Lit., sitting on an ass.

3) Lit., wet with fear.

4) Lit., word of irrelevancy.

5) Lit., stricken with misfortune.

2. DIALOGUES¹⁾.

a) Between two friends.

1. Q. कह भाई! कहाँ से आवत् बाट? A. परसिया गाँव से आईला. —
 2. Q. उहाँ से कब चलल? A. भिनुसारे कै चलल हई. — 3. Q. काहे बदे उहाँ गयल रहल? A. उहाँ एक हमारू खेत बाय, ओके देखै के. —
 4. Q. ओमे का बोवले बाट? A. खाली¹ रहरू बोवल् बाय. — 5. Q. कह, भैया, 'येह पारी के खेती कै हल! A. येह पारी के खेती कै हल का पूछत् बाट? दैव के बरसले² बिना बज हरत³ भयल. — 6. Q. आन् काल तोहरे भाई नाही देखैलै⁴ है? A. हमरे भाई आन् काल किला⁵ मे नोकर⁶ बाटे; एहरू बहुत् कम⁷ आवैलै. — 7. Q. तोहरे बजकी गैया के का खबर⁸ बाय? A. बजकी गैया आन् काल गाभिन् बाय; कोयर न मिलले² से दूट गइल बाय. — 8. Q. गाभिन् भैले² कै महीना⁹ भयल? A. भयल तो आठ महीना, बाकि पेह कुछ उभरल नाही देख परत. — 9. Q. कोरावत् बाय की नाही? A. हाँ कुछ कुछ जान परैला. — 10. Q. ई कोया बियान् हो ओ केतना दूध देले? A. ई अठवाँ बियान् होई; दूध एकबर दूइ अछाई सेर देले. — 11. Q. हम के एक बकरी खरीदै¹¹ के बाय, से तोहरे गाव पर मिल सकी? A. हमरे गाँव पर तो बकरी बाटी, लेकिन¹⁰ दाम बड़ तेर¹² बाय. — 12. Q. तोहार बकरिया काँ भइल? A. हम चरै के बदे ओके गाँव पर छोडले रहीला. — 13. Q. कुछ दूध देले? A. लडिकन् के पीये भर के मिल जाला. — 14. Q. अबकी उख बोवले बाट की नाही? A. उख तो बोवले बाटी, बरकि ओ मे कुछ फाइरा¹³ नैखै. — 15. Q. तोहरे इहाँ से नार मोट मँगनी मिल सकी? A. काहे? भराई होय जाय, तब ले ल¹⁴. — 16. Q. तोहरे इहाँ कै पुरवह चलैला? A. तीन पुरवह नथले बाटी. — 17. Q. तोहरे आम के बरिया मे कुछ फर होला की नाही? A. अबकी तो बदरी से पेगन् मे लाही लग गइल; नाही तो बहुत होत् रहल. — 18. Q. थोड़ आम हमडूँ के अँचार नाव के देत? A. तब तोहार मन होय, तब आय के तोडवाय¹⁵ लय. — 19. Q. तोहार लडिकवा कुछ पडैला की नाही? A. हाँ, गुरा किहाँ¹⁶ जाला; अच्छार¹⁷ तो चीन्ह गयल बाय; आन् काल पहाड पडत् बाय. — 20. Q. पाठसाले मे नाही बैठाय देत? A. कुछ पर

1) The following specimens of village-conversations were given to me by Pandit Gopāl Bhaṭṭa of Benares. The spelling is his, excepting the *virāmas* and interpunctuations which I have added.

ले, तबू अठाय् देई¹⁸. — 21. Q. हमहूँ अपने बेटावा¹⁹ के पाठसाले मे बैठावल चाहीला. A. अच्छा! हमरे लड़िका के संगे ओहू के बैठाव् दीस.

Notes: 1) pers. خالی. 2) adverb. past part. 3) arab. خرج. 4) 3. pl. pres. ind. of the potent. pass. 5) arab. قلعه. 6) pers. نوکر. 7) pers. کم. 8) arab. خبر. 9) pers. صہینا. 10) arab. لیکن. 11) pers. خرید, treated as a denom. root. 12) pers. تیز. 13) arab. فایدہ. 14) 2. pl. imperative; or ले लह् or ले ल्यह्. 15) conj. part. of the double caus. 16) contr. for के रह्. 17) anomalous plur. of अच्छर, apparently made after Urdu (arabic) analogy, as हुकाम् orders, pl. of हुकम्. 18) 1. pl. pres. conj., used as future. 19) redundant form of बेटा.

b) Between master and servant.

1. Q. काल् लोहिया लागत् खेत् पर जाये के होई. A. काहे के बदे? का, खेत् निरावै के? — 2. Q. हाँ, खेतो निरावै के अउर बडके खेतवा मे हरी चलावै के. A. कै मजूर¹ के काम् बाय्? — 3. Q. तैते से सपरै, तैठे लगाय् दीहे. A. धान् कै खेतवा भरू के न होई. — 4. Q. कै दिन मे भरल् जाई? A. दुइ दिन कै काम् बाय्. — 5. Q. लवडू कै दिन तो आय् गयल्. A. अच्छा, तबू ले चारू पाँत् मेहराहन् के ठहराय् रखलीला. — 6. Q. गैयन् के कोयर् दिहले, को नाही? A. घास् तो नाय् दिहले रहली. — 7. Q. भूसी लेआय् के सानी चलाय् दे; साँक् भइल्. A. बेर बिसवले, हम् घरे² रोटी खाये जाब. — 8. Q. अच्छा, तबू खाय् के ऐहे, तबू गोरुन् के ओसारी मे बाँध् दीहे. A. तोहरे बदे ई बेरा का खाये के होई? — 9. Q. माई से कहे³ दीहे की रोटी पोय् रखिहै. A. खाली¹ रोटिये खैब? — 10. Q. अउर का? दूध के संगे खाय् लेब. A. दाल् न होबी? — 11. Q. राति के हम् के दाल् नाही पचत्. A. जलदी खाये जैह! नाही तो रोटी जुगाय्⁴ जाई. — 12. Q. ज्ञा लेज्ञा, तै तो जलदी⁵ खाय् आव; बिना तोरे ऐले हम् न जाबै. A. हम् तो ज्ञातै आटी; खाय् के हालिये आइब. — 13. Q. भला, बीया के बदे कोठिला मे कुड् तबू बाय् की नाही? A. न होई, तो बोरे भरू के मोल् बाय् जाई. — 14. Q. केतना चाही बोवै के? A. एक इ पसेरी मे होय् जाई. — 15. Q. काँकौ न चाही बोवै के? A. काँक् तो चाहै तोहरे बखार मे होय. — 16. Q. ई घरी दैव् जो चारू बुन्दी कर देतै, तो बडू अच्छा होन्. A. देख! गोसै⁶याँ कै मजती⁶ होई, तो बरस् जैहै. — 17. Q. घरे! हाँ, काल् फारु⁷ के बदे योरा लोहा खरीदै के बाय. A. केतना लोहा चाही?

तोहरे घर मे नैखै? — 18. Q. मतारी से पुझिहे तो. A. घाम् तो पियरायल्
ब्रातै मे; साँक् भइल् चाहैले. — 19. Q. हो! देख! माई आवत् बाय्. A.
एह बेरा आवै कै कौन् काम् रहल्? — 20. Q. ले! बेर बिसवै चाहैला;
तै जलदी⁵ जो! A. अच्छा, ले! तुहजें जा! दिसा जंगल् से निपट आव.

Notes: 1) pers. مزدور. 2) old loc. 3) conj. part. 4) conj.
part. of potent. pass. 5) pers. جلدی. 6) arab. مرضی.

c) Between two sisters.

1. Q. कह, बहिनी! एहवर कहाँ गइल् रहल्यु? A. रहिला कै साग
खोटे. — 2. Q. एह पारी तोहरे खेतवा मे खाली रहिलै बोवल बाय्?
A. नाही, मटर रहिला अउर बारै, तोन् चीन्¹, बोवल बाय्. — 3. Q.
तोहार दुलहा अन् काल् कही बाहर गयल् बाटै? A. नाही, घरही तो
बाटै, लेकिन् खेत पर बहुत रहलै. — 4. Q. तू रसोइयाँ कब करैल्यु?
A. दुपहर के करीला; अब् नाय के, तब करव. — 5. Q. तोहार ब्रिटियवा
तो नीके बाय्? A. हँ, बाय् अच्छीतरह². — 6. Q. तोहार गैयवा³ कुछ दूध
देले की नाही? A. का कही बहिनी? पहिले ब्रियान् मे तो कुछ नाही दिहलेस;
अबकी ब्रियान् मे देखो कुछ देले की नाही. — 7. Q. केतना दिन् बियैले⁴
भयल्? A. अबही तो अन् पंचवाँ दिन् हो; अबही ओकर बड़भ्रा अच्छी
तरह² चल नाही सकत्. — 8. Q. खरी काराई पखेव अच्छी तरह² पाई, तो
दूध देई. A. देखै कै तो बिचार बाय्. — 9. Q. ओहे घरवा मे तुहई⁵ अकेल्
रहल्यु⁵ की ओरो केहू रहैला? A. नाही, हमही अकेल् रहीला, लेकिन् चाहीला
की ओर केहू रह जात्, तो मनसायन् होत्. — 10. Q. एको कोठरी हमरे
रहै लाइक्⁶ होय, तो हम के न. A. बाय्, लेकिन् छोट बाय्, तोहार निघाह
ओ मे न होई. — 11. Q. भला! कठबड़ तोहरे परोस् मे होई, तो हम के
बतैह. A. काहे? जोने घरवा मे तू रहैल्यु, तोने मे कौनो दिकदारी⁷ बाय्? —
12. Q. दिकदारी कवन् बाय? भारा बहुत लगेला. A. अच्छा! तो आव, हमरे
ही घर मे रह; कौनो तरह² से निवाह होय जाई. — 13. Q. भला बहिन्!
अब किरपा कैल्यु; हम बहुत दिकदार⁷ रहली ओहे घर से. A. अच्छा! तो
कब से रहै के अइब? — 14. Q. अब तो खर्वाँस् बितले बाद⁸ अच्छी साइत्
देखवाय के अइब. A. जरूर⁹ आवै कै बिचार रहिह; हम अपने मनसेधू से
कहे के घर सफा¹⁰ करवाय रखव. — 15. Q. न जानी, खर्वाँस् केतने दिन्
रही! A. रह! हमरे परोस् मे एक पंडित रहैलै¹¹; ओन्ह से पूछ के, तब तोह
से कहव.

Notes: 1) pers. چیز. 2) arab. طرح. 3) redundant form of

माई. 4) adverb. past part. of potent. pass. 5) shorter form of 2. pl. pres. ind. fem., for रहैल्यु. 6) arab. لايف. 7) arab. بقى دارير. 8) arab. بعد. 9) arab. ضرور. 10) arab. صفا.

d) Between parents and son.

1. Q. (Father speaks): बेटा! सवेर ही उठ के उख के खेत देखे के जैह! A. अब तो तोरह के दिन आयल्. — 2. Q. हाँ, लेकिन कोलह के ज़ाह दूह गइल् बाय; से खरीदै के होई. A. केतने दाम पर मिली? — 3. Q. ओ करू तैसन् काह होय, तैसन् दाम लगै. A. कतरि बाय, की उहाँ खरीदल् ज़ाई? — 4. Q. कतरियो तो नाही बाय, लेकिन ओ करे भर के काह घर मे होई; बरई बलवाय के बनवाय लिहल् ज़ाई. A. क बाबू? येह पारी खाली राबै बनवैख की गुरी? — 5. Q. नाही, दूतौ बनवाइब्. A. अब हम खाये ज़ात बाटी. — 6. Q. (Mother speaks): आव, बेटा, जलदी खाये के! A. आज का रसोई कैले बाटिस्? — 7. Q. आज रसोई मे दाल रोटी अउर कोहउरी भइल् बाय. A. दूध बाय की नाही? — 8. Q. थोर एक होई बाय; पूत चाँह के बाय लीक! A. अच्छा! गोत्र धोवै के पानी भेजवाय दे! — 9. Q. हे! इहाँ लोटा मे पानी रक्खल् बाय; गोत्र धोव! A. बड़की थरिया मे हम के परोसिहे! — 10. Q. अपने बापो के बलाय लय! A. अच्छा! बलाय लेआईला; आव बाबू खाये! — 11. Q. (Father speaks): बेटा! तू खाय लय, तब हम पोछे से खाब. A. काँहे? — 12. Q. अबही अच्छी तरह से हम के भूख नैले. A. नाही! माई बलावत् बाय. — 13. Q. अच्छा ले! आवत् बाटी. A. हे! गोत्र धोवै के पानी धयल् बाय. — 14. Q. अच्छा! परोसवाव! A. माई! रसोइयाँ आज कौन करत हौ? — 15. Q. (Mother speaks): तोहार मेहर. A. ओ के रोटी फुलावै नाही आवत्. — 16. Q. नाही आवत्; तबबो कबो नाही रहत्. A. पीछा धै दे! — 17. Q. तू आव, तो सहो! पीछा तो इहई रक्खल् बाय. A. ले! बाबुओ ऐलै, हमहूँ ऐली; जलदी परोसै के कह. — 18. Q. परोस् दे रे! A. दुइ थरिया, छोटी बजो परोस्!

e) Between mother and boy.

1. Q. माई! खाये के दे! A. का कइवे? — 2. Q. का बाय खाये के? A. रोटी बाय; काहे से खइवे? — 3. Q. दूध बाय की नाही? A. दूध तो कछा बाय, लेकिन नैन् बाय; कहु, तो देई; ओही से खाय ले! — 4. Q. नैन् दूध कै ही की दही कै? A. नाही! आज सबरे दही महे के निकलले

रहली. — 5. Q. लेआव्. A. वाली नैनुवै, की ओ मे कौनो मीठा मिलैबे? — 6. Q. कौन् मीठा बाटै? A. राबू लेआई की गुरू? — 7. Q. नाही! राबू लेआव्! गुरू हम् के नाही भावत्. A. अच्छा! ले! तै बैठु! हम् लेआईला. — 8. Q. जलदी लेआव्; नाही तो ऊ लरिक्वा आय् जार्ड. A. तै गोड तो थोड! हम् लेआईला. — 9. Q. दुइयै रोटी ले ऐहे! A. ई काहे? पेद्र भर बाय् ले! रसोइयाँ के अबही अबेर होई. — 10. Q. अच्छा! तीन् दे! A. ले! खो!

f) Between two boys.

1. Q. का भाई! चलब खेलै के? A. अबही हम् खेली नाही; बाय् लेई, तबू चली. — 2. Q. कबू खेल? A. माई आवैले, तबू खाईला¹. — 3. Q. तोहार माई कहाँ गइल् बाय्? A. गोरुन् के कोयर देवै के. — 4. Q. तबू ले चल; खेल् आई. A. कौन् खेल् खेलन्? — 5. Q. लटू तोहरे पास बाय् की नाही? A. लटू तो बाय्; लत्ती नैलै. — 6. Q. आव! लत्ती बनाई. A. कपडा कहाँ बाय्? — 7. Q. कपडा बहुत मिली. A. लव! माइयो आइल्; अबू बाय् लेई; तबू चुचिन् से खेली. — 8. Q. तबू से हमहूँ धरू से होय् आईला¹. A. तूँ काहे बदे धरू जात् बाट? — 9. Q. गोरू एक दूध धयल् बाय्; से हमहूँ पो आई. A. तोहरे² दूध होला? — 10. Q. हाँ, बाकेन्³ गैया कै दूध हो. A. अच्छा! जा! जलदी ऐह! — 11. Q. हम तो गेली की ऐलो. A. जा जलदी!

Notes: 1) 1. pl. pres. ind., for fut. ind. 2) old loc.; elliptic, for तोहरे पास. 3) pers. بکے.

3. FOLKLORE.

a) The treasure in the field.

एक बग आदिमो¹ अंगूर² के चारो ओ खेत बोवलेस; ओके चारू बेटवा रहलै; जबू ऊ मरै लगल्, तबू घेठवन् से कहलेस; ए बेटा मोरे पास जवन धन् रहल्, तीन के मे अंगूर के खेतवा मे गाड दिहले बाटो; से तूलोग खनब, तो पद्यह; जबू ऊ आदिमो मरि गयल्, तबू ओकर सबू बेटोवा मिल के खेत के चारो ओर से खनै लगलै³; लेकिन धन् के खोज न मिलल्; बाकी⁴ खेत अच्छी तरह से खोदल् गयल्; ओ से अंगूर के पेड खूब⁵ पनकलै; और खूब अंगूर के फाल् उपजलै; तबू तो सबू बेटा मिल के ओके बेचलै, और बहुत एक धन् पौलै; बग खुस⁶ भइलै; एसे हमलोगन् के ई बात सीख के चाही, की बडू लोग जौन् बात कहै तीन के जरूर माने के चाही, टार के न चाही; एही मे हमरे लोगन् कै कल्यान् होई; ई लडिकन् के सीख के बदे कहनी होवै.

Notes: 1) arab. آدمی. 2) pers. انگور. 3) shorter form for लगल, 3. pl. 2nd pret. ind.; see § 26. 4) pers. بلکه. 5) pers. خوب. 6) pers. خوش.

b) The two wise Brāhmins.

कौनो एक ब्राम्हन् रहल; ओके दुइ बेटा रहलै; उ ब्राम्हन् कौनो जग्य करै लगल; ओ मे एक मङ्गरी कै काम परल; तब उ दूनो बेटोवन से कहलेस्, को बेटा! तू दूनो जने समुद्र के तीर पर जाय के एक मङ्गरी लेआवह; तब पिता कै आया पाय के दूनो समुद्र के तीर पर गैलेन; ओर उहाँ के मल्लाह से कहलेन, को हम के एक मङ्गरी कै काम ब्याय, से तै पकड़ दे; तब मल्लाह एक मङ्गरी अकाय के दुनहुन के आगे लेआय के धै दिहलेस्; तब ओन्ह मे से एक दुसरे के कहलेस् की तै काहे नाँहो उठाय ले चलतेस्; तब उ बोलल की मै भोजनचतुर बाटो; मो के ए कर गंध आवैले; तब उ बोलल की मैहूँ सयनचतुर हौओ; ऐरो न उठैवो; ऐसही उन्ह दुनहुन मे तगरा होवै लगल; आखिर के दूनो लरत् लरत् राजा के पास गैलै ओर राजा के आपन समाचार कहलै; तब राजा कहलेस्, की तू दूनो जने हम के परिच्छा रह; तब हम तोहर बिया जानी; उ दूनो खडा भइलै परिच्छा देवै के; तब पहिले राजा भोजनचतुर के परिच्छा लेवे बदे अच्छो रसोई यौ बनवौलै; ओ मे अच्छी से अच्छी तरकारी, अच्छे से अच्छे चाउर के भात, अच्छा से अच्छा पकवान रिधवौलेन; ओर भोजनचतुर के बलबाय के बाये के बँठौलेन; तब उ तैसे ही भात कै कवर उठौलेस्, तैसेही ओ के ओ मे मुरदा के गंध आयल; से उ थरिया कोइ के उह गयल; तब राजा ओ के पुछलै, की तै काहे नाही खैले ओर उह गैले? उ कहलेस् की भात मे मुरदा के गंध आवैले; तब राजा किसान के बलाय के पुछलेस् की चाउर कैसन रहल ओर कहा से लेआय के तै मो के दिहल? किसान बोलल की आपन खेत से; तब राजा पुछलेस् की उ खेत केकर ही? तब किसान कहलेस् की तिमोदार से हम मोल लिहले रहली; तब राजा तिमोदार के बलाय के पुछलेस्, की ई भूईँ कैसन रहल? तब तिमोदार बोलल, की ई भूईँ मुरदघटा पहिले रहल; तब राजा भोजनचतुर के कहलेस्, की तै ठीक भोजनचतुर हौवे; पर सयनचतुर के बोलाय के राजा एक अच्छी बिह्वनादार खटिया बिह्वाय दिहलेस्, ओर ओ के सूत के कहलेस्; उ सूतल; लेकिन ओ के राति भर नो नोई नाही आइल; एह कर वट से ओह कर वट, ओकर वट से एह कर वट कर्त रहल; सवरे राजा ओ के बलौलेस्, ओर कहलेस् की तै राति भर सुख से सुतल? उ बोलल की महाराज समस्त राति मोके नोई नाही परल; राजा पुछलै काहे? उ बोलल कि बिह्वना के परत

मे एक बार बाटै से मोरे देह^१ मे गड्ढ रहल्; तब राता अपने नोकर से बिहावन् उठवाय् के देखलेस् तो ओ मे एक बार देखायल्^२; तब राता खुसी^३ होय्के ओके कहलेस् कि तै^४ ठीक् सयनचतुर होवे; ए करे बाद राता उन् दुनहुन् कै बहुतो तरह से खातिरदारी कै के बिदा कैलै^५ ॥

Notes: 1) हूँ and ही^१ are emphatic. 2) arab. آخر. 3) lit. standing, here ready. 4) shorter form for बोलवाय्; see § 26. 5) pers. مرده. 6) pers. میندار. 7) for देह, see § 67. 8) 3. sg. 2nd pret. ind. of potent. pass. 9) pers. خوشی joy; here used adjectively, through confusion with adj., formed like सुखी; see § 253.

c) The unfortunate Bráhmaṇ.

कौनो एक ब्राह्मन् सोमशर्मा कुसुमपुर गाँव मे रहत् रहल्; उ आपन् बियाह देवस्वामी केहू अपने परोसिया ब्राह्मन् को बिटिया से कैलेस्; से एक दिन् की बात हो कि दूनो परानी अटारी पर सूतल् रहलै^१; एतने मे एक कौनो बियाधर ओही ओर से अकास् मे बिमान पर चखल् चल् जात् रहल्; से ओकर ओह मेहरारू पर पर गइल्; उ, ओकरे सुन्दरताई से मोहित होय्, नीचे उतर, ओके उठाय लेगयल्; सबेरा भयल्, तब सोमशर्मा अपने बिकौना के सून् देख अपने स्त्री के चारो ओर हेरै लगलै^२, लेकिन पता न पोलै^३; तब तो बौरहा के तरह एहर ओहर धूमै लगलै^४ और भुलैलै^५; तब केहू गिरस्थ^६ के घर जाय कहलै^७ कि हम् के कुछ खाये के वदे य; उ अपने स्त्री से कहलेस् कि ब्राह्मन् भुलायल् बाय्, एके कुछ दे; उ रसोई^८ मे जाय, एक दोना भर खीर ले आय के, ब्राह्मन् के दिहलेस्; ब्राह्मन् उ खीर ले के एक नदी के तीर पर जाय, कौनो पेड़ के तह पर खीर कै दोना ध के, हाय मुह धोए के वदे नदी मे गयल्; तब ले एहर ओह पेड़ पर से एक करइत् साँप उतर के, उ खीर थोरैके^९ खेलेस्, और ओ मे अपने मुह से तहर^४ उगिल् के, फर ओही पेड़ पर चढ़ गयल्; तब ले उ बेचारा ब्राह्मन् भुलायल् तलदी से आये के ओह दोना कै सब खीर खाय गयल् और थोरो बेर मे तहर से बियाकुल् होय के मर^५ गयल् ॥

अब एह कथा मे ई बिचारल् चाही कि ओ करे मुअले के हाया के के भइल्, ओह गिरस्थ के, कि ओकरे मेहरारू के, कि ओह साँप के ॥

Notes: 1) 3. pl. 2nd pret. ind. of potent. pass. 2) for गृहस्थ. 3) or थोरैके, see § 291. 4) pers. تهر. 5) irregular conj. part. of the verb मरख to die.

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- p. 65. l. 29. § 77 *for* § 74.
- p. 70. l. 7. add: E. H. बड़लू or बैलू.
- p. 70. l. 10. दोन् *for* दोन्ना.
- p. 104. l. 34. बाउरू *for* बउरू.
- p. 107. l. 6. पाङ्गिल् *for* पङ्गिल्.
- p. 110. l. 24. चमोटा *for* चमोटो.
- p. 110. l. 26. हिरनोटा *for* हिरणोटा.
- p. 112. l. 23. गहूआई *for* गहूआइ.
- p. 123. l. 34. चोलो *for* चोली.
- p. 124. l. 10. छेटा son *for* बेटी son.
- p. 141. l. 6. चलिय or चलिव *for* चलियू or चलिवू.

ADDENDA.

- p. 67. rule 119, 2. W. H. होरा *three and a half* for Pr. अखोदु°, see § 416.
- p. 88. rule 160. न् becomes न्द in S., P., Mw. अंदो for अंतो suffix of pres. part., see § 301. Also P., S. पंज *five* for Pr. पंच, Skr. पञ्च, see p. 256.
- p. 90. rule 172. W. H. होरा for *अहोरा *three and a half*, see § 416.
- p. 90. add rule 172^a. इ is elided; rarely; E. H. चाहै or चाहै *he desires*, Pr. इच्छामइ, Skr. *इच्छायति, see p. 389, footnote.
- p. 113. rule 227. The forms त्र and तन are preserved in the O. H. of Chand; e. g. वृद्धत्र *old age* Pr. R. 28, 38; प्रीततन *friendship* Pr. R. 28, 56; कुसलतन *prosperity* Pr. R. 28, 38; वृद्धतन *old age* Pr. R. 28, 38.
- p. 117. rule 239. In O. H. the suff. is एत; e. g. रगतेत *bloody* Chand Pr. R. 28, 39.

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